# THE PLACE OF WAQFS IN THE EARLY MODERN AGRARIAN AND URBAN HISTORY OF OTTOMAN CYPRUS

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# THE PLACE OF WAQFS IN THE EARLY MODERN AGRARIAN AND URBAN HISTORY OF OTTOMAN CYPRUS

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Agrarian and Urban History of Ottoman Cyprus

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# DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

The Place of Waqfs in the Early Modern

Agrarian and Urban History of Ottoman Cyprus

This thesis intends to analyze the social and economic activities of waqf institutions in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. This study does not consider waqfs to have been purely pious foundations. In addition, waqfs were a sign of social status and a dynamic agent in the rural and urban economy of the island. Mapping waqf deeds, this thesis initially examines the cash waqfs of Cyprus. I claim that cash waqfs were remarkable actors in the credit relations that become prevalent with the Ottoman administration on the island. By focusing on the relationships between founders, administrators and borrowers, the thesis argues that waqfs redefined conventional social roles and brought various people from different communities together within the context of these relations. Secondly, I argue that waqfs, as a landholder and real estate owner, were also significant actors in agrarian relations and urban trade. Each property is taken into consideration in itself and within early modern Cyprus socio-economic dynamics. Therefore, the waqf institution is treated as a mechanism that redistributed the urban and rural wealth of Cyprus. This redistribution both reshaped the landscape of cities and conducted a relation between governors and religious personnel in an Ottoman province. Thus, by evaluating the spatial distribution of waqfs' properties and endowments, I deduce that waqfs reproduced a space in which all these relations and redistributions happened. Finally, by examining the account books of certain waqfs, their financial conditions through the years and the primary concerns of the thesis are evaluated on a micro-scale.

# ÖZET

## Erken Modern Dönem Osmanlı Kıbrısı'nın
## Tarımsal ve Kentsel Tarihinde Vakıfların Yeri

Bu tez erken modern dönem Kıbrıs'ta vakıf kurumunun sosyo-ekonomik faaliyetlerini analiz etmeyi amaçlar. Vakıfların dini bir hayır kurumu olmasının ötesinde, bir statü göstergesi ve adanın kent ve kır ekonomisinde söz sahibi dinamik bir yapı olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Vakfiyelerdeki bilgilerin haritalandırılarak yapılan analizinde ilk olarak para vakıfları incelenerek Kıbrıs'ta kredi ilişkilerinde para vakıflarının rolü sorgulanmaktadır. Buradan hareketle vakıf kurucusu, mütevellisi ve vakıftan borç alanlar arasındaki sosyal ve iktisadi ilişkiler incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak herhangi bir gayrımenkul varlığı olan sıradan vakıflar ve paşa vakıfları aynı yöntem takip edilerek incelenmiştir. Vakıflara ait her bir akar kendi içerisinde ve erken modern dönem Kıbrıs'ın sosyo-ekonomik dinamikleri göz önüne alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak vakıfların toprak sahibi olarak tarımsal ilişkilerde ve dükkan, han gibi emlak sahibi olarak kent ticaretindeki yeri sorgulanmıştır. Vakıf kurumunun kırda ve kentte zenginliğin yeniden dağıtılmasında bir mekanizma olduğu vurgulanmış, bu yeniden dağıtımın şehirlerin yeniden şekillendirilmesi ve Kıbrıs gibi bir Osmanlı taşrasında yerel idareciler ile din görevlilerinin ilişkilerini nasıl düzenlediği araştırılmıştır. Ayrıca akarların ve hayratların dağılımı değerlendirilerek bütün bu ilişkilerin ve yeniden dağıtımın gerçekleştiği bir mekan tanımladığı iddia edilmiştir. Son olarak, belirli vakıfların muhasebe defterleri incelenerek hem vakıfların yıllar içerisindeki finansal durumları takip edilmiş hem de tezin temel problemleri mikro ölçekte değerlendirilmiştir.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

The thesis aims to analyze the social and economic activities of the waqf institution on Ottoman Cyprus. The main concern of the thesis is the nature of the role of the waqf institution in social and economic relations after its introduction to the island. In attending to this concern, the thesis argues that the waqf is not a static religious structure but a dynamic economic institution that acted as an active agent as a redistributor of wealth in the credit relations, trade, and agricultural production on Ottoman Cyprus.[1] Moreover, it is also claimed that the waqf institution added novel functions to the roles of the ordinary people, religious personnel which were imam and preacher, and military class on the island. To be able to understand the function and activities of the waqf institution on the island, the thesis will cover the period between 1571 and 1837, with a primary focus on the 17th and 18th centuries.

By doing so, the thesis will mainly rely on the evaluation of waqf deeds found in various archives, namely Archive of Directorate General of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi*) in Ankara, Cyprus Vakıf Administration in Lefkoşa (Nicosia), and the library of Centre for Islamic Studies (İSAM) in Istanbul. A waqf could officially be established only with the court's approval of several copies of the deed, of which one was registered in the court's records.[2] How the waqf would be administrated, the number of employees and beneficiaries and their wages,

[1] To see studies about the redistributive role of waqfs: Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları", 235. Orbay, "The Magnificient Süleymaniye Owed a Debt to the Butcher and the Grocer", 88. Orbay, "The Waqf Economy and the Redistributive Functioning of Waqfs". Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa, 1555-1823", 351. Gerber, "The Waqf Institution in Early Ottoman Edirne", 44. Marcus, *The Middle East in the Eve of Modernity*, 312. Inalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600", 47.
[2] Behrens-Abouseif, "Wakf", 65.

the locations of assets, and donations are written in these documents.[3] Thus waqf deeds include rich toponymic, topographic, administrative, and economic information. However, since they represent a moment as static sources and in somewhat idealized terms, especially in the redistribution of wealth, waqf deeds may create methodological problems in research. To overcome these possible problems, firstly, I will analyze 80 different waqf deeds related to Ottoman Cyprus from different periods between 1571 and 1845, involving various groups such as ordinary people, both men and women, local governors, grand viziers, and imperial waqfs. In addition to this, secondly, I will employ waqf account registers, from *Maliyeden Müdevver* (From Finance Registers) and Topkapı Palace sections of the State Archive in Istanbul, which recorded the revenues and expenditures of waqfs within the specified time, to be sent to Istanbul periodically for the purposes of supervision. They are valuable registers with which to trace urban and rural activities of waqfs from both social and economic perspectives, including such information as the names of tenants, rent revenues, and the names and wages of administrators, clerks, and beneficiaries. Finally, to support and crosscheck the abovementioned sources, I will use published court records related to waqf cases, real estate censuses, and the contemporary observations of travelers that visited Cyprus. Appendix A provides certain facsimiles of these registers with a transliteration of a sample of waqf account book.

To be able to analyze these primary sources and to move beyond their face-value, this thesis aims to bring together various approaches and tools. By doing so, I use the waqf institution as an analytical tool with which to understand social and economic relations in early modern Cyprus as a province of the Ottoman Empire.

[3] Özgüdenli, "Vakfiye," 465.

Thus, I claim that waqfs were not only institutions that were founded and functioned for religious purposes. Instead, they were the mechanism that organized urban space through the income from agrarian assets. They were also a dynamic agent in the economy of the island by providing credits via cash waqfs and possessing various real estate in cities and lands in rural areas.

Consequently, the present study investigates how the administration of such wealth brought about novel relations between governors and local notables, mainly as the founders of waqfs and religious personnel who served as the administrators and primary beneficiaries of this institution.[4] To trace these relations, especially in the primary sources, I follow the approaches of different fields such as spatial history and with them revisit an established research field in Ottoman history. In addition to this, I utilise the basic features of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to be able to converge these various questions and consequently scrutinize waqf deeds by visualizing them too. That is to say, the thesis tries to understand the activities of the waqf institution in Ottoman Cyprus, not only by comparing and analyzing various primary sources with traditional methods but also by indicating new approaches and questions through the application of digital tools to the study.

Recent scholarship in digital humanities and the use of GIS in history studies has increased with the rising interest in spatial inquiries in history.[5] As is argued by Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, it is not possible to postulate a single dominant spatial identity for all periods in the past because the notion of space with

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[4] Not only religious personnel but also high ulema developed a formidable financial and political power through administration of waqfs. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State,* 46-47. Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in Ottoman Empire,* 103-105. Hoexter, "Adaptation to Changing Circumstances, Perpetual Leases and Exchange Transactions in Waqf Property in Ottoman Algiers," 322. Roded, "The Waqf and the Social Elite of Aleppo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 89. Roded, "Great Mosques, Zawiyas, and Neighborhood Mosques: Popular Beneficiaries of Waqf Endowments in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Aleppo," 169.

[5] Bodenhamer et all., *The Spatial Humanities*. Lünen& Travis, *History and GIS.* Warf& Arias, *The Spatial Turn.* Gregory et all., *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History.*

the relevant spatial frameworks has changed over time.[6] Scholars, in these studies, examined the traditional primary sources of history by taking space as an analytical tool to the center of their works and concomitantly tested the applicability of GIS on the field.[7] For Barney Warf and Santa Arias, the crucial point of such a perspective is that "where things happen is critical to knowing how and why they happen."[8] May Yuan methodologically investigates the transformation of text to maps, which enables them to tell stories.[9] To Yuan, maps represent "the space of "contextualization" that transforms location to place with syntheses to communicate where things are and how they relate spatially."[10] Therefore, mapping is through georeferencing in GIS that projects features, phenomena, or ideas over space.[11]

All in all, the central common point of this literature is to see GIS not as the main aim of studies but as a tool for analyzing sources or reevaluating main problems in humanities from a space-centric perspective. Inspired by this development in the literature,[12] I use GIS to transform waqf deeds into maps in order to analyze the spatial distribution of waqfs and their properties. The aim is to trace the social and economic activities of the waqfs of Cyprus as well as their structures with a space-centric perspective rather than a time-centric one, which enables us to investigate different aspects of and questions about the activities of an Ottoman institution.

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[6] Middell& Naumann, "Global History and he Spatial Turn," 155.
[7] Taylor, "Mapping Miracles: Early Medieval Hagiography and the Potential of GIS," 111-127.
[8] Warf& Arias, "Introduction: the reinsertion of space into the social sciences and humanities," 1.
[9] Yuan, "Mapping Text," 109.
[10] Yuan, "Mapping Text," 110.
[11] Yuan, "Mapping Text," 110.
[12] GIS has recently begun to be used in Ottoman studies, see: Ugur, "Big Data in Ottoman Urban Studies," 1-12. Ugur, "Mapping Ottoman Cities: Socio-Spatial Definitions and Groupings (1450–1700)," 16-65. Hadjikyriacou, "Çevre Tarihi, İktisat Tarihi ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri: Kıbrıs'ın 1572 Yılı Mufassal Defterinin Analizi," 44-49. Charalambous, "Spatial Forms of Ethnic Coexistence in Ottoman Cyprus: The Role of Urban Form in Patterns of Everyday Life,"1-24.

The waqf institution has been researched in terms of its social and economic dimensions by numerous scholars in Ottoman historiography.[13] These studies address mainly the various impacts of imperial and pasha waqfs on cities or explain the economic activities of these waqfs. Since the present thesis will analyze not only pasha and imperial but also ordinary waqfs within the context of social and economic relations of an Ottoman province, only the most relevant and influential studies will be scrutinized in detail. Of them, first of all, Ömer Lütfi Barkan published an article studying account registers of the certain waqfs of Edirne in 1964.[14] In this article, he demonstrated kitchen expenditures, employee wages, changes in the number of beneficiaries, and fluctuations in the financial conditions of waqfs by looking at three account registers from 1489, 1616 and 1633.[15] Barkan tries to explain the reasons for fluctuations in the prices, wages and the number of beneficiaries by taking internal and external variables into account.[16] Methodologically, Barkan points out that although waqf deeds provide invaluable data about the revenue sources of waqf and the way it was distributed, the account registers offer not only the conditions of revenue sources or the administrative structure but also show seasonal price changes

[13] To see some example of such studies: Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti," Güran, *Ekonomik ve Mali Yönleriyle Vakıflar.* Baer, "The Waqf as a Prop for the Social System (Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries)," 264-297. Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire.* Yediyıldız, "XVII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu," 5-41. Hoexter, "Adaptation to Changing Circumstances: Perpetual Leases and Exchange Transactions in Waqf Property in Ottoman Algiers," 319-333. Barkan, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti Tesislerine Âit Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585-1586)," 109-161. Roded, "The Waqf Institution and the Social Elite of Aleppo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 71-91. Gerber, "Waqf Institution in Edirne," 29-45. Jennings, "Pious Foundation in the Society and Economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565-1640," 271-336. 1-6. Orbay, "Vakıfların İktisadi Boyutu; Yeni Arşiv Kaynakları ve İktisadi Yaklaşımlar," 1463-1474. Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System," 135-153. Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu," 5-41. Powers, "Revenues of Public Waqfs in Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem," 163-202. Yerasimos, "Le Waqf du Defterdar Ebu'l Fazıl Efendi," 7-34. Deguilhem, "Waqf Documents: a Multi-Purpose Historical Source- the Case of 19th century Damascus," 67-95.

[14] Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları," 235-377.

[15] Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki," 241-242.

[16] Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki," 255-258.

in the wages of employees, repair costs, and kitchen costs.[17] Thus with this investigation he introduced waqfs into the scholarship socially and economically, leading later studies to use waqf records as an analytical tool in the particular issues of Ottoman historiography.

In parallel to Ömer Lütfi Barkan's study, this thesis takes Suraiya Faroqhi and Kayhan Orbay into consideration in studies on the waqf. In 1976, Faroqhi published two articles about the lodge of Haci Bektaş and, through the 1980s, made studies about the economic activities of Mevlevi lodge[18] and various waqfs.[19] The main aim of her studies on the Mevlevi and Bektashi lodges is to trace their material affairs rather than examining religious issues. By mainly focusing on waqf deeds, waqf account books, and tax registers, she pursued the organization and agricultural activities of these lodges, as well as the financial changes of various waqfs that made endowments to Bektashi and Mevlevi lodges.[20] In the same vein, Faroqhi analyses waqfs that made endowments to the Sadreddin Konevi lodge by highlighting waqfs' redistribution of wealth to support descendants of dignitary families as was in the case of Hacı Bektaş as far as reflected in waqf records.[21] Last but not least, in another study, she examines the waqf of Mahmud Paşa, Grand Vizier of Mehmed II, in terms of its financial conditions by looking at the waqf deed and account register, evaluating both internal and external causes for the decline of waqf revenues. That is

[17] Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki," 238.
[18] Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities," 183-208. Faroqhi, "Agricultural Activities in Bektashi Center: the tekke of Kızıl Deli 1750-1830," 69-96. Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Wordly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes," 43-69.
[19] Faroqhi, "Vakıf Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya: The Zaviye of Sadreddin-i Konevi," 145-172. Faroqhi, "Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Documents," 90-121. Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties: Or Some Evidence on Economic Contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the Mid-Seventeenth Century," 109-121.
[20] Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş," 206. Faroqhi, "Agricultural Activities," 90-91.
[21] Faroqhi "Vakıf Administration," 146.

to say, on the one hand, Faroqhi explains the decrease in the revenues of the waqf over time by focusing on the increase in the number of its beneficiaries, while; on the other hand, she traces the devaluation of money within the covered period and the impact of the 17th-century crisis as was reflected in the waqf account registers.[22] Suraiya Faroqhi, in these studies, shows that waqfs can be evaluated within various contexts such as the agricultural activities of religious structures by examining related waqf records, or she tries to understand the effect of specific developments on the Ottoman Empire through waqfs activities.

By following a similar path, Kayhan Orbay makes an invaluable contribution to the historiography. First of all, he made the complicated structure and notions of waqf account registers understandable for modern readers by analyzing each title separately and evaluating them within a methodological and historical context. Orbay also evaluates waqf deeds as the main restrictive factor for the actual operation of waqfs.[23] While acknowledging their value as an excellent departure point, since they provide information on waqf revenue sources, personnel and services, Orbay points out that waqf deeds do not allow for dynamic analysis.[24] As a general observation, he argues that waqfs, especially imperial waqfs, were the active economic agents not only in rural economies as landholders but also in urban economies, gathering revenue from numerous properties, as well as being a political instrument to extend and strengthen state authority.[25] By the same token, developing the ideas of Barkan and Faroqhi, given above, he makes further and detailed analysis

[22] Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties," 118.
[23] Orbay, "Account Books of the Imperial Waqfs," 44.
[24] Orbay, "Structure and Content of the Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic And Institutional History," 6.
[25] Orbay, "Account Books of the Imperial Waqfs (Charitable Endowments) in the Eastern Mediterranean (15th to 19th Centuries)," 38-39. Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi: Sultan Çelebi Mehmed Yeşil İmaret'inin Mali Tarihi (1553-1650)," 130.

based mainly on the account registers of various waqfs. One of his main intentions is to analyze waqfs' financial conditions to contribute to the history of the agricultural economy of specific regions as well as to examine the impact of certain developments in the local economy, such as population movement, revolts, or climate change, on waqf finances. By doing so, Orbay both delves into the impact of Celali revolts and the 17th-century crisis in different regions of the Ottoman Empire by contextualizing and interpreting the waqfs account registers and compares the financial fluctuations of imperial waqfs in Anatolia, Thrace, and the Balkans.[26]

All in all, initiated by Barkan, the economic activities of the waqf institution have been researched in many ways. Notably, Kayhan Orbay's analysis of the financial activities of waqfs and of waqf account registers reveals the significance of waqf records by examining urban and rural economies in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, this approach to the waqf institution is one of the main inspirations of the present study's evaluation of the waqfs of Ottoman Cyprus. However, it follows a different method by assessing the deeds of various waqfs, alongside other supplementary sources, in terms of social and economic aspects rather than tracing a waqf's financial condition within a period.

In this sense, quantitative and descriptive studies of waqf deeds, which endeavor to explain the structure and role of waqfs as a whole, as well as analytical studies, some of which intend to examine waqfs activities in provinces, should be mentioned. Bahaeddin Yediyıldız's study on the waqf institution in the 18th century

[26] For instance, Orbay, "Gazi Süleyman Paşa Vakfı'nın Mali Tarihi ve 17. Yüzyılda Trakya Tarımsal Ekonomisi," 147. Orbay, "Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth – Early Seventeenth Centuries,)" 81,108. Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi: Sultan Çelebi Mehmed Yeşil İmaret'inin Mali Tarihi (1553-1650)," 126. Orbay, "Agricultural Production Prices and Rural Demography in the Balkans 1593-1650," 272. Orbay, "They Left Behind Institutions in Financial Jeopardy": Central Anatolian Waqfs in the Wake of the Great Flight," 103-116.

provides an acceptable departure point for research on waqf deeds. He initially looks at the origins of the waqf institution, and then by focusing on 330 out of 6000 waqf deeds, Yediyıldız desires not only to investigate the waqf institution but also to understand various layers of society.[27] Similar to this, Ruth Roded published an article in 1989 which served as the pilot for a project that attempted to develop a quantitative framework for the analysis of about one hundred waqf endowment deeds from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Istanbul, and Anatolia.[28] A principal significance of this project, for the scope of this thesis, was to test and analyze waqf deeds by using a computer with a specific coding system unique to this project.[29] The questions of two studies reveal that although about 65% of founders were from the military-administrative class,[30] in the administration of waqfs ulema was the prominent actor.[31] Yediyıldız also attempts to make further deductions on the waqf's position in the economy of the Ottoman Empire; but, he concludes that precise explanations are barely possible due to lack of studies. However, based on his observations and calculations, which show that 330 waqfs had 19,889,133 akçe as revenue 20,000 waqfs would have had 1,205,402,000 akçe revenue which was a significant amount even considering waqf's religious, educational and municipal activities.[32] Thus, although these studies provide a valuable framework for waqf studies, their findings, observations, and arguments should be tested as they suggest the need for in-depth analysis of waqfs from different perspectives.[33] To understand the waqf institution beyond its charitable, philanthropic, and religious functions, scrutinizing waqf

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[27] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi,* XII.
[28] Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project," 52.
[29] Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project," 58.
[30] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 159.
[31] Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project," 68. Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 178.
[32] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi,* 149.
[33] Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project," 71. Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi,* 266.

properties from various aspects, local actors and their relations with each other through the waqf, and the pattern of the waqf's organization in the provinces are the critical departure points.

The studies of Amy Singer, Richard van Leeuwen and Randi Degulheim can be evaluated as noteworthy examples of social and economic analysis of the waqf institution. Amy Singer, in *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, examined the Jerusalem waqf of Hurrem Sultan in-depth, which was a typical Ottoman imperial endowment in terms of establishment and management.[34] By taking the waqf as a form of patronage, a kind of property holding and capital investment, and a mode of beneficence, Singer explains how Hurrem Sultan's endowment in Jerusalem affected and was shaped by local politics, economics, society, and culture.[35] By pointing the significance of the waqf as a landowner and employer, she scrutinizes the records of its soup-kitchen and claims that the idealized picture of the waqf stemming from normative law and waqf deeds must give way.[36] Singer thus approaches imperial waqfs as a mechanism which enhanced the visibility of the Ottoman dynasty through being used for social welfare, food supply, urban development, and legitimation; in line with this, as the significant shared feature of imperial waqfs, soup kitchens both conducted a link to Istanbul and created competition for social status and power between the local families who were appointed to their administrative posts.[37] Last but not least, by showing the significance of all kinds of beneficence in Ottoman society, Singer argues that the wealthiest and most influential people in the Ottoman Empire maintained control over the distributions of beneficence by using waqfs. In this way, they both

[34] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 6.
[35] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 7-9.
[36] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 161.
[37] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 164-165.

preserved and enhanced their power and continued to control the wealth that they distributed.[38] All in all, Amy Singer's revisionist perspective makes a contribution to the contextualization of the waqf institution as a legitimating and image-making structure of dynasty and a mechanism of the redistribution of wealth, whether for beneficence or for restructuring urban settlement. By following a similar pattern but including the waqfs of governors, Richard van Leeuwen examines the power struggles between governors and ulema and the activities of waqfs in Damascus in the 18th century.

In his book *Waqfs and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus*, Leeuwen intends, on the one hand, to analyze the function of the waqf in the shaping of the urban structure of Damascus by focusing on interacting processes of legal tradition, the effect of networks of ulema and the interference of the state.[39] On the other hand, by using historical, archival, and legal material, he endeavors to analyze the phenomenon of the waqf in an urban space.[40]

Leeuwen considers the waqf institution as part of a dynamic process that shaped spatial organization within the urban context in connection with the development of power mechanisms established with the elaboration of sacred law by the group of legal scholars.[41] In line with this, he claims that since governors and ulema were crucial agents in the power mechanisms of the state apparatus, their waqf activities can be directly related to power struggles that touched upon the interests of the state rather than of individuals or groups.[42] Along with this, he also emphasises the significance of the waqf institution in the relationship between governors and

[38] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 169.
[39] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures,* 28.
[40] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures,* 29.
[41] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 9.
[42] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 118.

ulema elite, such as the founding of specific madrasas or institutions for the beneficence of ulema by governors in the province.[43]

Another crucial contribution of Leeuwen is the functioning of waqfs within the abovementioned power mechanism as it affects the urban structure and the socio-economic activities of the city. According to him, waqf founders intended to cover several parts of the province of Damascus and its surroundings to create a network of institutions and economic assets, and to strengthen the links between the urban economy and its hinterland. These economic activities, namely the construction of shops and warehouses, also stimulated the integration of sectors within a single framework of supervision and exploitation.[44] To conclude, mainly relying on the records of waqf of governors, Leeuwen scrutinized the urban activities of waqfs in terms of the reproduction of space and power relations of various groups in the province.

Comparing the two studies, while Amy Singer scrutinizes the notion of beneficence through the soup kitchen of an imperial waqf in Jerusalem, Leeuwen examines the organization of urban structures and the power struggle of local groups embedded in this organizational process arranged by the waqfs of governors. Methodologically, both Singer and Leeuwen focus on the wealthiest waqfs, of the imperial and governor varieties, since it is possible to trace a pattern through records of them.

Similar to these studies, Randi Deguilhem, in *The Waqf in City* analyzes the waqfs as institutions that configured the structure of Islamic cities by building new structures, such as mosques and commercial infrastructures, that supported

[43] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 125,156.
[44] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 146.

endowments.[45] By pointing to its role in shaping the economic, religious, political, and social landscape of urban areas in Islamic world, Deguilhem scrutinizes waqfs activities in Aleppo regarding the relation between endower, administrator, beneficiary and property.[46] Thus, one of the main arguments of the study is that waqfs provided an institutionalized link between rural and urban places since endowed agricultural lands in cities' hinterlands produced revenue for urban beneficiaries.[47] In this way, Deguilhem evaluates each aspect of the waqf institution in various cities in the Middle East and North Africa for each layer of communities in long-dureé to understand their activities within urban daily life.

All in all, it is safe to say that although one or two ordinary waqfs usually do not permit plausible analysis, by evaluating 63 ordinary waqfs in Ottoman Cyprus, with one imperial and 16 governors' waqfs, the present thesis examines the structure and organization of ordinary waqfs concerning the socio-economic context of the island that both affected and was affected by the activities of waqfs as was mentioned above. Furthermore, this study visualizes and conceptualizes the theoretical arguments of Leeuwen and Deguilhem concerning the relationships between the city and its hinterland and between agents of waqf structures, such as ulema and governors, by offering two concepts and introducing them to the context of early modern Ottoman Cyprus: waqf community and waqf space.

To bring this point home, it is legitimate to ask what kind of studies have been made of the activities of the waqf institution on the island. The historiography of Ottoman Cyprus has been dominated by Turkish and Greek nationalisms because of the modern political rivalry between the two countries.[48] In an effort to avoid the

[45] Deguilhem, "The Waqf in City," 929.
[46] Deguilhem, "The Waqf in City," 938.
[47] Deguilhem, "The Waqf in City, 947.
[48] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans*, 1.

arguments and perspectives of these nationalistic approaches and the binary scholarship they have produced,[49] modern scholars have revisited specific issues either in a more analytical way or to fill gaps in knowledge.[50] Such initial developments in the literature of the Ottoman history of Cyprus make new approaches possible. [51] Within this literature, various scholars have studied the waqf institution on the island. First of all, Mustafa Haşim Altan published his two volumes study *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi* in 1986. Being far from analytical in approach, Altan lists crucial documents concerning the waqfs of Ottoman Cyprus from the beginning of Ottoman administration to the 1950s, as well as other related archival sources about the administration and activities of waqf institutions.[52] It is significant for being the first study that gives a departure point for research into the waqf institution in Cyprus.[53]

Recently, various scholars have contributed to the waqf studies of Ottoman Cyprus in different ways. The studies published in *Osmanlı Döneminde Kıbrıs Vakıfları,* edited by Mehmet Mahfuz Söylemez, utilise waqf deeds, waqf account books, and contemporary reports.[54] Although all chapters provide valuable data about different waqfs, they do not analytically problematize the topic.[55] Thus, articles

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[49] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans*, 9-47. Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island,* 19-20.
[50] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island,* 20.
[51] Hadjikyriacou, "Beyond the millet debate: The theory and practice of communal representation in pre-Tanzimat-era Cyprus," 71-96. Aymes, *Provincial History of Ottoman Empire.* Michael, et all., *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture.* Given& Hadjianastasis, "Landholding and landscape in Ottoman Cyprus," 38-60. Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar 1-2.* Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti Yönetim, Kilise, Ayan ve Halk (1750-1800) Bir Değişim Döneminin Anatomisi.* Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi.* For a detailed bibliographical work please see: Ioannou, "A Bibliographical Guide to Ottoman Cyprus," 313-356.
[52] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi I-II.*
[53] State Archive has also published a study in 2000 consisting of a table of waqfs of Cyprus listed chronologically. This table also includes waqfs' properties according to waqf deeds in Chapter 4 in spite of some minor mistakes. Yıldırım, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs.*
[54] Söylemez, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kıbrıs Vakıfları.*
[55] To see some examples: Okudan, "XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Kıbrıs'da Vakıf Kurucularının Sosyal Statülerine İlişkin Bazı Değerlendirmeler," 199-211. Suiçmez, "1883 Seager Raporuna Göre Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Vakıfları," 339-347.

in this book reveal detailed information by publishing related primary sources. Secondly, Netice Yıldız examines activities of waqfs on the island in different studies. In a book chapter, *The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus*, Yıldız, by looking at the historical development of waqfs, examines the wealthiest waqfs on the island in a more systematic way.[56] Yıldız not only makes a chronological juxtaposition of the wealthiest waqfs such as Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa and Cafer Paşa, but also classifies them according to their activities along the lines of education, social welfare, military buildings, and religious shrines.[57] Yıldız evaluates the waqf institution in terms of cultural heritage and describes it as a system that secured family properties for the next generation as well as a religious charity center.[58] Furthermore, in another article, "Aqueducts in Cyprus", Netice Yıldız makes a contribution to the history of Ottoman architecture by explaining the architectural features of aqueducts that were constructed or operated by waqfs in Lefkoşa, Tuzla, and Magusa.[59] By so doing, Yıldız shows the role of waqfs in supplying water to cities, although she does not provide detailed information or analysis about the activities of waqfs in Cyprus.[60]

In addition to these, although the waqf institution is not the main objective of their studies, Ronald Jennings and Ali Efdal Özkul mention the activities of waqfs as they appeared in court records. By using these records, they show waqf employee

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[56] Yıldız, "Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 118-159. For a similar study please see: Yıldız, "Wakfs in Ottoman Cyprus," 179-196.
[57] Yıldız, "Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 138-149.
[58] Yıldız, "Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 150.
[59] Yıldız, "Aqueducts in Cyprus," 89-107.
[60] For similar studies please see: Dinç& Çelik, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kıbrıs Su Vakıfları (1571-1878)," 37-59. Erdoğru, "Kıbrıs'ta İlk Osmanlı Evkafı: Sultan II. Selim'in Lefkoşa Sur İçindeki Selimiye Camii ve Selimiye Medresesi'nin Mali Kaynakları," 58-64. Erdoğru, "Osmanlı Kıbrısı'nda Su Tedariki (1570-1640)," 250-265. Demiryürek, "XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Kıbrıs Hala Sultan Evkafı Mütevellileri (1722-1878)," 327-339. Tamçelik, "Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kurulan İlk Vakıflar ve Özellikleri," 1-56. Sabri, *The Imperial Politics of Architectural Conservation: The Case of Waqf in Cyprus.*

appointments and wages, property transactions, money lending, rental agreements, and other issues that were related to the waqfs of Cyprus between the 16th and the 18th centuries.[61] Although they barely show the framework of waqfs, court records help us to trace the activities and relations of waqfs through time.

All in all, the attention of modern researchers to the waqf institution in Cyprus has recently increased. These studies have contributed to waqf studies by providing knowledge about mainly the wealthiest waqfs of Cyprus, although they do not analyze the structures and functions of waqfs or their social and economic activities on the island. Thus, in such circumstances, the present study intends to fill the gap by analyzing not only wealthy but also ordinary waqfs in terms of their social and economic activities in the Ottoman Cyprus by addressing various questions to understand both the structure of the waqf institution in the local administration and its role in the economy of the island, and by bringing novel methods to contextualize waqfs' functions in community relations and the redistribution of wealth within urban and rural contexts.

Therefore, the second chapter analyzes cash waqfs founded by ordinary people of Cyprus as agents in credit relations on the island. By focusing on the main features of money lending on the island, which became prevalent with the introduction of Ottoman administration, the chapter investigates the position and impact of cash waqfs vis-à-vis other actors in credit relations in Cyprus and around the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, it scrutinizes the structure of cash waqfs, through the in-depth analysis of the role of founder and administrator in the community taking spatial distribution into account. Therefore, I propose the waqf community concept to investigate the relationship between founder, administrator, and person

[61] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 40-69. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 248-261.

who conducted a relationship with waqf as borrower or tenant. By putting the location of residence of founders and the occupation of administrators, such as imams, the thesis claims that for ordinary people the founding of a waqf was not an individual and religious activity. Instead, it was an act that religious personnel and neighborhood had a decisive role.

The third chapter will address the urban and rural activities of waqfs on Ottoman Cyprus. By mainly depending on waqf deeds of local governors and administrators, firstly, the agricultural relations of waqfs is scrutinized with the help of maps which are produced from waqf deeds. Specific properties of waqfs such as *çiftlik*s (plantation), olive and mulberry trees, and fields are evaluated within the context of the agricultural economy of the island. In addition to this, by depending upon the spatial distribution of waqfs' agrarian properties, this study reconceptualizes the hinterland of Lefkoşa as a waqf space since it was the main arena for the waqfs of Cyprus as far as reflected in sources. By using this concept, I analyze the redistribution of wealth, which was conducted by waqfs from rural settings to cities, for the most part Lefkoşa and Magusa, which are also considered as a part of waqf space. Waqfs reorganized and shaped urban formations by constructing or reconstructing shops, inns, baths, houses, mosques, schools, madrasas, waterways, and fountains. In this way, this thesis argues, they defined the urban part of waqf space in which waqfs controlled the trade in cities and became a tool for worldly relations of governors and religious personnel. Thus, for waqf-owning-governors, the waqf was one of the most crucial ways of communicating

with people, via endowments such as fountains and it was a way of control properties, whether real estate or money more autonomous.[62]

The last chapter is a case study based on waqf account registers of the waqf of Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa, Cafer Paşa, and an account register of various waqfs. In this chapter, I test the abovementioned arguments of the thesis while scrutinizing sources of revenues and expenditures of certain waqfs regarding their account registers. It also leads us to trace waqfs' financial conditions after the period of their foundation.

[62] To see studies dealing with waqfs as an instrument of social policy: Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy. The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth Century Jerusalem," 169. Roded, "The Waqf and the Social Elite of Aleppo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 71-91. McChesney, Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shah Abbas 1011-1023/1602-1614," 165-190. Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence.* Shefer, "Charity and Hospitality: Hospitals in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," 121-143. Hathaway, "The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of Abbas Agha," 293-317.

# CHAPTER 2

## CASH WAQFS AND CREDIT NETWORKS

After the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire in 1572, institutions of the empire gradually became visible.[63] Antonis Hadjikyriacou defined this period as a rather than a crisis indicative of decline, this was a crisis of incorporation a transition from a more fluid period, characterized by social upheaval, to a period of consolidation of a more defined Cypriot elite. The consolidation of conditions of Ottoman social and economic organization within the Cypriot space (and the interaction between the two), created the framework.[64] By focusing on the social and economic organization, through different perspectives, it becomes possible to see relations between people from different communities on the island. In line with this argument, examining financial relations through the activities of cash waqfs to look at social and economic conditions on Cyprus in the early modern period provides an analytical tool to see different aspects of traditional actors and structures of the island.

The integration of the island into the Ottoman Empire eventually led to the development of new institutions – such as waqfs. These new institutions brought about changes not only in administration, agrarian relations or taxation but also in social relations. That is to say, as a consequence of the Ottoman waqf institution, Cypriots gained novel social roles in terms of financial relations on the island.

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[63] For the introduction and integration of Ottoman institutions, see: Stavrides, "Cyprus 1750-1830. Administration and Society," 89-90. Michael, "Introduction: The Unchaning Turkish Rule, the fair Ottoman Administration and the Ottoman Period in the History of Cyprus", 9-24. Costantini, "In Search of Lost Property: Aspects and Phases of Cyprus's Integration into the Ottoman Empire," 49-61.

[64] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island,* 120.

Regardless of their occupation or class, whether they were shopkeepers or from the religious personnel or military-administrative class, they became creditors or debtors.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the analysis of the main actors in the financial relations of the island from a general perspective to determine the role and position of cash waqfs in those relations. By doing so, it will briefly focus on the activities of individuals, which include European consuls and the Orthodox clergy. Then, having mentioned general financial actors in Cyprus, the presence, spatial distribution, and activities of cash waqfs will be evaluated constitutively. While questioning the structure and function of cash waqfs, the thesis also intends to analyze their activities and effects on the socio-economic conditions of the island. In other words, this chapter will try to provide a twofold approach to the topic; first, the primary debates, structure, and actors of cash waqfs will be scrutinized. Second, by analyzing cash waqf deeds and also considering court records and other sources, the role of cash waqfs will be investigated as an institutional actor that determined the social relations in the context of credit relations on early modern Cyprus.

Bearing these ideas in mind, I address the following questions that will direct the chapter; by adopting an economic and social perspective, what kind of analyses might be possible with the visualization of waqf deeds? Who benefitted from this flow of money, at both local and imperial levels? Who were the main figures running cash waqfs? What was the role of cash waqfs in the financial relations of the island? How did cash waqfs redefine the traditional community roles of the island? By looking at cash waqfs, is it possible to find clues to communal relations on the island? Why did people need money from waqfs, and for what purpose was it used?

## 2.1 Credit and loan relations in Cyprus

Moneylending and credit provision seem to have been almost entirely under the control of prominent members of the Jewish community prior to the Ottoman conquest.[65] Jewish moneylenders were providing money for people from all over the island, especially for the poorer strata of the society of Venetian Cyprus.[66] Elias of Pesaro, who was emigrating to the Holy Land and had to remain on Cyprus due to plague in Syria, wrote a letter to his brother in 1568 in which he states that 25 families who supported a synagogue had no trades but lived on the interest of their capital, and people wanting to borrow money had to come to Lefkoşa.[67] For merchants, entrepreneurs, and other people who needed cash, this was the accepted way to gain credit. With the consolidation of Ottoman administration moneylending became a daily routine across the island which can be followed through various contemporary sources. This circumstance brings forth such questions as: what were the conditions in which a money market could flourish? What could be the reasons for it emerging during the Ottoman period, and not before? Were there any social or political developments that gave way to the rise and spread of credit relations among people?

According to Halil İnalcık, credit facilities in the Ottoman Empire were at a primitive stage, and credit was obtainable on harsh terms with high interest rate attached. Despite this, the use of credit was widespread since peasants, merchants, and shopkeepers needed to use loans at a higher rate of interest to meet their daily needs. He offers the shortage of currency as a possible reason for this prevalence.[68]

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[65] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 293.
[66] Arbel, "The Jews in Cyprus: New Evidence from the Venetian Period," 25. Burkiewicz, "The Cypriot Jews under the Venetian Rule (1489-1571)", 51. It should be noted that some of the sources about moneylending in Venetian period might not be reached to us.
[67] Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 73-74.
[68] İnalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," 138-139.

In line with İnalcık's argument, Şevket Pamuk also indicates that both tax farming and tax collection continued in the Ottoman Empire, dense credit networks thereby developing around the urban centers. All segments of urban and rural societies used credit.[69] From a different point of view, Timur Kuran attributes the prevalence of credit networks among all sections of society to the absence of a banking system.[70] Since usury is forbidden not only in Islamic law but in all other religions as well, they tried to overcome this prohibition in many ways, such as *mudaraba*. Especially in commerce, they preferred to use this business partnership method, which was dependent on the transfer of capital from principal to entrepreneur. In this system, usury is defined as a predetermined surplus over and above the loan.[71] By looking at that practice, it can be said that besides the technical restrictions in law, the needs of society and social relations developed among them determined the implementation in practice. Therefore, not surprisingly, lending and borrowing money were widespread phenomena on the island in the period of Ottoman administration. Having established the reasons for the prevalence of credit relations on Ottoman Cyprus, this thesis will focus on creditors and then scrutinize cash waqfs of the island accurately.

One of the factors that stimulated the rise of credit networks on Cyprus could be the taxation and maintaining agricultural production.[72] The Ottoman

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[69] Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Kurumları,* 78-79.

[70] He also claimed that due to the lack of legal personhood in Islamic law, cash waqfs could not evolve into a form of bank and never became legal entity becasue it could not gain the advantage of the new market opportunites. Kuran, *The Long Divergence*, 155, 161. This thesis preferred to look at social relations to understand credit relations and networks in the island rather than focusing on the existence of institutions. For the scope of this thesis the important thing is the account of an individual and that his or her waqf are separated and the law of waqf property is different in the legal context. For the legal identity discussion please see: Bedir, *Buhara Hukuk Okulu,* 203-210. Berki, *Vakıflar,* 71-72.

[71] Çizakça, *Islamic Capitalism*, 79. Kallek, "Mudarebe," 359-363.

[72] According to Cafer Çiftçi due to tax policy of *mültezims* number of peasants who used credit increased in Bursa, too. Çiftçi, "18. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Para Vakıfları ve Kredi İlişkileri", 92.

administration applied its traditional taxes on the island.[73] Antonis Hadjikyriacou points out that local communities on the island were taxed as a lump sum (*maktu),* which demonstrates the fact that any sudden changes in population or environmental effects had a disruptive impact on the payment ability of the community. That is to say, the lump sum tax system obliged the community to pay the same amount of tax regardless of any decline in population. Any sudden decrease might cause an additional unexpected burden to the remaining members of the community,[74] although state enacted tax exemption for them in some cases. Here the point is that these taxes might cause the changing of the old mechanisms such as credit relations as well as the rehabilitation of them in accordance with the novel conditions of communities on the island. Moreover, another critical reason why ordinary people entered credit market without hesitation was that the payment of credit to the creditor was guaranteed by the local court even if the borrower was dead.[75] Thus, taxes, daily needs, and the guarantee of the court were the crucial pillars of the ascending and prevalence of the money lending in Cyprus.

In addition, as a decisive determinant in credit relations, it is important to look at interest rates. Both İnalcık and Jennings point out that the usual interest rate, as it was written in the records, determined as about 20% by state per annum in the early modern period. In spite of this, it seems that the interest rate among individuals was 30% or, in some cases, higher than that as far as is reflected in the *tereke* records.[76] For the scope of this thesis, these rates are significant in two ways. First of

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[73] The Ottoman Empire introduced taxes which were new to theisland such as *cizye, bedel-i nüzul, maişet-i vali*. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 271-292. Özkul, "The Ottoman Empire's Tax Policy in the Eighteenth Century Cyprus," 53-82.
[74] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island*, 277.
[75] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 288. Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri,* 240, case no: 786.
[76] İnalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire", 139. Jennings, *Christian and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus*, 283.

all, the existence and acceptance of cash waqfs are contextualized according to the interest rate. As will be provided in the following pages, the interest rate of cash waqfs was varied between 10% and 15% in different parts of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, as in the case of Bursa, cash waqfs provided low-interest loans, which *sarraf*s (moneylenders) re-loaned in Istanbul at a higher interest rate.[77] Since the interest rate was higher among individuals, as was seen in the moneylender case, from another perspective, the intention of cash waqfs might provide cheap credit for people by imposing a set rate of interest. In other words, it might be assumed that one of the functions of cash waqfs, which were administrated by imams or preachers and supervised by judges, was to intervene in the credit market to be able to decrease interest rates among individuals. The intention behind this intervention could have been to protect people from losing their properties due to debt and to meet the daily needs of people to maintain the economy of the island. Despite certain opposed examples, if its prevalence is taken into consideration, debt probably was not an arduous matter for people as it does not often seem to have cost them their land or houses.[78] To conclude, with the establishment of Ottoman administration on the island, the growth in the taxation, the assurance of the court both by intervening interest rates and guaranteeing creditor's repayment, all actors on the island participated in money lending, to a greater or lesser extent, in credit relations.

At this point, it is legitimate to ask who the main actors were in the credit relations. As stated above, with the integration of the island into the Ottoman Empire, basically every class on the island were involved in credit relations. In the early days of Ottoman administration, immediately after the conquest of the island,

[77] Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 332.
[78] Jennings, "Loans and Credit in early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records the Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," 175.

the military class, not surprisingly, dominated the credit market even if there existed a considerable number of local Muslim artisans and merchants, religious personnel, and local non-muslims *(zımmis)* within credit relations.[79] According to Jennings, a butcher or a shoe-maker could provide credit to his customer. That is to say, moneylending was not in the hands of a small clique or class, but rather anyone earning money could offer credit.[80] Looking at another region of the empire, in line with Jennings' finding on Cyprus, Eleni Gara has offered a parallel explanation regarding credit networks in Veria in Greece in the 17th century. Her data on moneylending shows that the military class was more visible in those activities than ulema, although the ulema elite of Veria seems to have been much wealthier. In her cases, also, judges were prominent figures in this activity.[81]

In terms of actors, the Orthodox Church and European consuls were also featured in credit relations. In the 18th century, European consuls were allowed to practice usury and provide credit to both Muslims and non-muslims on the island.[82] One of the most prominent reasons for European consuls providing credit to Ottoman peasants was to ensure cotton production for the Mediterranean trade.[83] Elif Bayraktar Tellan and Ali Efdal Özkul show that the Orthodox clergy played a significant part in the financial relations of 18th and early 19th century Cyprus. This involvement was mostly related to being unable to collect and pay taxes due to the revolt of 1804. That is why the Orthodox Church borrowed money from the

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[79] Jennings, *Christian and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus*, 288.
[80] Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 282.
[81] She also points out that on the whole, given the fact that the military elite consisted of far larger numbers of people, the *ulema* elite of Veria seem to have been much wealthier and a lot more involved in moneylending activities. Gara, "Moneylenders and Landowners: In Search of Urban Muslim Elites in the Early Modern Balkans," 145.
[82] Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yabancı Konsolosluk Tercümanları," 18. In a case, pointed by Özkul, Petro veled-i Ergiro had to sell his house to pay his debt to an English merchant. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 309.
[83] Hadjianastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period: Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite 1650-1750," 66-68.

European consulates in the island.[84] As a conclusion, it can be said that profit was not the primary purpose, but rather material conditions and social relations designated the credit relations of Ottoman Cyprus.

It is a fact that although everyone in the community was involved in credit relations, court records give little indication as to the districts or villages of creditors and debtors or to their social or economic class. Thus, via these records, it is not possible to detect the rural-urban flow of credit or quantitative results about social and economic classes.[85] Hence, focusing on different sources such as the deed records of cash waqfs could provide various perspectives.

To bring this point home, it is noteworthy that one of the most crucial actors in credit relations were cash waqfs. On the one hand, deed records of cash waqfs provide information at least about the amount of money, the interest rate, and the district and social class of the founder. On the other hand, cash waqfs as an institution had a powerful influence on credit relations not only in Cyprus but also in the Ottoman Empire. For the various regions of the empire, scholars agree on the active role of cash waqfs in credit networks. For example, Jennings presents a detailed picture, with numerous examples their activities from Trabzon to Kayseri.[86] In his book, Haim Gerber argues that Jewish moneylenders were not influential in moneylending because of the existence of cash waqf institutions through almost all the empire.[87] In addition to this, Hülya Canbakal accepts cash waqfs as the only institutional participants in the money market.[88] It is certain that although cash waqfs

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[84] Bayraktar Tellan, "The financial networks of the Orthodox clergy: The case of Cyprus at the beginning of the 19th century," 71. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 308.
[85] Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 172.
[86] Jennings, "The Pious Foundation of İmaret-i Hatuniye in Trabzon 1565-1640," 1573. Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 174.
[87] Gerber, *Crossing Borders Jews and Muslims*, 157. Gerber, *The Social Origins of Modern Middle East*, 24.
[88] Canbakal, *Society and Politics,* 157.

tended to be small in terms of the credit provided, they met significant needs in the early modern period, especially for consumers rather than those who desired to make investments.[89]

All in all, it seems that credit relations have significance, and financial networks developed in early modern Cyprus, as in other parts of the empire, under the administration of the Ottoman Empire. All actors in the community of Cyprus, such as the Orthodox Church, European consuls, and shopkeepers, were involved in credit relations in one way or another with the novel conditions that Ottoman administration brought about after the conquest. Of the abovementioned actors, cash waqfs have proved the most valuable for this thesis as their deed records provide crucial data for the analysis of spatial distribution, amounts of money, and community individuals involved in credit relations on the island.

## 2.2 Structure, networks and the major actors of cash waqfs

The waqf as an institution has long been debated among prominent Muslim scholars. Aside from a few opposing arguments, most scholars agree that people could endow private properties for the benefit of society and the sake of God by the approval of the court.[90] On the other hand, one of the main controversies among scholars has been about cash waqfs. It is a well-known fact that the nucleus of the cash waqf is money, which is endowed by the founder. At first glance, it seems that the reason for the controversy among scholars is about the nature of the liquid assets; the

[89] Kuran, *The Long Divergence*, 159.
[90] For detalied information please see: Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *İthafu'l-Ahlâf fi Ahkâmi'l-Evkaf,* 20-23. Hennigan, *The Birth of a Legal Institution,* 15-42. Bedir, *Buhara Hukuk Okulu,* 165-167.

fundamental divergence has been about whether the cash waqf is legitimate according to sharia law or it is completely contradictory to it.[91]

It is not in the scope of this thesis to discuss the legal or philosophical arguments of prominent legislators and scholars of Islam; rather it will focus on the facts of cash waqfs with regard to material conditions such as geography and daily needs. Bearing these in mind, when we examine the Ottoman scholars' opinions on the cash waqfs, it seems that maintaining cash waqfs was vital to the continuation of the flow of revenue to endowments such as mosques and madrasas in specific geographies; thus, through religious discourse, they legitimized cash waqfs.[92] In other words, while scholars in the Ottoman Empire were giving references to primary religious sources and the founding jurist of Islam, they intended to sustain the position of waqfs in the empire. Indeed, when their writings and social status are considered, it is not incorrect to claim that contemporary social relations, political situation, geographical locations, and not surprisingly economic benefit were the main factors that shaped the perception of scholars. As was indicated by Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, religious personnel were the dominant group that promoted the establishment of waqfs since they were the primary beneficiaries of waqfs at all levels.[93] The findings of both the present thesis on the waqfs of Cyprus, which will be examined in detail, and Eleni Gara's study of the Veria ulema's generation of

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[91] Mandaville, "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire," 295-296. Bedir, *Buhara Hukuk Okulu,* 200-201.

[92] Ebusuud Efendi issued a fatwa and accepted cash waqfs as legitimate in terms of Islamic law, while he was a Grand Mufti, His main argument in this fatwa was the acquisitions of society throughout centuries from this institution. The more explicit explanation can be found in the letter of Sofyalı Bali Efendi. Similarly, having provided religious arguments, he emphasized the functions of cash waqfs in their daily life in the frontier zone of Rumelia. Because of contested land problems between empires, money endowment was the only way to continue waqf activities in such a region. Şimşek, "Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Para Vakıfları Üzerine Münakaşalar," 211-213. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi Fetvaları,* 81. Özcan, "Sofyalı Bali Efendi'nin Para Vakıflarıyla İlgili Mektupları," 130-139.

[93] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 78-79.

income from the town's numerous pious foundations support the argument of Yediyıldız.[94]

The abovementioned debate among Ottoman scholars and their followers on waqfs, especially cash waqfs, lasted for more than a century without any precise conclusion. However, state-supported cash waqfs continued to exist and flourish.[95] Chronologically, through the early 15th century, Ottoman courts legalized such endowments; by the end of the 16th century, cash waqfs were a prevalent phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire.[96] Although it is crucial to mention the legal discussion about the cash waqfs to understand the religious discourse, it is a fact that, as Ronald Jennings argues, the actual business and commercial practices of the socio-economic structure did not always have a close interaction with religious law and commentary.[97] Not surprisingly, Jon Mandaville points out that the government legalized and controlled the money market by accepting the cash waqf for the small lender and buyer. It is a fact that the cash waqf had serious implications for the development of the social structure of the Ottoman Empire because in the early modern state[98] health, education and municipal works were in the hand of pious endowments.[99]

It is reasonable to ask how cash waqfs acted in the credit market. According to Ö.L. Barkan, cash waqfs were only certified by court with an interest rate between 10%-15% which can be considered very cheap for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[100] Since the interest is forbidden in sharia, to manage cash waqfs, a new

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[94] Gara, "Moneylenders and Landowners," 146.
[95] Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 316-317.
[96] Mandaville, "Usurious Piety," 289.
[97] Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 168.
[98] Marc Aymes offers a different perspective on the same issue instead of the early modern concept by examining "Ottomanness" within the scope of center and periphery notions. Aymes, *Provincial History of Ottoman Empire,* 38-52.
[99] Mandaville, "Usurious Piety," 290.
[100] Barkan, "Faizle İşletilen Paralara Ait Kayıtlar," 34.

model to generate revenue from money was developed in addition to mudaraba. This model, called as legal transaction (*muamele-i şeriyye),* was simply based on purchasing and leasing-back of a commodity by cash waqf and borrower. In this way, people who need money sell a commodity to the waqf to lease it back for one year for a certain amount of installment payment, which is equal to the interest rate of cash waqf.[101] If the interest rate was not written in the waqf deed, the administrator of the cash waqf had to adapt the formal interest rate that was determined by state at the time.[102] In practice, cash waqfs could not generate profit in some cases since they lent money at a lower profit rate than the one written in the waqf deed although it was forbidden by law.[103] The reason for this, for some scholars, is to maintain services of the waqf such as spiritual or educational activities.[104] Although endowed money like other waqf assets was neither increased nor decreased, to maintain continuity in the services, cash waqf administrators could borrow money from the state or moneylenders, or the main capital of cash waqf could be increased from an outside money inflow.[105] On the other side of the coin, some scholars agreed that people took credit from cash waqfs to meet daily needs, to make a small-scale capital increase, and to pay tax.[106] In addition, Çizakça claims that most of the borrowers were also the administrators of various waqfs. He defines this as capital pooling, which means they borrowed from many endowments in a

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[101] Çiftçi, "18. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Para Vakıfları ve Kredi İşlemleri," 85. Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 329. Gürsoy, "The Financial Analysis of the Ottoman Cash Waqfs," 395. Kaya et all., "Muhasebe Kayıtları Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Para Vakıflarının Nakit İşletme Yöntemi," 53.
[102] Gürsoy, "19. Yüzyıl Kredi Piyasalarında Para Vakıflarının Rolü," 52.
[103] Salakidis, "17. Yüzyılda Yenişehir-i Fenarlı Akçelizade el-Hac Ahmed Ağa'nın Nakit Vakfı ve Şehirdeki Meşhur Mevlevihane," 72.
[104] Husic, "The Role and Importance of Cash Waqfs in the Cities in Bosnia," 96. Çizakça, "Cash Waqf's of Bursa," 324.
[105] Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 325. Özdemir, "Ankara Hatuni Mahallesi Nakit Avarız Vakfının Kredi Kaynağı Açısından Önemi," 741.
[106] Çiftçi, "18. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Para Vakıfları ve Kredi İşlemleri," 92. Salakidis, "17. Yüzyılda Yenişehir-i Fenarlı Akçelizade el-Hac Ahmed Ağa'nın Nakit Vakfı ve Şehirdeki Meşhur Mevlevihane," 71. Barkan, "Faizle İşletilen Paralara Ait Kayıtlar," 38.

given year.[107] Thus, they provided a considerable amount of capital for themselves, which their activities will be evaluated below. Cash waqfs, as creditors, both distributed money in the credit market, and the profit of this money was also distributed among the beneficiaries of waqfs.

All in all, having mentioned the existence of cash waqfs as a response to social and geographical conditions and the behavior of Ottoman scholars, the following chapter endeavors to analyze the practices of cash waqfs by providing examples on Cyprus. Analyzing cash waqfs' impact on the various social classes of the island necessitates further research and attention to local instances rather than centralist explanations. In addition to this, by focusing on a locality like Cyprus, in which the population has mainly consisted of Orthodox Greeks, Muslim Turks, and Armenians, it becomes possible to trace various community or inter-community relations through the operation of cash waqfs. To do such research, I claim that waqf deeds are invaluable sources for examining the activity of cash waqfs since they provide temporal, spatial, functional, and personal information, but it is necessary to keep in mind that it only represents an idealized moment in a period; nevertheless, it can be supplemented by the related court records and the account registers of these foundations.[108] Thus, in the following pages, focusing on Ottoman Cyprus, the spatial distribution of cash waqfs and its implications, and all agents that constituted the structure of waqfs, such as founders, administrators, and beneficiaries, will be examined. By so doing, the role and position of leading figures of society, such as imams, will be questioned regarding their novel duties designated by waqfs.

It is a well-known fact that a cash waqf can be established by endowing a certain amount of moveable property, which is written in the deed and with the

[107] Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 336-337.
[108] Please see the last chapter.

approval of the local judge.[109] This cash is given as a loan with an exact interest rate that is written explicitly in the deed.[110] An administrator *(mütevelli)* is appointed by the founder to manage this business. That is to say, the administrator is the agent that runs the waqf in practice while the founder establishes a framework for the structure.[111] In this circumstance, the judge was the inspector of all waqfs of the region and was paid by waqfs for this duty. To make the operation of cash waqfs concrete and to understand their impact on social roles, each of these actors is going to be scrutinized.

Before the Ottoman administration in the island, in the Venetian period, the population mostly consisted of Greek Cypriot and Venetian families, some of them later were regarded as Cypriots.[112] These families with Cypriot nobility, who were the lords of many estates, a few Jewish families, and Syrians were the inhabitants of urban towns, such as Lefkoşa and Magusa.[113] In the rural area, most villages had a Greek population, while about thirty Maronite villages, three Armenian villages, and one Gypsy village near Lefkoşa existed.[114] At the beginning of the Ottoman administration, military-administrative class and janissaries were the first Ottoman inhabitants of Cyprus. While some of the old families exiled and some of them remained on the island, the Ottoman administration tried to repopulate Cyprus with

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[109] Kurt, *Para Vakıfları, 42.*
[110] For Cyprus the interest rate was 15% as it appeared in deeds "*onu on bir buçuk hesabıyla istirbah olunub"* (treating ten as eleven and a half). For examples from the 17th to 19th century please see: KŞS. 15/87, 18/39, 28/156, 29/51, 34/1, 34/42. The interest rate was 10% for Bursa, between 10% and 12.5% in Sarajevo, 20% for Kayseri in the 17th century, and between 10% and 15% for Ankara in the early 19th century. Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," *330.* Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 190, 205. Suçesko, "Sarayova'da XVI. Asırda Vakıf Kredileri," 724, 725. Özdemir, "Ankara Hatuni Mahallesi Nakit Avarız Vakfının Kredi Kaynağı Açısından Önemi," 746.
[111] It should be noted that the founder could appoint himself or herself as the administrator. In such cases, the founder operated the waqf instituton, especially ordinary waqfs. For governor's or imperial waqfs, many other personnel were appointed, such as clerks, for the administration of the waqf.
[112] Arbel, "Cypriot Population Under Venetian Rule: A Demographic Study," 187.
[113] Arbel, "Cypriot Population Under Venetian Rule: A Demographic Study," 199. Arbel, "Cyprus on the Eve of Ottoman Conquest," 47.
[114] Arbel, "Cypriot Population Under Venetian Rule: A Demographic Study," 203.

the migration from Anatolia.[115] Since it was a newly conquered island, the waqf institution was less developed in Cyprus, especially between 1571 and 1640, than in much older Islamic areas. During this time, there were virtually no native Muslims, merchants, and native religious personnel of wealth on the island. In such a circumstance, in the early stages of Ottoman rule on the island, members of the military class enjoyed the role of founders of waqfs.[116] On the other hand, by the end of the 17th century, with the accumulation of wealth in the hands of different social classes, ordinary people on the island had actively established waqfs.[117]

Until the middle of the 19th century, waqfs played a significant role in society not only by providing credit and services but also by redefining the conventional role of actors, especially women, imams, court members, and shopkeepers.[118] Of all pious foundations on the island, this chapter is devoted especially to cash waqfs, mostly established by ordinary women and men.[119] The legal background of cash waqfs, their basic structure and credit relations on the island in which cash waqfs are evaluated have already been mentioned. Beyond that, to understand the function of cash waqfs on Cyprus, founders, administrators and borrowers should be examined separately, taking their spatial distribution into account.

One of the main actors of cash waqfs was the founder. Throughout the centuries, not only men but also women established cash waqfs in Cyprus. Proportionally, it seems that ordinary women were more likely to establish cash waqfs than ordinary men. In addition to this, about half of the pious foundations

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[115] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği, 334-335.*
[116] Jennings, *Christian and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 41.
[117] Yıldız, "The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 138-139.
[118] By the middle of the 19th century new institutions had developed in the Ottoman Empire and vakıf system had become more centralised. Yıldız, "The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 120.
[119] Güler, "Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ında Para Vakfı Uygulamaları," 876-877. Demiryürek, "Kıbrıs Şer'iye Sicillerine Göre XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Kıbrıs'ta Kurulan Para Vakıfları (Vakf-ı Nükûd)," 965-984.

established by ordinary women were cash waqfs. In other words, women who were living in Cyprus did not hesitate to establish cash waqfs. Of the 53 waqfs created by ordinary women between 1595 and 1855, 24 were cash waqfs.[120] As seen in Table B1 (Appendix B), the thesis will analyze 32 cash waqfs from 1610 to 1837, 20 of which had ordinary women as founders.[121] The amount of money endowed varied between 120 akçe and 2,500 kuruş (300,000 akçe) per waqf, being in total about 1,603,560 akçe on the island.

It is reasonable to ask why people established a pious foundation. Leaving aside the common explanations such as charity or protecting wealth from confiscation, the thesis offers another perspective by focusing on spatial distribution patterns of waqfs. As was demonstrated in Figure 1, although cash waqfs were established in various places, their center was mainly Lefkoşa.

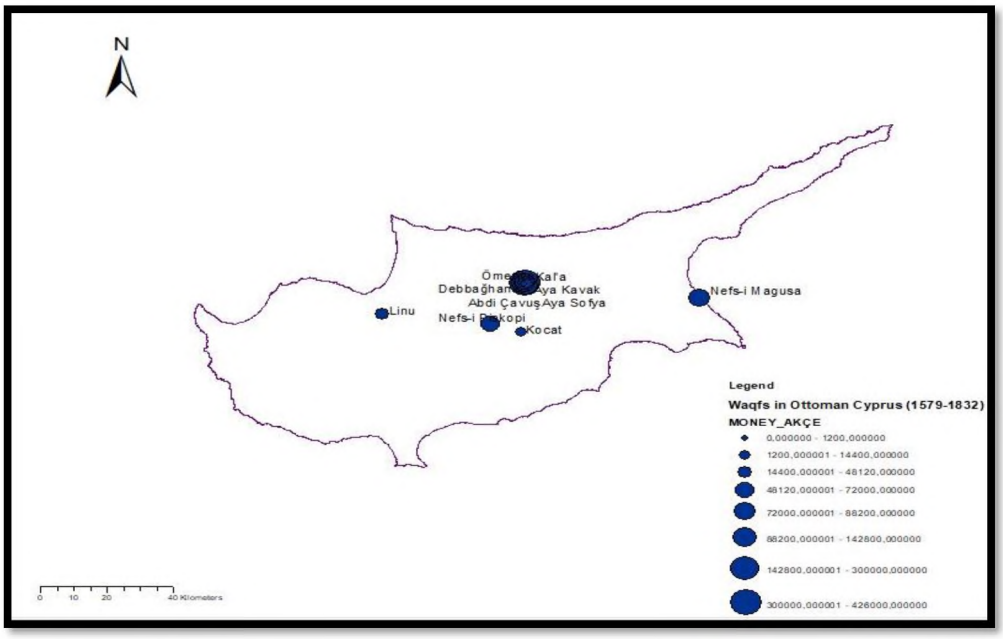



Figure 1. Spatial distribution of cash waqfs around the island

[120] Between 1595 and 1855 within 176 pious foundations 53 of which have been established by women. Among these waqfs 45% were cash waqfs while this rate decreased to about 37% in ordinary men's pious foundation. Despite some omissions, to see a coherent list please see: Yıldırım, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, 201- 343.

[121] The thesis will also look at 31 ordinary waqfs, of which about 18 were founded by women in the next chapter.

Figure 2, then, focuses on Lefkoşa, where cash waqfs were located in a few neighboring districts: Haydar Paşa, Ömeriye, Aya Sofya, and Arap Ahmed Paşa. The areas where waqfs were mostly located were the most expensive districts on the island in terms of the price of houses.[122] Those people residing in such neighborhoods would have been wealthier than average.[123] That is to say, people who lived in the abovementioned districts, which were also the administrative center of the island, had to have similar revenue income regardless of their religion and identity.[124]

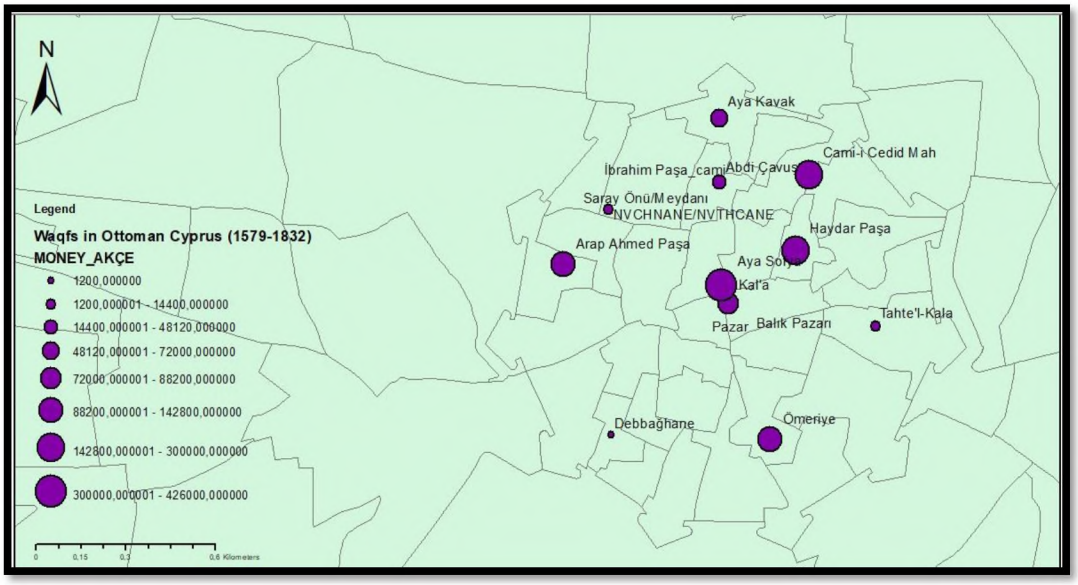



Figure 2. Spatial distribution of cash waqfs in the districts of Lefkoşa

Thus, as Timur Kuran offered in his article,[125] and in accordance with Figure 2, I claim that two concepts are crucial to understanding the intention of people in

[122] House prices varied between 100 kuruş and 850 kuruş in the early 18th century. Erdoğru, "Ottoman Houses in the Old Town Nicosia of Cyprus at the beginning of the 18th century," 331.
[123] Erdoğru defines Nicosiannes (*Lefkoşalılık)* as a privilege since not everyone in the island allowed to enter Lefkoşa. While discussing governors' waqf, the notion will be scrutinized. Erdoğru, "XVI.Yüzyıl Sonlarında Lefkoşa Şehri", 631.
[124] A European protected merchant lived in Arap Ahmet Paşa district, although his properties were in Tuzla. BOA, ML.VRD.TMT_16153_100.
[125] Kuran offers four motives that explain the main motivation of waqf founding which are piety, status, politics and wealth shelter. As far as this thesis concern, politics is evaluated as the relationship between military administrative class and ulema. Kuran, "The Provision of Public Goods Under Islamic Law: Origins, Contributions, and Limitations of the Waqf System," 854.

founding waqfs in Ottoman Cyprus, social status[126] and a pressure group, i.e., religious personnel.[127] Hülya Canbakal pointed out some indications of social status: having an acceptable house and at least a fief, polygamy, bearing a title, and being a member of a Sufi order were the leading indicators of social status.[128] In addition to these, it is safe to claim that establishing a waqf not only for pashas or the military class but also for ordinary people should be accounted for as one of the elements of social status. Besides judicial and economic reasons, such protecting assets or transferring them safely to children, they probably desired to be accepted and become a part of the social community in which they lived.

It is not in the scope of this thesis to analyze women's position or the way they participated in the daily life of early modern Cyprus.[129] This thesis intends to examine the representation of women in waqf deeds, to analyze their participation in socio-economic space through the waqf institution, and to test the two abovementioned ideas regarding the reason for founding waqfs, which are social status and the impact of religious personnel.

When waqf deeds of ordinary women are scrutinized and visualized, being a member of a social class tendency seems clear as well. Except for a few cases, they lived in neighboring districts, which means it is likely possible for contemporaries to have interacted with each other, and thus be influenced by each other. Furthermore, although there is no detailed information about their exact origin, their father's name

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[126] It might be also considered as a class habitus. If we follow the idea of Bourdieu, establishing a waqf was a practice of a social class that differentiated them and could be evaluated as an integrated preference series about people, space and practice. For detail: Bourdieu, Distinction: *A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.*

[127] This is not a novel idea. Bahaeddin Yedilyıldız has already mentioned the impact of pressure groups on the establishment of waqfs. Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 78. However, in the present thesis I will be focusing on relations between founder and religious personnel in a province of Ottoman Empire.

[128] Canbakal, *Society and Politics,* 114.

[129] To see some cases such as land transaction that women involved Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, 125,162,184. Jennings, *Christian and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 14-40.

or husband's name has been written in deeds (expressions such as 'Daughter of Müfti' and 'wife of Ebubekir Ağazade Hacı İbrahim Ağa' can be given as examples).[130] In addition to this, some of the women founders are identified in the foundation's deed records not by their relation to a family member but by their name alone such as Ayşe Molla Hatun, Hafize Hanım, or Fatma Hatun.

In some cases, women directly attended the court to establish and have certified their pious foundations; in others, they were represented by their husband, sons, or someone else who was deemed reliable. A waqf could even be established after a founder's death, if their desire to do so could be testified to by at least two witnesses.[131] Moreover, as far as can be seen in the titles, these founders already belonged to the influential families of Cyprus. To conclude, coming from a similar social class, founding a waqf might be considered part of their habitus.

The second factor that directed people to establish waqfs was the pressure of a social group, namely the religious personnel on the island. When waqf deeds are analyzed, in almost all of the cash waqfs associated with ordinary women, the founders ordered the recitation of the Quran for their relatives or their soul by a certain hafiz or imam.[132] This hafiz or imam was chosen from the neighborhood, and was also appointed as the administrator of the waqf. One ordinary woman, Emetullah bint-i Mevlüd, made an endowment for the poor of Mecca and Medina,[133] and in two cases, the waqf of Fatma Hatun bint-i Hüseyin Ağa and the waqf of Hatice Hatun bint-i Hacı Mustafa Ağa, the beneficiaries were madrasas or primary schools in their

[130] KŞS. 28/150, 29/145. It can be also seen in the Table B1 and Table B2.
[131] KŞS 13/68, KŞS 16/30.
[132] In deed records, in some cases their names given explicitly or in other cases only referred as hafiz or nefer. To see waqf deeds: KŞS, 1/154, 7/103, 10/111, 12/35, 12/133, 13/68, 14/9, 14/40, 16/30, 18/45, 19/39, 20/3, 20/26, 21/274, 21/323, 23/42 24/147 27/130, 28/35, 28/72, 28/86, 28/149, 28/150, 29/145, 30/33, 30/53, 33/12, 35/75, 35/108, 35/161, 36/1, 36/37, 36/129 38/214. VD. 4/11, 6/75.
[133] KŞS, 22/103.

district.[134] Thus, except for the endowments to the poor of Mecca and Medina, others were directly related to the imams and preachers. Presumably, by preaching the importance of religious donations, they encouraged and convinced people to establish a waqf.

All such instances of female founded waqfs illustrate that women in Cyprus did not act randomly or incidentally.[135] They might have specific intentions and tendencies by establishing waqfs that were eminently related to being part of a community. Although, at first glance, setting up a waqf seems an individual act, the waqf deeds of ordinary women clarify that it had crucial socio-economic dimensions in terms of the founder's intention and the impact of religious groups on the island. To conclude, in early modern Ottoman Cyprus, with the accumulation of wealth in the hands of local communities, the number of waqfs increased. As a result, people who lived in neighboring districts in Lefkoşa became founders of waqfs, which was a novel title that signified the habitus of the community to which they belonged.

Although setting its framework and limiting it by declaring before the court, the founder of a waqf was not the main active actor in its operation. Weath was endowed for specific purposes, but if the founder was not an administrator, he or she became a relatively passive character. Especially in imperial waqfs and ordinary women's waqfs, the main active actor was the administrator.[136]

To bring this point home, an analysis of the office of administrator is crucial in understanding the effect of waqfs on social roles, for the position both carried new

[134] KŞS, 16/140, 44/88.
[135] Timur Kuran claims that while sultans and other dignitaries endowed massive charitable complexes in accordance with state priorties, relatively small waqfs tended to be established haphazardly. Kuran, "The Provision of Public Goods," 877.
[136] For the waqfs of ordinary men and governors, founders appointed themselves as administrators. In such cases, especially for a governor's waqf, presumably *cabi* of the waqf was more active in the activities of waqf.

responsibilities and offered an enhanced social reputation. With the main focus of this chapter being cash waqfs, after describing the primary duties of the administrator, specific cash waqf administrators will be scrutinized in depth.

The founder of a waqf appointed the administrator. The primary duty of the administrator can be described as to fairly manage the usufruct of property that was given in perpetuity for a charitable purpose by the founder. If there was no corruption or mismanagement, the duty of the administrator continued until his or her death.[137] That is to say, whether attached to an imperial waqf or an ordinary waqf, the role of administrator was a definite position, with authority over the waqf's wealth. Furthermore, founders had a right to set future administrators for their waqfs. In such cases, founders might appoint themselves as administrators for a lifelong-terms and could designate their children as future administrators.[138] The administrator was responsible for every action which he or she did in the name of the waqf. That is why they had to keep account registers, which illustrate the revenues and expenditures of the waqf for a certain period of time, and they had to regularly submit them to the judge of a local court, who as part of his duties was responsible for the protection and supervision of waqfs.[139]

It was not only the administrators of imperial waqfs but also those of ordinary waqfs who held significant positions. In Cyprus, as was seen in Tables B1 and B2 (Appendix B), administrators of ordinary waqfs came mostly from religious personnel, being especially the imams of certain mosques, which means the

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[137] Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *İthafü'l-Ahlaf fi Ahkami'l-Evkaf,* 90.

[138] This practice is interpreted as the way to protect wealth from legal division of heritage and confiscation. Kuran, *The Long Divergence*, 159. Kuran, "The Provision of Public Goods," 842. To see such an example in Cyprus please see: the Table B1 and Table B2 and also, TVD, 5/13, 5/132, 5/296. VD, 4/11. KŞS, 2/22, 2/50, 6/145, 22/101, 34/99.

[139] Bakhoum, "The Waqf System: Maintenance, Repair and Upkeep," 183-184. Timur Kuran claims that, in addition to founder, administrator, employees, beneficiaries, and judges, the state served as a sixth player through pressures on judges and administrators in the waqf system. Kuran, "The Provision of Public Goods," 861.

administration role was given not to a person but a position. For instance, the administrator of the waqf of Gülden bint-i Abdullah Derviş was the imam and administrator of the Peristorana mosque.[140] In other such cases, the same person, the administrator of Arab Ahmed Paşa mosque, became an administrator of two different waqfs, those of Hanım bint-i Halil and Hacce Fatma bint-i Şaban. [141] In total, 25 of 53 administrators of ordinary women waqfs were from religious personnel. The combined salary of administrators paid by waqfs of the island was more than 407,404 akçe per year. The significant point is that an imam or hafiz could enjoy the charitable purpose of the waqfwhile at the same time getting paid for the duty of administration from the usufruct of the waqf. Traditionally, the imam had been responsible for praying in the mosque and was in the eyes of the state was considered the leader of the district as the deputy of the judge in the district.[142] The thesis contends that, roughly described, being an administrator of a cash waqf, in addition to his other responsibilities, brought him a new title and made him a moneylender on the island. It is noteworthy to mention that in many cases, certain imams of Lefkoşa mosques such as Arap Ahmed Paşa Mosque and Aya Sofya Mosque had been appointed as administrators of cash waqfs. Kemal Karpat argues that since they were more reliable, honest, and knowledgeable than ordinary people, the administrator was appointed from religious personnel.[143] As was pointed by Huri İslamoğlu, they mediated the relationship within the society in their capacity as waqf administrator.[144] Be that as it may, the present thesis claims that this was not an independent choice of the founder, but rather imams and preachers guided wealthy

[140] KŞS, 16/30.
[141] KŞS, 12/35, 12/133.
[142] Beydilli, "İmam," 181.
[143] Karpat et all., *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi,* 27.
[144] İslamoğlu-İnan, "Peasants, Commercialization, and Legitimation of State Power in Sixteenth-Century Anatolia," 61.

people in their decisions to establish waqfs. In line with this argument, the spatial distribution of residency of founders and imam-administrators' workplaces, which were mosques, demonstrates a correspondence. The operation of cash waqfs remained within a small circle in a few districts in Lefkoşa in this sense. On the other hand, it was the space where a market for moneylending had already existed. It was one of the centers or hubs where people all around the island knew they could borrow or lend money.[145] It can be speculated that cash waqfs were founded and operated in the center of the money market and played a crucial role in credit relations.

In such a circumstance, the duty of the imam with his new role as a cash waqf administrator was to make a profit with the endowed cash by giving credit at a certain level of interest.[146] As part of daily life, they provided loans to every member of society, including non-Muslims. Therefore, he became not only a representative of the state in the districts[147] but also a representative of the district in the court and a representative of the waqf community within the money market in Lefkoşa. All in all, it is safe to say that in the credit relations of Cyprus, imams played a crucial role regardless of the amounts of money they provided.[148] Being the administrator of cash waqfs redefined their position in society, allowing them to be seen as a non-religious figure beyond their traditional religious identity.

Having mentioned the founder and administrator of cash waqfs, the third actor in the cash waqf operation was the borrower. Although waqf deeds do not provide any information about borrowers, their names and credit amounts appear in

[145] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 281.
[146] All waqfiyes that I've encountered in Cyprus determined this rate as 15% "treating ten as eleven and a half (*onu on bir buçuk hesabıyla)*".
[147] Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehirlerindeki Yönetim Kurumlarının Niteliği Üzerinde Bazı Düşünceler," 1271.
[148] For ordinary waqfs in Cyprus, as was mentioned, this amount is from 120 akçe to 2,500 kuruş.

the court records. That is to say, the sources mostly do not provide information about their occupation and social background, such as whether they were a peasant or any kind of artisan. However, by looking at various cases, it can be said that cash waqfs lent money to every individual of Cyprus, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. For instance, the foundation of the mosque of Lefke provided 880 akçe credit to a non-Muslim villager, Çakoleki v. Zorzi, while Yanni, a translator, was in debt to a Muslim's waqf; in addition to this, a peasant, Mehmed bin Cerid, also borrowed 7,000 akçe from the Mevlevi Lodge, the waqf of İbrahim Aga was owed 4,000 akçe by vaiz Musli Efendi, and Armenian Ilyas owed 2,000 akçe to the waqf of a church in Lefkoşa. [149] In another case, Ahmed, a Janissary of Cyprus, owed 3,000 akçe to the waqf of Sefer Paşa.[150] Thus, as far as these selected cases represent, cash waqfs provided credit regardless of community, class, and occupation. As it is formulated on deed records, to receive a loan from a cash waqf, one had to have a guarantor *(kefil-i mal)* or pledge of property *(rehin).*[151] Then, it is reasonable to ask why people needed to use the credit of cash waqfs. What kind of relations established with money lending? These are the questions that help us to reveal the function of cash waqfs on the island. Many cash waqfs provided a small number of credits, which were not enough to make a profitable investment. Although there is no explicit information about the reason for borrowing money from a cash waqf, by looking at the amount of money and the socio-economic conditions of the island, this phenomenon can be put in a context.[152] In early modern Cyprus, the taxation was

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[149] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 44-45. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 259.

[150] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 284.

[151] "*…rehn-i kavi ve kefil-i mali yahud ikisinden biri ile mu'amele-i şer'iyye ve murabaha-i mer'iyye ile ba-yed-i mütevelli beher sene ala vechi'l-helal istirbah ve istiglal oluna…* "
VGM_DEFTER_00593_00043_77. KŞS, 10/123, 18/39.

[152] For other parts of the empire, such as cash waqfs in Bursa and in Kayseri the amount of credit was the same as in Cyprus. Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 324. Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 200-209. Looking at court records, Jennings revealed that interest rates varied between 20% and 30% while

one of the most significant problems for people as regards the environmental conditions of the island. Taxes had already been a heavy burden for the peasants of Cyprus, and it became heavier at times of droughts and locusts.[153] As was mentioned above, in addition, meeting daily needs and making small-scale capital increase could be other reasons.[154] For this reason, as was mentioned, they might need to take credit from a cash waqf or other creditors. In such circumstances, cash waqfs might have been preferred owing to their interest rates, making them the cheapest credit provider on the island. In addition to this, the amount of credit and interest rate were low; thereby, borrowers did not run the risk of losing their property.

All in all, those who needed money for their daily needs, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, might have considered a cash waqf the safest and cheapest way of borrowing money. It seems that daily needs and material conditions were the more determinant factors in community relations rather than religion or ethnicity. Thus, it is safe to say that if the waqf is taken into consideration as an analytical tool to scrutinize community phenomena in Cyprus, it could not be argued that a community came together with nationalistic or directly religious purposes around the waqf institution. From the scope of the present study, the waqf community means that a group of people who came together around the local court, managed and benefitted from the usufruct of a waqf. As was mentioned above, the dominant actor in this community was judge, imam, or hafiz.[155] In addition to them, the waqf community consisted of other actors like the founder, who usually came from the same social

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cash waqfs provided credit from 15%. Also, the same individuals took credit from waqfs in Bursa, and then loaned it to moneylenders (*sarrafs)* in Istanbul at a higher rate. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus,* 45. Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," 333.

[153] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy,* 145.

[154] It should be kept in mind that administrators of cash waqfs might be made capital pooling to make investments but I could not trace such an attempt through my primary sources.

[155] Jennings found similar pattern for Kayseri region in the 17th century. Jennings, "Loans and Credit," 203.

class, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.[156] This so-called waqf community was not a static one; they were in an ongoing relationship with all individuals on the island via administrators. Finally, I claim that the waqf not only redefined individuals on the island but also defined a novel community that came together because of the material conditions and daily needs of the period.

## 2.3 Conclusion

In early modern Cyprus, the institutions of the Ottoman Empire began to work and spread after the conquest of the island. One of the most crucial of them was taxes that paved the way for the reproducing of credit relations. All actors on the island, including the Orthodox Church and European consuls, participated in these relations, with some of them being people of high position in the local administration of the island.[157] Of them, ordinary cash waqfs were the most prominent creditors in terms of numbers on the island. Most Ottoman scholars agree on the legitimacy of the cash waqf for social, economic, and geographical reasons. Beyond individual religious concerns, people might have been inclined to establish a waqf as a habitus of their social class. In that sense, the spatial distribution of waqfs on the island was not a coincidence. People who were living together in a district could affect each other. Having examined the deeds of ordinary women's waqfs, this effect has appeared in terms of the location, charitable purpose, the choice of administrator, and the type of waqf. Although the exact reason is not apparent, about half of the ordinary women in Cyprus preferred to establish cash waqfs. Compared with other options such as endowing homes, shops, land, and other kinds of immovable property, the cash waqf was easiest to operate. Focusing not only on the founders or charitable purpose of

[156] In a case, it seems that a non-muslim, Rafa'il veled-i Lazari, established waqf. KŞS. 2/50.
[157] Tellan, "The Financial Network," 77.

cash waqfs but also the process and intermediary between endowment and charity work reveals a different perspective which opens a path to reconsidering the conventional role of a the powerful character of the imam as something more dynamic in communal and intra-communal relations, being a religious purpose but rather a secular duty namely, moneylender. Although the amount of credit provided by cash waqfs was small, it was needed by people to overcome daily problems, not to make considerable investments. All in all, within this picture, religious personnel were in the most advantageous position as part of the waqf community. They both benefitted from the charitable purpose of a waqf and got paid for administrative duties in which they also developed a new form of relations with both Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Cyprus.

# CHAPTER 3

## WAQFS AND RURAL-URBAN RELATIONS

As it mentioned in the previous chapter, waqfs had a specific role in the credit relations of Ottoman Cyprus. It has been already pointed out that using and providing credit was a widespread phenomenon, although it remained in small amounts. Unlike the Genoese bankers that lent huge amounts of credit for state administrations in the Mediterranean,[158] the purpose of waqfs and European merchants, as primary credit providers on the island, was to maintain agricultural production to stabilize their trade and local subsistence. That is to say, waqfs also acted in agrarian relations as creditors, landholders, and producers. As Hülya Canbakal shows, in every form of rural credits, peasant land could be usurped or gained control by credit providers; that is why money lending used to be associated with the process of *çiftlik* formation in the 18th and 19th centuries.[159] As a result of dead loans, land transactions also appeared in the same period on Cyprus, regardless of the amount of debt. Theoharis Stravides mentions a letter which was written to a debtor named Mustafa in the summer of 1756, in which it is stated that to pay his debt, Mustafa would have to sell both his *çiftlik* of Kukla and his own house. He argues that small-time farmers were most likely facing harsh conditions if a *çiftlik*-owner had found himself in such a position.[160] In line with this, it is also a well-known fact that European merchants, which had huge *çiftlik*s, lent money to peasants in return for not money but mostly for cash crops such as cotton.[161] Thus, credit relations and agricultural relations were

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[158] Tabak, *The Waning of Mediterranean*, 10-12, 40.
[159] Canbakal, *Society and Politics,* 103.
[160] He also offers adverse weather conditions and miscalculation as the reason for selling their plots forcefully to creditors. Stravides, "Agricultural Loans and European Merchants in Eighteenth Century Cyprus: The Credit Network of Ragusan Consul Giovanni Garmogliesi," 304.
[161] Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti,* 282.

intertwined on the island. In such circumstances, waqfs on Ottoman Cyprus were also active agents both in credit relations and agricultural production.

One of the primary intentions of the present chapter is to analyze the agricultural relations of the waqf on the island and its urban activities by focusing on its dynamic role that shaped the economic and social landscape of town and countryside. By using Geographical Information Systems (GIS), firstly, lands, orchards, and other assets of waqfs will be visualized to be able to make a spatial analysis. In addition to this, not only revenues but also expenditures of waqfs will be taken into consideration to support the argument that waqf institutions cannot be evaluated solely as static pious foundations, for they had a variety of economic functions in the urban and rural regions of the island. Then, to trace such functions and activities, the following questions will direct arguments: Did waqfs produce their own spaces? What was the role of waqfs in the organization of space concerning the town and countryside relations? In what way did waqfs shape the urban landscape? What was being cultivated on waqf lands? Were these products cash-crops for the market or local subsistence? How was water managed and distributed on the island by waqfs?

To be able to answer these questions more accurately and to be able to make more precise analysis, the present thesis will use the waqf space as the unit of analysis for the abovementioned relations. Thus, the notion 'waqf space' must be initially defined because, as illustrated in Figure 3, if the territorial expansion of waqfs is taken into consideration, they defined and reproduced space in Cyprus in the course of time. Waqf space does not address a judicial connotation, [162] but regarding

[162] Here the intention is to clarify that a private property, in this case a land, can endow a waqf and this land became waqf land. Here my purpose is by using waqf space to define a region in which waqfs' activities were concentrated and to use it as an analytical tool to understand the functions of waqfs in the socio-economic relations in Ottoman Cyprus.

its relation that was conducted with a territory which consisted of both urban and rural space in social, temporal, and spatial dimensions.




Figure 3. Showing the places where at least one waqf had an endowment or property

Similar to this concept Kayhan Orbay offers waqf economy to analyze the effect of waqfs on the economy and commerce. To him, all waqf activities, such as food distribution, and running a mosque produced economic results, thus allowing the waqfs to create a sphere of economic influence which he calls waqf economic field stemming from the redistributive functioning of waqfs.[163] Thus, while waqf economy is mainly focusing on the economic results of waqf's redistribution, waqf space is to address a territory which all activities of waqfs happened and is the result of these activities as well. David Delaney argues that if an enclosed space signifies and this signification indicates or refers to social power, then it can be called as a territory. Nevertheless, power and meaning intertwined. By evaluating the inscription

[163] Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System," 146-147.

of space with meaning and differentiating it from other spaces, the power which creates and applies these meanings is questioned initially.[164] Parallel to this argument, Karen Wigen points out that regions have to be constituted as an effect of analysis. In line with this argument, a functional region may be defined as an adjacent area consolidated by the complementarity of political and economic resources and integrated through their routine interactions.[165] Considering both Wigen and Delaney's approach, it is safe to claim that the activities of waqfs both turned an enclosed space into a territory and created a functional region in which various kinds of resources, i.e., economic, social and political, were in regular contact. In other words, the abovementioned concepts are eminently suitable for use as units of analysis while assessing the waqf institution in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. To illustrate, lands, shops, or all kinds of real estate belonging to waqfs signify specific transaction rules, rent relations, or tax exemptions. In the waqf case, the power which creates these meanings is the founder with the judge as a notary and inspector on behalf of the state. At the later stage, this power was executed through a waqf's legal entity by administrators. In a nutshell, while extracting a surplus of certain lands, changing the owner of properties, and providing both social status and economic beneficence in well-defined geography and with certain people, waqfs also created a functional region with the initiative of the waqf community explained above.

Thus, the main aim of the present chapter is to look at Ottoman Cyprus to scrutinize the dialectical relation between specific regions in the island and the waqf institution. The waqf reproduced and organized space not only in town but also in the countryside of Ottoman Cyprus. This does not mean that town and countryside were

[164] Delaney, *Territory,* 17.
[165] Wigen, *The Making of a Japanese Periphery*, 16.

separated from each other. Instead, the waqf institution established a relation between them by extracting the surplus of the countryside and transferring it to the town. Therefore, dichotomizing the town and countryside is not reasonable in this case. By using rent revenue from urban and rural assets, which were *çiftlik*s, fields, shops, rooms, and lands within the waqf space, waqfs distributed, shaped, and organized the structure of towns such as in the construction of mosques, inns, public baths, schools, fountains, and shops. By so doing, waqfs became a significant agent in the socio-economic life of the island. Bearing such ideas in mind, the following part is devoted to analyzing agricultural productions, property relations, water management, and urban organization of the waqf institution in early modern Ottoman Cyprus.

## 3.1 Rural activities of waqfs in Cyprus

Prior to analyzing waqfs in agrarian relations, it is necessary to put them in a broader context of the rural economy of Cyprus, from both temporal and spatial perspectives. To begin with, the primary source of wealth on the island in the early modern period was labor-intensive agriculture. Geographically, the island was covered with fertile plains, high barren mountains, and rich hills with varieties of fruits, vegetables, and grains. According to the research of Ronald Jennings on 174 villages, while the most significant crops were wheat and barley, the dominant tree crops were olives, carobs, almonds, and walnuts. For Jennings, cotton was the most prominent commercial product grown by villagers.[166] Parallel to this, Antonis Hadjikyriacou argues that cotton, silk (mulberry trees), and grain were the most prolific crops on the island,[167]

[166] Jennings, "Village Agriculture in Cyrpus," 471.
[167] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy*, 277.

and one of the most crucial reasons for power struggles was the competition for the sizeable economic surplus which Cyprus could produce.[168]

To contextualize this claim and to understand the waqf's activities within the general framework, the island's economic situation in the early modern period should be provided. Analyzing the yearly budget records could be a suitable starting point to picture the economic situation of the island. At the first-year budget of Cyprus under the Ottoman rule, the total income of the island in 1571-1572 was 10,383,454 akçe; however, since 3,089,454 akçe must be left aside as it was the grant of Istanbul, the real income of the island was 7,293,954 akçe. For the following years, there was no considerable change in the budget. In 1577 when the *timar* system was applied, the real income of Cyprus increased to 7,710,000 akçe.[169] However, it seems that the real income decreased to 4,544,320 akçe in the 1608 budget.[170] Within all these budgets, the *mukataa* revenues constituted the most significant part. While the *mukataa* revenue of Cyprus in 1571-1572 was 2,674,304 akçe,[171] it was calculated as 2,230,142 akçe in 1608.[172] Taking a more detailed look we see that Mesarya, where various waqfs had assets, had the highest revenue income with 405,773 akçe, and with 166,498 akçe Baf followed Mesarya in the *mukataa* revenue.[173] As is shown in Table 1, waqfs had a considerable level of assets in these places. Thus it might be claimed that, although it is not recorded in the budget, a part of *mukataa* revenues of Baf and Mesarya was redistributed to waqfs.

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[168] Hadjikyriacou, "The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: Towards a Spatial Imagination beyond the Centre-Province Binary," 91.
[169] Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi," 10.
[170] Dündar, "18 Mart-14 Haziran 1608 Yılı Kıbrıs Eyaleti Bütçesi," 1037.
[171] Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi," 10.
[172] Dündar, "18 Mart-14 Haziran 1608 Yılı Kıbrıs Eyaleti Bütçesi," 1037.
[173] Dündar, "18 Mart-14 Haziran 1608 Yılı Kıbrıs Eyaleti Bütçesi," 1038.

Table 1. Field of both Ordinary and Governors' Waqfs in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/ DISTRICT | FIELD DÖNÜM |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | 2,740 |
| 2 | Lefkoşa | Lakadamya | 14,269 |
| 3 | Lefkoşa | İncirli | 500 |
| 4 | Lefkoşa | İpsimilof | 1,000 |
| 5 | Lefkoşa | Aya Anastas Palu | 2 |
| 6 | Lefkoşa | Nefs-i Piskopi | 1,052 |
| 7 | Amorfa | Kyra | 530 |
| 8 | Amorfa | Balyomilo | 200 |
| 9 | Amorfa | Peristorana | 3,000 |
| 10 | Girne | Dikomi | 202 |
| 11 | Girne | Termiye | 1 |
| 12 | Girne | Larnaka | 677 |
| 13 | Hirsofi | Poli | 1,000 |
| 14 | Baf | İhtima/Ktima | 1 |
| 15 | Baf | Kurdaka | 2 |
| 16 | Baf | Hulu | 2 |
| 17 | Baf | Lemona | 2 |
| 18 | Baf | Kado Panaya | 2 |
| 19 | Baf | İpşati | 2 |
| 20 | Baf | Koloni | 2 |
| 21 | Baf | Bvrmyh/Yvrmyh | 65 |
| 22 | Baf | Malunda | 2 |
| 23 | Baf | Finika | 1 |
| 24 | Baf | Nada | 1 |
| 25 | Baf | Falya | 1 |
| 26 | Baf | Platanista | 1 |
| 27 | Baf | İksilohorya | 1 |
| 28 | Baf | Lazaronada | 1 |
| 29 | Baf | Celinya | 3 |
| 30 | Pendaye | Sirnohorka | 3,909 |
| 31 | Limason | Mesa'idonya | 189 |
| 32 | Limason | Yermasoya | 100 |
| 33 | Limason | Monayaka | 109 |
| 34 | Limason | Finikarya | 36 |
| 37 | Tuzla | Pirka/Pirga | 1 |
| 39 | Tuzla | Alaminyo | 2,500 |
| 40 | Piskopi | Lemesou | 600 |
| 41 | Piskopi | Asomato | 600 |
| 43 | Kukla | Kukla Çiftliği | 1,151 |
| 44 | Kukla | Mamonya | 217 |
| 45 | Kukla | Aşelya/Aşelya Çiftliği | 4,236 |
| 46 | Lefke | Aya Yorgi | 1 |
| 47 | Lefke | Avrihore | 6 |
| 48 | Lefke | Ğalat | 1 |
| 49 | | TOTAL | 38,918 |

In scrutinizing this data, Mustafa Haşim Altan's claim that waqf revenues were not marked as a separate component when preparing the island's first budget should be noted. In fact, the whole expenses of religious structures that were typically afforded by waqfs were accounted as the expenditure of the general budget.[174]

In addition to annual revenues of the island, the value of lands, *çiftlik*s, trees, and other related properties should be provided to better contextualize possessions of waqfs on the island. First of all, Recep Dündar points out that the annual *mukataa* value of fields in the villages of Cyprus varied between 20 and 60 akçe per dönüm in 1603.[175] When we look at the sale value, it is also noteworthy that one dönüm of a field was sold for 696 akçe (11.6 filori) in 1590.[176] The cotton field was another significant asset on the island. The 1833 census value of a dönüm of cotton field was between 30 and 50 akçe throughout the island,[177] but in some cases, it was as high as 200 akçe.[178] In addition, Cyprus was divided into 137 *timar* (fief) areas with their total value being 1,012,188 akçe in 1643.[179]

For the scope of the thesis, it is also crucial to provide values of certain agricultural products to be able to understand the extent of waqfs since they constituted a significant part of waqf's revenues and expenditures. Firstly, the 1572 tahrir value of 1 *kile* (25 kg) of olives was between 10 and 12 akçe on the island,[180] while the value of 1 *vukiyye* (about 1,283 grams) of olive oil was varied between 12 and 24 akçe during the first three decades of the 17th century.[181] In the meanwhile, in

[174] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları Tarihi,* 102.
[175] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği*, 195.
[176] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 320.
[177] BOA, ML_VRD_TMT_d_16153_217, 16154_0040, 16154_0094, 16152_00044.
[178] This was generally seen in Amorfa. ML_VRD_TMT_d_16152_00113, 16152_00099.
[179] In Baf, there were 23 *timar* areas the highest on the island. Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 209.
[180] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 233.
[181] Same pattern could be traced for the *asel* (beeswax) which was the raw material for candle. Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 313.

1745, 10 olive trees were sold for 1,000 akçe,[182] with approximately similar values recorded in about every region of Cyprus in the 1833 real estate census.[183] That is to say, there were no considerable changes in the value of olive trees between the 16th and 19th centuries. Moreover, it is also significant to note that in the same period, the value of about 1 *kantar* (56 kg) of cotton was 1,300 akçe,[184] while the same amount of cotton was selling for about 8,400 akçe in 1745.[185] Silk was another crucial agricultural product on the island. While the highest tax for silk was collected from Tuzla and Limason, 4,998 akçe for 142 *kantars* in total, the highest quality of silk was in Baf.[186] All around the island, mulberry trees were grown for sericulture. A mulberry tree would sell for 10 akçe in 1745. Similar to the value of the olive tree, the same pattern can be traced to the 1833 census value of the mulberry tree. According to records in the registers, the value of the mulberry tree was between 3 and 10 akçe.[187]

Last but not least, for the rural part of the island, *çiftlik*s and mills were fundamental properties in agricultural relations. Although we do not know much about *çiftlik*s,[188] Nuri Çevikel claims that agriculture was mostly based on small scale production by peasants with there being no plantation-like *çiftlik*s in Cyprus, even if there was commercial agricultural production in such places.[189] Their value varied according to location and size. For instance, a *çiftlik* with 100 dönüm of fields in Kukla was sold for 30,000 akçe while one in Balikitre was sold for 150,000 akçe

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[182] Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, 366.
[183] BOA, ML_VRD_TMT_d_16155_00066, 16154_00106, 16153_00002, 16152_00052.
[184] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 307.
[185] The value of cotton increased in the 18th centruy because it began to be used as the raw material in textiles. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, 371.
[186] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 245.
[187] BOA, ML_VRD_TMT_d_16153_00005, 16155_00124, 16155_00114, 16152_00098, 16152_00121.
[188] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 220.
[189] Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti,* 257. Such a claim needs detailed research on the structure of *çiftliks* in the island.

in the 17th century.[190] Finally, mills were an indispensable part of agricultural production on the island. According to the 1572 register, there were 206 mills on the island, of which only nine were the property of waqfs. The annual tax of a mill was 120 akçe.[191] For this period, mills were mostly located in Pendaye, Baf and Limason, with 52% of the total production of wheat being deriving from these regions.[192]

This was the general frame for the rural economy and pricing on the island, and this frame also applies to the waqfs' properties. However, the total amount of waqfs' assets in Cyprus during the Ottoman period remains a crucial question. In other words, it is unknown what percentage of the whole island was waqfs' land.[193]

On the other hand, scrutinizing assets of non-Muslim waqfs such as monasteries of Cyprus and comparing waqfs of Cyprus with the waqfs of different parts of the Ottoman Empire such as Crete and Anatolia may give an indication of the magnitude of waqfs of Cyprus. Firstly, appearing in the first centuries of Christianity, monasteries on the island become wealthier structures from the 15th century. [194] With the Ottoman administration, monasteries were treated as waqf institutions. Therefore, they increased their wealth and become a significant agent in the social and economic life of the island by actively participating in property relations, especially buying lands.[195] The most prominent example of this increase was that monasteries owned annexes in several areas both within and without Cyprus, which shows the financial potential of the monastery's fund.[196] For instance, Kykkos Monastery, which was the well-documented and the wealthiest one, with the

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[190] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 321.
[191] It could be also collected as 150-200 akçe per millstone. Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 249.
[192] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 250.
[193] Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 222.
[194] Roudometof& Michael, "Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of Kykkos Monastery," 58.
[195] Hadjianastasis, "*Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,*" 131.
[196] Roudometof& Michael, "Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of Kykkos Monastery," 61.

100 monks, generated income from agriculture, animal husbandry, and operating markets in the island's cities.[197] At the beginning of the 19th century, the monastery had five *çiftliks,* 3,872 dönüm of cultivable land in 10 districts, 4,695 olive trees, 261 mulberry trees, and around 59 shops in Tuzla and Lefkoşa.[198] By considering the prosperity of Kykkos Monastery, it can be assumed that, while Muslim waqfs largely rented their properties monasteries took charge production on their cultivable lands with monks playing an active role, and that they had possessions not only on the island but also in various other parts of the empire.

From another perspective, to understand the representativeness of waqfs of Cyprus, the thesis will evaluate the waqfs of Crete, Anatolia, and Syria in a general framework. A waqf account register from 1694 reveals that the revenue of the waqfs of Cyprus was low in comparison to Crete. While the revenue of 34 waqfs of Crete was about 554,940 akçe, 15 waqfs could generate 28,980 akçe on Cyprus.[199] When the activities of waqfs in Anatolia are considered with regard to imperial and governors' waqfs, the waqfs of Cyprus could be considered moderate. For instance, while the income of the waqf of Sultan Çelebi Mehmed in Bursa was around 525,543 akçe in 1608, the waqf of Gazi Süleyman Paşa in Thrace had revenue in kind from various cereals and in cash which could meet 657,000 akçe expenditure in 1607.[200] It can be claimed that to make prestigious endowments such as soup kitchens, the imperial waqfs and other wealthiest waqfs in the Ottoman Empire preferred more populous and attractive locations in terms of religious, social and economic

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[197] Hadjianastasis, "*Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,*" 130. Roudometof& Michael, "Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of Kykkos Monastery," 64.
[198] Roudometof& Michael, "Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of Kykkos Monastery," 64-67.
[199] BOA, MAD.d.01821_00001.
[200] Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi: Sultan Çelebi Mehmed Yeşil İmaret'inin Mali Tarihi (1553-1650)," 142. Orbay, "Gazi Süleyman Paşa Vakfı'nın Mali Tarihi ve 17. Yüzyılda Trakya Tarımsal Ekonomisi,", 157.

activities. However, this does not mean that the waqfs of Cyprus and their activities can be ignored. On the contrary, as will be examined, in the island context, the waqfs generated a considerable amount of revenue from the urban and rural assets.

Thus, this thesis will analyze 80 different waqfs from about 155 waqfs between the late 16th century and early 19th century.[201] The analyses in this chapter are mainly dependent on deeds of 48 waqfs since the revenue of the remaining 32 waqfs was only money; of those, 17 were pasha's waqfs, representing almost all of the pasha's waqfs on the island, and 31 were ordinary.[202] The primary intention is not to demonstrate the wealth of all waqfs of Cyprus; instead, it is to analyze their effect on space and social life on the island. All pasha's and imperial waqfs have been examined, as well as 31 randomly selected ordinary waqfs, which consistently reflect the socio-economical pattern established by these waqfs on the island.

As is illustrated in the Tables 1, 2 and B3, the 48 waqfs held 38,918 dönüm of fields but only 33 dönüm of cotton fields, as far as reflected in the deeds of those waqfs.

Table 2. Hamlets *(Mezra)* and Cotton Fields of Waqfs in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/ DISTRICT | COTTON FIELD DÖNÜM | HAMLET (*MEZRA*) DÖNÜM |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | | 526.5 |
| 2 | Tuzla | Çita | | 1,840 |
| 3 | Lefke | Timmarka | | 25 |
| 4 | Lefke | Kuraku | | 1 |
| 5 | Magusa | Kvmndh | | 2,000 |
| 6 | Girne | Gazi Bifan | | 1 |
| 7 | Limason | Hankofi/Korfi | 27 | |
| 8 | Limason | Avgroniko | 6 | |
| | | Total | 33 | 3,867 |

[201] In the same study, it is also mentioned that 608 waqf deeds were found during the research from 1590s to 1973. In addition to this, in his study Soyalp Tamçelik found about 2222 different waqfs' name from various records. For this study please see: Yıldırım, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs,* 89, 249. Tamçelik, "Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kurulan İlk Vakıflar ve Özellikleri," 10.

[202] Cash waqfs have been analyzed in the first chapter.

In addition to these, 12,434 olive trees were the property of waqfs in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. In the 1833 real estate census, 143,221 olive trees were recorded. Of them, 30,887 belonged to Muslims,[203] which means it can be argued that about half of Muslims' olive trees were the property of waqfs.

As was seen in Table 3, 3,037 mulberry trees and 44 dönüm of mulberry gardens were also recorded as the property of waqf. Within this period, these 48 waqfs had 121 mills and 25 *çiftliks* on the island. Thus, this is the overall picture for the agricultural activities of waqfs, and the following parts of this chapter endeavors to make an elaborative analyses regarding this picture.

Table 3. Mulberry Trees and Mulberry Gardens of Waqfs in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/ DISTRICT | MULBERRY TREES | MULBERRY GARDEN DÖNÜM |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Limason | Zodiyi | 1 | |
| 2 | Değirmenlik | Ali Çelebi Çiftliği/Tırhon | | 3 |
| 3 | Lefke | Baş | 1 | |
| 4 | Tuzla | Kvlnba | | 20 |
| 5 | Kukla | Kukla Çiftliği | 3,000 | |
| 6 | Kukla | Mamonya | | 15 |
| 7 | Amorfa | Kyra | 30 | |
| 8 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | 1 | |
| 9 | Lefkoşa | Aya Kaşano | 2 | |
| 10 | Lefkoşa | Nefs-i Piskopi | | 6 |
| 11 | Magusa | Aya Peraşkeva | 2 | |
| | | TOTAL | 3,037 | 44 |

All in all, this brief introduction intends to demonstrate the general picture of the rural economy of Cyprus in which the waqfs had a conspicuous place. Since the thesis focuses on the functions of waqfs in the long term, it prefers to provide values of them from different periods, and then total rural assets of waqfs have been given

[203] Dinç, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs*, 256.

to be able to clarify the agency of waqfs in agricultural relations. In such a circumstances, it is crucial to analyze the waqf's property relations to understand how it became a noteworthy agent extracting the surplus of Cyprus and to trace how waqf space gradually became possible. To understand the agency of the waqf, which means, reproduction of space with the redistribution of wealth, we will analyze the role of waqfs in property relations and agricultural activities from a socio-economical perspective.

### 3.1.1 Property relations and agricultural production

At the very beginning of Ottoman rule in Cyprus, Lefkoşa was the administrative center of the Ottoman Empire on the island. Through the years that followed the introduction and development of the waqf institution, Lefkoşa and its hinterland were reconceived in its socio-economic dimensions by the waqfs' activities. The surplus of Lefkoşa's countryside, villages within the Mesarya plain and Değirmenlik, and a considerable amount of surplus from Baf and Kukla changed the landscape of Lefkoşa.[204] To trace not only changes but also the process itself, the waqfs of Lala Mustafa Paşa,[205] Mehmed Bey ibn-i Ebubekir,[206] Cafer Paşa bin Abdülmemnan,[207] Yusuf Ağa bin Perviz Bey,[208] Ahmed Efendi ibn-i Saddeddin,[209] Ferruhzade İsmail Ağa bin Ramazan,[210] Muhassıl Osman Ağa ibn-i Ahmed[211], Şeraibzade el-Hac

[204] Travellers Jerome Dandini, Ioannes Cotovicus and Dominique Hurtrel described the landscape of Nicosia (Lefkoşa) by mentioning sad mud houses, domes, minarets, gardens, a vaulted bedesten, and the residence of governor along with a large square in good shape. To see the testimonies of various travellers: Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria,* 181-182, 195-196, 233.
[205] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00088.
[206] VGM_DEFTER_00987_00138.
[207] VGM_DEFTER_00624_00127.
[208] KŞS, 2/22.
[209] KŞS, 6/145.
[210] T.V.D., 5/217.
[211] KŞS 15/77.

Osman Efendi bin el-Hac Osman Ağa[212] and Vali Ebubekir Paşa bin İbrahim[213] are specifically taken into consideration, as well as ordinary waqfs which had property as a revenue source.

This thesis proposes to use waqf space as a concept by analyzing the activities and the relations of waqfs among the abovementioned areas. By depending on this concept, Lefkoşa appears as the urban center of waqf space while Değirmenlik, Piskopi, Baf, and certain villages in Amorfa form the rural areas of waqf space, with their surplus mostly transferred to Lefkoşa. In other words, regarding the distribution of waqfs' properties on the island, I claim that Lefkoşa was both the center of waqfs and waqf-oriented credit relations, as is shown in Figures 2, 4 and 5.

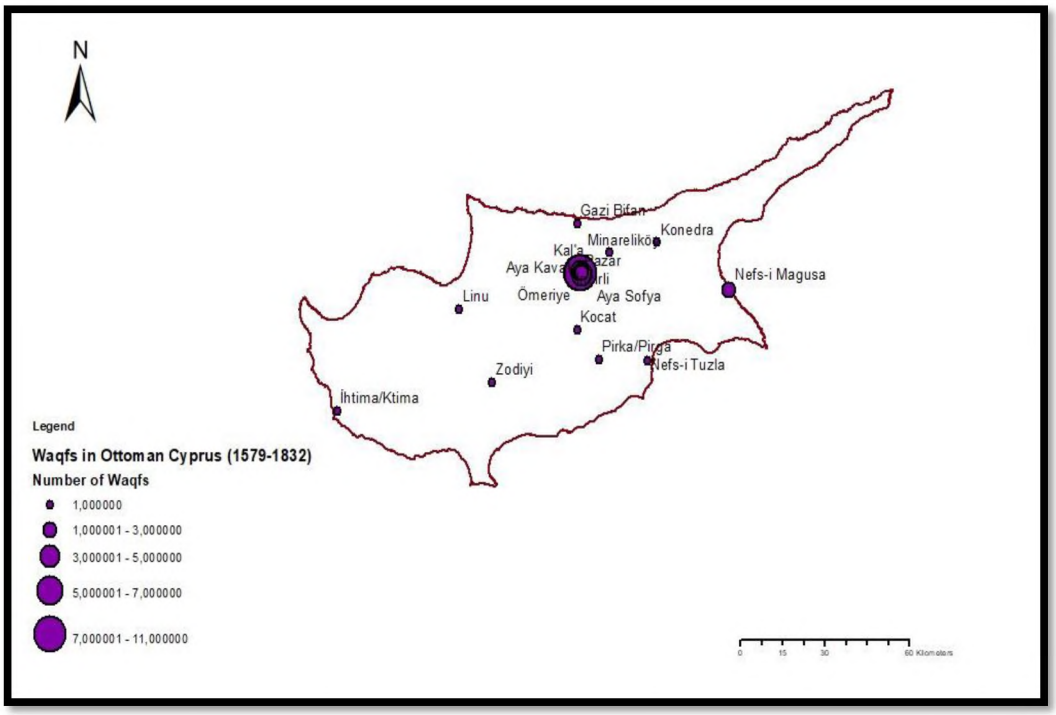



Figure 4. Spatial distribution of the settlement of waqf founders on the island

[212] T.V.D, 5/132.
[213] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 474-489.

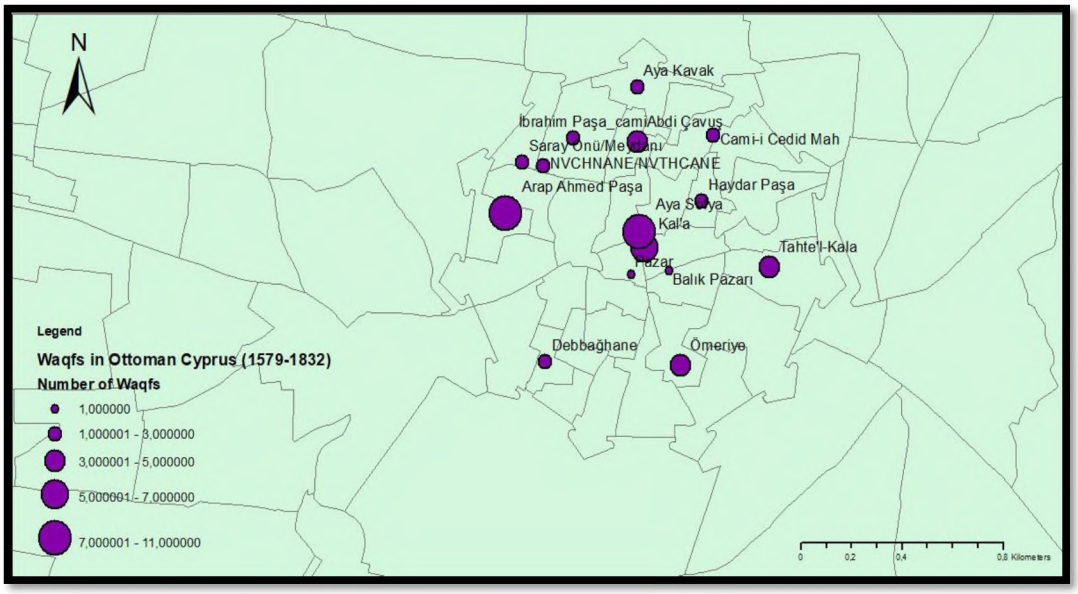



Figure 5. Spatial distribution of residences of waqf founders in Lefkoşa

On the other hand, Baf, Değirmenlik and Piskopi could be treated as the agricultural centers of waqfs.[214] Since the people who founded these waqfs mostly preferred to transfer the revenue of waqfs to Lefkoşa, the city also became the center of waqf space, a function that did not directly relate to it being administrative center. Before examining the agricultural production in the abovementioned regions, it is legitimate to ask how this waqf space became possible. This question requires us to have a look at the waqf's property relations in early modern Cyprus.

Throughout Ottoman rule on the island, regardless of changes in administrative and fiscal organization,[215] with the enaction of imperial decrees,

[214] In such circumstanses, Tuzla might be evaluated as the trade center of the island. Since European merchants dominated trade, this region could not be counted as waqf space with regard to perspective of this thesis.

[215] With the initiation of Ottoman administration in the island, Cyprus was first treated as the property of sultan, and the *timar* system was not applied. The island was governed by a *Beylerbeyi* and two *Sancakbeyis* between 1571 and 1640. A decrease in population brought about by drought, plague, locust and famine caused a considerable decrease in tax revenue. This brought about a change in the administration and only the *Beylerbeyi* remained in the central administration. In the mean time, by 1577, the *timar* system was initiated to efficiently collect taxes. In this period the island became the property of Grand Vizier and then by 1698 it was assigned as the property of *Kapudan-ı Derya*. These changes affected the power struggle on the island among the local power holders. On the other hand, to increase their tax revenue, local governors oppressed Cypriots. Alasya, T*arihte Kıbrıs*, 62-84. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 67-100.

people, mostly from the military class, began to establish waqfs, and this practice continued until the end of Ottoman administration.[216] In the following centuries, religious personnel and ordinary people became actors in waqf institutions. As a result of this, the status of properties changed both on a small and large scale. These changes also brought about new relations on the island.

It was a situation not unique to Cyprus, for the Ottoman government declared that all rural agricultural land in the empire was considered as *miri* and belonging to the state. Free-hold *(mülk)* and waqf lands were the only exceptions, for the sultan, in theory, had no claim on these lands[217] For the scope of this thesis, it was only private properties that could legally be turned into waqf property with the property becoming in perpetuity became the property of God.[218] In addition to changes in the legal status of properties such as land and *çiftlik*s, peasants living on these lands became waqf peasants. This was the theoretical and given status of the waqf spaces and those who lived on them. In practice, I argue that it was not a simple technical change in status. It both had various impacts on the distribution of wealth and became a tool for protecting the wealth of founders from confiscation or division. Furthermore, lands given by the state to certain pashas was turned into waqf property, and certain free-hold lands bought from Cypriots were also treated in the same way. This process also brought about new social relations between the waqf founder, administrator, tenants, and peasants.

Before scrutinizing the land transactions, it is crucial to note the total arable lands and the waqf's share therein. According to Güven Dinç, the total arable land on

[216] People contiuned to establish waqf after the Ottoman administration and the activities of waqf is still continuing in Cyprus. Please see Yıldırım, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs,* 258-330. Altan, *Kıbrıs'ta Türk Malları II,* 57-603. Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi II, 1199-1207.*
[217] İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 282.
[218] Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *İthafü'l-Ahlaf fi Ahkami'l-Evkaf,* 13.

the island, including field and *çiftlik*, was about 509,401 dönüm, of which approximately 193,189 dönüm of arable lands belonged to the Muslim population of the island.[219] The total amount of waqfs' land, based on the records of 48 waqfs, was about 45,024 dönüm, which means about one-fourth of Muslims' arable land on the island belonged to waqfs.[220] As was represented in various waqf deeds, especially in the early period of Ottoman administration, many *çiftlik*s and lands were bought from Muslim, non-Muslims and the state, largely by governors of the island, and then endowed. As an example of these practices, such expressions can be seen in various deeds: "…the land which was not written in the register I have bought from crown land…"[221], "…the land which I have bought from Mihail the son of Nikola"[222] or "…. I have bought from Ahmed Ağa…".[223] By analyzing these activities, it might be argued that it can be on the one hand evaluated as one of the methods of conquest of the places dominated by non-Muslims, on the other hand, be that as it may, establishing a waqf by buying adjacent lands might be evaluated from a different point of view. I argue that purchasing lands and *çiftlik*s not only from non-Muslims but also from Muslims prove that the intention of this action was beyond the religious concern; rather, this was about creating and controlling a relatively

[219] He is deriving this information from 1831 real estate census. Dinç, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs*, 228.

[220] It should be noted that these waqfs were established in different times; which means, until the 1831 census waqfs of the island might buy or sell lands. That is why this comparison can be seen dubious. However, looked at other contemporary sources, they do not indicate a dramatic change. In addition, although this thesis does not cover all waqfs in Cyprus, the wealthiest waqfs are taken into consideration. Thus, excluded waqfs do not make a considerable contribution to the amount of waqf's land.

[221] "*…Bundan akdem feth-i vilayet oldukda harbilerin taht-ı tasarrufunda olan tarlaları mülklerinden huruç idüp miri oldukda canib-i miriden mevkuf hariç-ez-defter iştira itdiğim...*" The waqf of Mehmed Bey bin Ebubekir, VGM_DEFTER_00987_00138.

[222] "*... ve yine karye-yi Lakatamyada Mihail veled-i Nikola zımmiden iştira olunan...* " The waqf of Silahdar Mehmed Ağa bin Mustafa Ağa, VGM_DEFTER_00747_00212.

[223] It should be noted that in the waqf deeds the notion "*iştira*" is used for the verb "to buy." *"... Kul Kethüdası Ahmed Ağadan iştira itdiğim"*The waqf of Grand Vizier Ali Paşa, V.D. 6/38.

autonomous *çiftlik*-like space.[224] This space provides a redistribution of wealth determined by the founder of the waqf and certain privileges within the community. In the long run, as a consequence of land transactions, a considerable amount of land, especially from the state, was given waqf status, thereby causing a change in the status of peasants who became peasants working on waqf lands.[225] In addition, it brought about tax exemptions for waqf peasants. On the other hand, they were under the control of both the waqf administrator and tenant on the waqf land on which peasants had neither usufruct nor ownership rights.[226] Therefore, waqfs extracted the surplus that was produced by peasants of Cyprus. This surplus was distributed according to the direction of the waqf deed by the administrator, a process that could take him beyond administrator status and make him akin to a landowner.

Nevertheless, this was not a dichotomy unique to waqf holders and peasants. Hadjianastasis figures out that these social groups often had similar economic interests, which were taxation, landholding, production, and trade. As a result of this, they were often enmeshed in power struggles, both local and external, which caused tension in the higher strata of society. The reason for these rivalries and struggles, which was a social characteristic of this period, was about claiming their share from the same turf.[227] In such circumstances, it can be argued that the charity function of the waqf might be used as a tool to ensure the legitimacy of their properties in the eyes of both society and the state and concomitantly to conceal its abovementioned unregistered land transactions from state lands to waqf.

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[224] Various waqf deeds consist of the following sentence: "…iştira itdiğim *birbirine muttasıl on dönüm tarla*." VGM_DEFTER_00746_00089.
[225] These new statuses were in some cases used by peasants. For instance, when the state excluded waqf's peasants to exile to Cyprus, peasants in Aksaray and Koçhisar recorded themselves as the peasants of a waqf. Dündar, *Kıbrıs Beylerbeyiliği,* 339-340.
[226] Keyder, "Introduction: Large Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire," 8.
[227] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans*, 237.

Within the context of the agrarian relations, although the *çiftlik* has been debated from different perspectives, scholars do not agree on its nature and function.[228]*Çiftlik*s were managed as commercial estates (*gutsherrschaft),* or without management, with only rent revenue generated (*grundherrschaft).*[229] For *çiftlik*s in early modern Cyprus, it seems that the latter was the conventional means of *çiftlik* administration. Generally, these *çiftlik*s were rented to the island's inhabitants; then, the income was distributed not only inside but also outside of the island.[230] In this period, waqf *çiftlik*s were also completely given to *mukataa.*[231] It is apparent that from the end of 16th century *çiftlik*s were bought by especially central and local governors and endowed on Ottoman Cyprus. Nevertheless, even production relations in these sources could not be seen; this thesis addresses the following questions: how did sub-tenant organize production in *çiftlik?* How exactly was the sequence of tenancy relations structured by actors? Were waqf *çiftlik*s worked by sharecroppers?

The waqfs with which this thesis is concerned had about 25 *çiftlik*s, which, if we take Kitchener's survey into account, was 35% of the total number on the island.[232] Although there is no detailed information about peasants who lived in waqf *çiftlik*s, it is known that peasants would pay their tax to the tax collector of that place.[233] Despite their silence on peasants and the organization of production, waqf

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[228] Keyder, "Introduction: Large-Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire," 1-17.
[229] Keyder, "Introduction: Large-Scale Commercial Agriculture in the Ottoman Empire," 4.
[230] In the different registers at the end of 16th century, it seems that a çiftlik in Balikitre was rented for 50.000 akçe per year, and a *çiftlik* in Tuzla the owner of whichwas living in Istanbul was rented for 14.000 akçe per year. A *çiftlik* in İpsilimof, in 1593, was rented for 60.000 akçe per year. Please see: Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri,* 54 case no: 253.
[231] Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti*, 257.
[232] This 1878-1883 survey of Captain Kitchener recorded 70 çiftliks in the island. https://gaia.hua.gr/kitchener/.
[233] Halil Inalcık claims that whether private, waqf or state land, since the legal status change in land does not effect the mode of production, the situation of peasants remain same. On the other hand, if we consider the point of Çevikel, it can be said that waqf administrator was introduced to the tax-collector and peasants relation. Even if we do not know the exact role of administrator, it can be presumably asserted that waqf as a landowner had an impact on peasants' conditions. Çevikel, *Kıbrıs Eyaleti,* 256. İnalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftliks:* State, Landlords, and Tenants," 18-19.

deeds provide detailed information about lands, livestock, gardens, number and type of trees and houses within a *çiftlik*.[234] Since the others will be mentioned separately, here only livestock is going to be mentioned. As was reflected in waqf deeds, sheep, goats and oxen were the primary livestock of the waqf *çiftlik*s. Table 4 shows that there were about 7,031 sheep and goats, and about 451 oxen and cattle within these *çiftlik*s. It is safe to say that sheep and goat farming was the dominant form of husbandry on the island while a pair of oxen were used for the plough. Although there is no direct information, sheep and goats in these *çiftlik*s, because of their locations were used for meat provision in Lefkoşa.

Table 4. Waqf's Animals in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/DISTRICT | SHEEP & GOATS | OXEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lefkoşa | İpsimilof | 600 | |
| 2 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | | 21 |
| 3 | Değirmenlik | Pano Milya | 300 | |
| 4 | Mesarya | Perkamo | 800 | |
| 5 | Limason | Finikarya | 600 | |
| 6 | Limason | Avgroniko | 600 | |
| 7 | Tuzla | Alaminyo | 200 | |
| 8 | Tuzla | Aya Nana | 235 | |
| 9 | Piskopi | Asomato | | 120 |
| 10 | Amorfa | Balyomilo | 540 | |
| 11 | Amorfa | Petra | 400 | 7 |
| 12 | Amorfa | Polisibo | | |
| 13 | Hirsofi | Poli Çiftliği | 1,050 | 230 |
| 14 | Kukla | Kukla Çiftliği | 340 | |
| 15 | Kukla | Mamonya | | 46 |
| 16 | Kukla | Aya Lundi Çiftliği | 966 | 27 |
| 17 | Girne | Termiye | 400 | |
| | | TOTAL | 7,031 | 451 |

To bring this point home, as is reflected in Figure 6, a considerable number of waqf *çiftlik*s surrounded Lefkoşa, even though freehold *çiftlik*s can be found all

[234] For the details about waqf çiftliks see the deed of waqfs of Cafer Paşa and Mahpeyker Sultan, Çorlulu Ali Paşa VGM_DEFTER_00624_00127, VGM_DEFTER_01642_00003 and Abuşoğlu, *Sadr-ı A'zam Çorlulu Ali Paşa'nın Vakıfnamesi,* 7-51.

around the island.[235] That is to say, various waqf owners endowed *çiftlik*s located around Lefkoşa in different periods, which leads us to perceive this area as the waqf space. By looking at the spatial distribution of waqf *çiftlik*s, I claim that these were not the *çiftlik*s that were linked with commercial agriculture and exportation in terms of their size and location. In this period, *çiftlik*s in Tuzla, mostly the freehold property of European merchants and consuls,[236] were related to commercial production and external trade.[237] In other words, it seems reasonable to argue that *çiftlik*s within waqf space being active in internal trade were one of the leading suppliers of Lefkoşa's market; additionally, the rent of these *çiftlik*s was used in shaping the landscape of Lefkoşa.

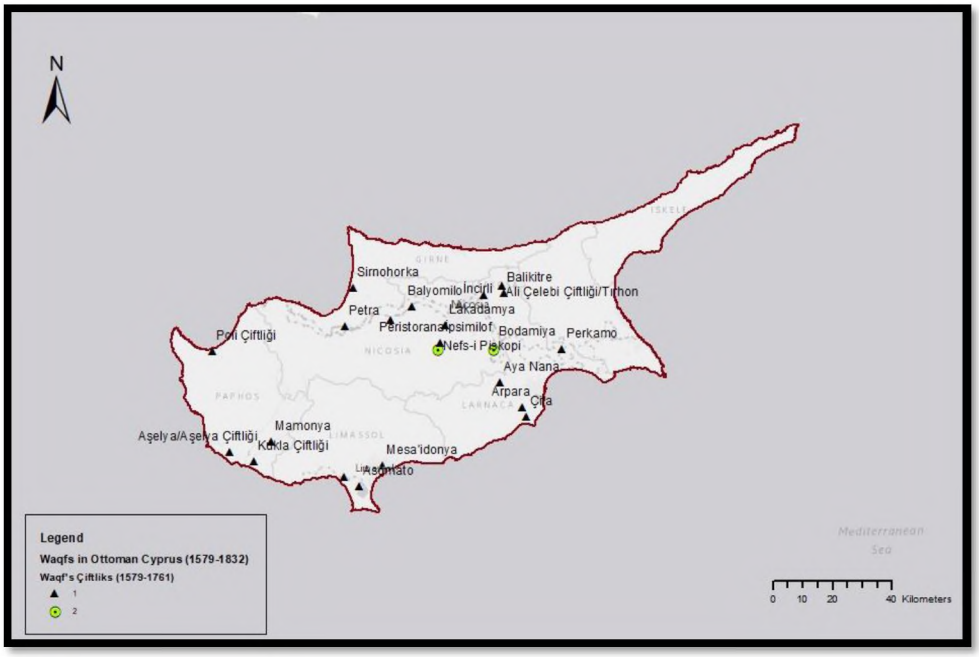



Figure 6. Spatial distribution of waqf *çiftlik*s throughout the island

[235] Locations of *çiftlik*s can be seen by using following link: https://gaia.hua.gr/kitchener/.
[236] For properties of European merchants and consuls please see: BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.d 16153_84-91. Also, for a further research about the existence, properties and relations of European consuls in the 19th century in Tuzla please see: Aymes, "The port-city in the fields: investigating an improper urbanity in mid-nineteenth-century Cyprus," 133-149.
[237] Both Gilles Veinstein and Suraiya Faroqhi imply that commercial agriculture dominant *çiftlik*s were located in areas directly open to the external markets while small size *çiftlik*s mostly were located in the vicinity of town markets. Veinstein, "On the Çiftlik Debate," 50. Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen,* 265.

That is to say, this thesis asserts that waqfs conducted a relation between the urban center and its rural surrounding by bestowing the revenue of a *çiftlik* on different structures in Lefkoşa for various reasons, and were also involved in the food supply process.

As a result, waqfs were one of the noteworthy actors in the agrarian relations of the island by controlling about 35% of *çiftlik*s and other arable lands. By endowing adjacent lands and close *çiftlik*s around Lefkoşa, waqfs created a specific type of relationship among these places. They rented in the rural part of waqf space and redistributed in the urban part. Finally, it might also be interpreted that these waqfs were not static institutions that did not participate in the process of production; instead, waqfs were the dynamic institutions that were actively involved in economic relations on the island.

To reinforce this point, it is crucial to examine the crops andkinds of agricultural production of these waqf lands to determine whether products were for commerce or local consumption. First of all, not only imperial and administrative but also ordinary waqfs had olive trees in their fields. In a birds-eye-view, according to Faruk Tabak, olive was one of the three significant features that shaped the landscape of the Mediterranean in a certain period of time.[238] In fact, olive and olive oil were the dominant products in the Mediterranean trade.[239] Parallel to the argument of Faruk Tabak, Amy Singer looks at Palestine, the eastern neighbor of Cyprus, and reveals that at the end of the 16th century demand for olive oil increased since it was

[238] The other two were wheat and small cattle for this period. He claims that these characteristic crops could be changed with political, environmental and economic conditions Fernand Braudel offers a trinity that describes the general pattern and the landscape of Mediterranean which are olive, vine and wheat. On the other hand, Antonis Hadjikyriacou proposes to look at localities in Mediterranean. By so doing, he claims that cotton, silk and grain were favorite crops in Ottoman Cyprus. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 236. Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz*, 38-39. Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island,* 43.

[239] Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz*, 195.

used in soap production, cooking, and lighting. Soap was for both local consumption and export, being sent to Egypt and Istanbul in considerable quantities.[240] It dominated the economy of mountain villages of Nablus and Jerusalem. By the same token, Molly Greene highlights that olive oil and wine were the two prominent commercial crops in a western neighbor of Cyprus, namely the island of Crete.[241] As had happened in Palestine, the soap industry in Crete grew in the 18th century, bringing about competition for olive oil as a raw material.[242]

On the other hand, when Ottoman Cyprus is scrutinized, it is clear that olive was not the favorite crop tree of Cypriots. According to Antonis Hadjikyriacou, olive could not reach a central position, unlike for its eastern and western neighbors, since the production of olive oil was not big enough both in quantity and quality.[243] Although it was crucial for local consumption, olive was not central to the lives of the peasants of Cyprus.[244] It can be assumed that because of the developed market relations of its neighbors which were Syria, Palestine, and Crete in olive oil trade, the products of Cyprus could not be commercialized in that period.

The waqfs of Cyprus, on the other hand, used olive oil for specific purposes within the island. It is noteworthy that the total number of olive trees on the island were about 143,221, with 112,334 belonging to non-Muslims and 30,887 to Muslims in the early 19th century.[245] As is shown in Table B3, waqfs had about 12,434 olive trees, which was equal to about 10% of the total number on the island. If only the olive trees of Muslims are considered, almost half were waqf property. As can be seen in Figure 7, low-density olive production existed almost everywhere on the

[240] Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 77-79.
[241] Greene, *Shared World*, 110.
[242] Greene, *Shared World*, 137.
[243] Hadjikyriacou, *Osmanlı Kıbrısında Tahıl*, 60.
[244] Hadjikyriacou, *Osmanlı Kıbrısında Tahıl*, 58.
[245] Dinç, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs,* 256.

island but was concentrated around two centers, Lefkoşa and Tuzla.[246] Furthermore, turning to Figure 8, it can be shown that the spatial distribution of waqf olive trees exhibits a similar pattern, resembles the spatial distribution of olive production as was shown in the 1572 census. Similar to the distribution of waqf *çiftlik*s, Lefkoşa's hinterland especially was prominent in terms of waqf olive trees, but Tuzla was also part of waqf space in this regard. Analyzing waqf deeds to trace the olive usage would help to understand this distribution further.

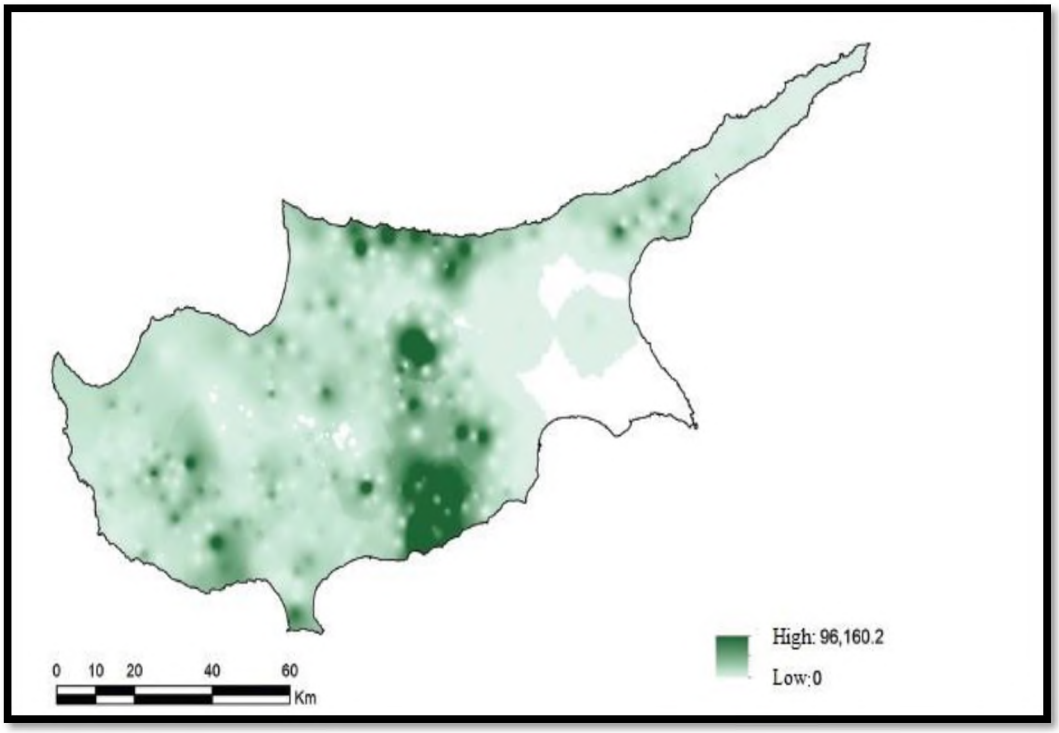



Figure 7. Spatial distribution of olive production in 1572
Source: Hadjikyriacou, "Kıbrıs'ın 1572 Yılı Mufassal Defterinin Analizi," 47.

[246] He also points out that the scale of olive production in Cyprus can only be understood by comparing it with quantitative data of olive production in Palestine and Crete which is not studied yet. Hadjikyriacou, *Çevre Tarihi, İktisat Tarihi, Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri*, 47-48.

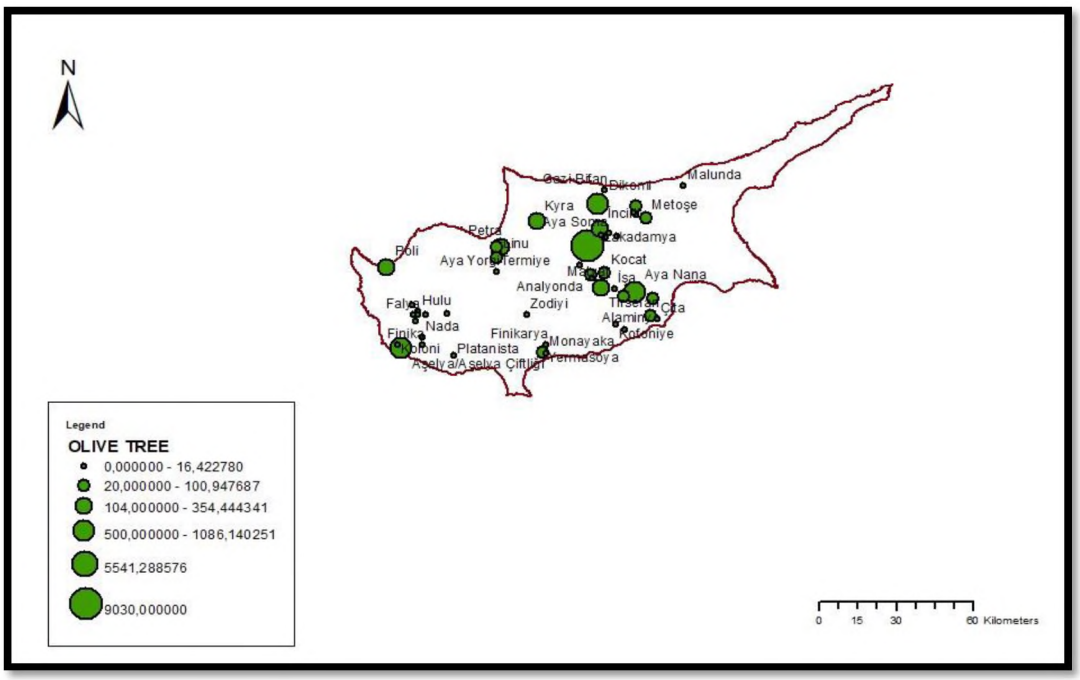



Figure 8. Spatial distribution of waqfs' olive trees throughout the island

Whether it was a small or colossal number, the olive tree was one of the best crop trees of waqfs on the island, and olive oil was one of the most endowed production. The deeds of waqfs acknowledge the ways in which waqfs would use olive: firstly, olive orchards were rented out, and this rent was distributed by the waqfs:[247] secondly, olive oil was used as a product, one that went to mosques and schools for use in lighting.[248] In addition to this, olive oil was also used for the salary payment of madrasa teachers. For instance, Muhassıl Osman Ağa ibn-i Ahmed endowed his 130 olive trees[249] for the salaries of the teacher and administrator. In this case, these salaries and expenditures for repair were paid in olive oil. The olive

[247] To see such an example please see: the waqf of *muhassıl* Seyyid el-hac Mehmed Ağa VGM_DEFTER_00989_00111, the waqf of Çektirizade Hacı Yusuf Ağa, KŞS. 31/ 133.
[248] It can be seen almost in every waqf that had olive trees. KŞS. 11/19, 22/101, 27/118, 29/169, 31/133 VD. 4/11, 6/75.
[249] To give an idea, in Edremit 20-25 kg olives were produced per tree. Furthermore, Gökalp observes that the villagers of Sofular in the province of Aydın in 1960s obtained a liter of oil for each 4-6kg of olives, which has not changed much since Roman times. In addition to this, as it was mentioned the value of an olive tree was about 100 akçe in Cyprus in the 18th and 19th centuries. Faroqhi, *Wealth and Power in the Land of Olives,* 86-87.

oil was divided into ten shares, one share was given to the administrator of the waqf and one was given as tithe. Of the remaining eight shares, four were given to the teacher, two to the deputy teacher, and the last two went towards repair expenses.[250] There is no further indication as to whether they used olive oil as a product or turned it into cash, but in any case it is apparent that olive oil was also used as a tool of payment for the waqfs in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. Thus, the thesis points out that olive as a commercial agricultural product in Ottoman Cyprus, despite being less significant than it was for its neighbors, was an indispensable signifier of waqf space and crucial for waqfs both as revenue and expenditure item.

Having mentioned the meaning of olive production both for Cyprus and the waqfs of Cyprus, the thesis is going to focus on mulberry trees. Ali Efdal Özkul shows that as the raw material of sericulture, mulberry gardens and trees were prominent in irrigated farming on the island. Even if its fruits were food material for both human and animals, the main incentive for growing mulberry trees was financial as they provided the raw material, silk, for textile production, largely until the 17th century.[251] Güven Dinç points out that in the following centuries silk production intensified in Magusa, Baf, Tuzla, Karpas, and Girne. The production in these places reached 70,000 to 80,000 lbs per year.[252] Analyzing this information with the silk production records of the 1572 census by utilising Figure 9, it seems that over the centuries silk production became widespread around the island. As far as can be seen, Magusa and Karpas, absent in the 1572 census, were later added to the silk producing regions. If the growing interest of European merchants in silk is

[250] "*…muallim-i sıbyan olan efendiler mütevelli olub eşcar-ı zeytunun beher sene mahsulünden sahib-i arsa tarafına eda-yı öşür eyledikden sonra ma-baki on sehm kılınıp bir sehimi mütevelliye vazife*…ve sekiz sehmden dördü muallim-i sıbyana vazife…", KŞS. 15/77.
[251] Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, 376.
[252] 2.2. lbs is equal to 1 kg. Dinç, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs,* 257.

taken into consideration, the rise of Tuzla and Magusa, as important ports, is not a surprise. Furthermore, looking at the Mediterranean scale, Faruk Tabak traces a pattern similar to Cyprus in the same period.

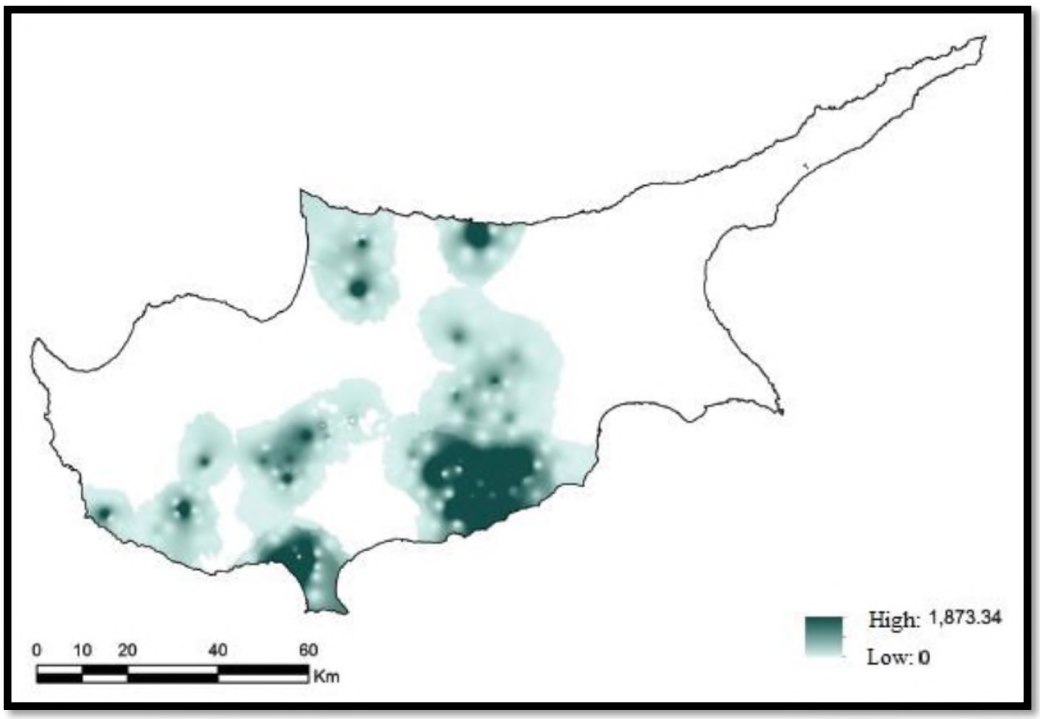



Figure 9. Spatial distribution of silk production of Cyprus in 1572
Source: Hadjikyriacou, "Kıbrıs'ın 1572 Yılı Mufassal Defterinin Analizi," 48.

He claims that in the mountainous regions from the Taurus mountains to Jabal Ansariyya, mountain ranges in northwestern Syria, during the 17th century sericulture achieved a respectable presence, and in the higher altitudes where mulberry trees were abundant, the silk industry prevailed. During the 18th century, in Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and in a certain part of Anatolia, silk found a crucial market.[253] Similarly, on Cyprus in the vicinity of the aforementioned places, mulberry trees became a crucial commercial crop tree on the island. By taking their credit debts as in kind, European merchants of Cyprus forced the peasants to make

[253] Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of Mediterranean*, 160.

commercial agriculture by forcing them to plant madder, mulberry trees, and cotton.[254] In the 18th century, one of the primary ways of financing agriculture was getting credit from European merchants. By providing credits, they not only assured their supply of merchandise but also received commercial agricultural products, i.e., cotton and silk.[255]

Mulberry trees were also another significant crop tree of the waqfs on the island. Unlike olive, mulberry trees could be considered as the commodity crop trees on the island because of its commercial value. In such circumstances, it can be said that waqfs were not only involved in the agricultural relations of the island but also became a part of commercial agricultural production. Therefore, it is not a mistake to deduce that waqfs via their administrators must have had connections not only with local traders but also with merchants who had contacts in silk markets outside the island. Waqfs had 3,137 mulberry trees and 44 dönüm of mulberry gardens in various locations on Cyprus, as is reflected in Figure 10. It is important to note that it was mostly the governors' waqfs that had mulberry trees on their waqf lands. For instance, as was mentioned in its deed, the waqf of Muhassıl Ebubekir Paşa had 20 dönüm of mulberry gardens in the village of Kvlnba[256]in Tuzla. In addition to these gardens, the waqf also had a large silk house with two rooms.[257] It can be speculated that this waqf also provided the raw material itself, consequently it was involved in the production process.

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[254] Demiryürek, "Merchants and Artisans in Tuzla in the first half of the Nineteenth Century," 270. For agriculture in Ottoman Tuzla please see: Balta& Ayar, "Ottoman Larnaca in the Age of Reforms," 245-267.

[255] Stravides, "Agricultural Loans," 293.

[256] The village name could not be read.

[257] To see a copy of original waqf deed and a transcription see: Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi,* 474-489. For further information see: Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 257. Özoran, "Kıbrıs Adasında Bekir Paşa Vakfı," 27-29.

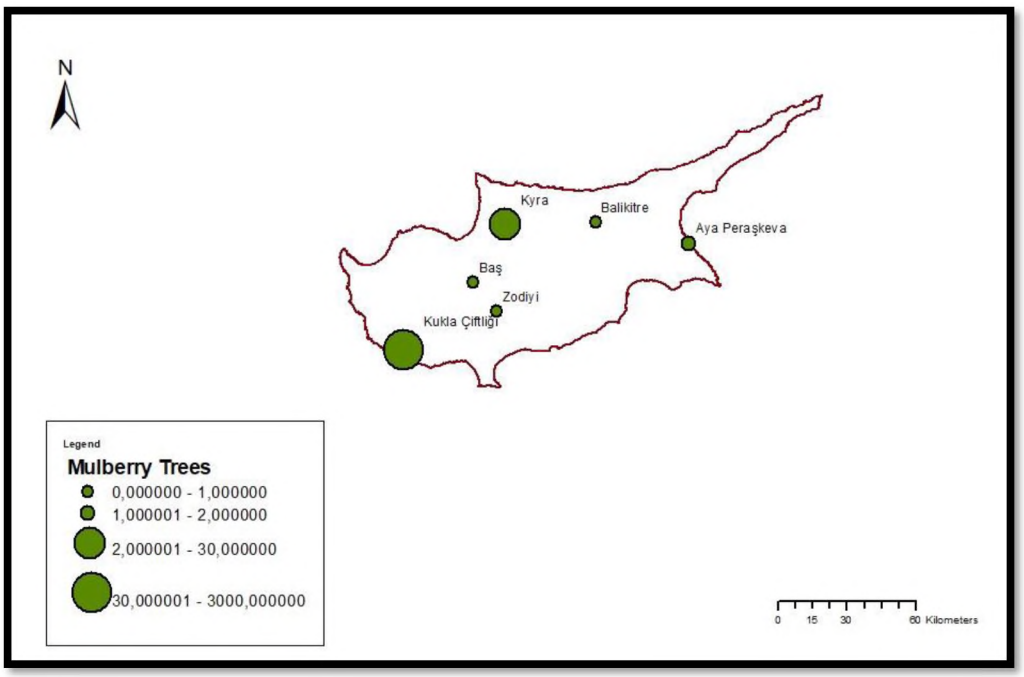



Figure 10. Spatial distribution of waqfs' mulberry trees throughout the island

Furthermore, of the total 3,137 mulberry trees owned by waqfs Mahpeyker Sultan's waqf had 3,000 in the *çiftlik* of Kukla[258] while the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa had about 100 in the different villages of Amorfa.[259] It is crucial to note that while Ebubekir Paşa's waqf was involved in the production process with a large silk house, the waqf of Mahpeyker Sultan was the only landholder which transferred the rent revenue of Cyprus to the madrasa and mosque in Üsküdar.[260] From another point of view, waqfs can be divided , along lines of agricultural production, with the specific agricultural product of ordinary waqfs, i.e., olive related to internal consumption while wealthy waqfs were involved in a commercial product, i.e., silk which was a crucial asset of Mediterranean trade. In addition to this view, looking at Figure 10, unlike the distribution of waqf olive and *çiftliks,* which were mostly located in the vicinity of Lefkoşa, waqf mulberry trees and gardens were located near the main

[258] VGM_DEFTER_01642_00008.
[259] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00090.
[260] VGM_DEFTER_01642_00011.

ports. I argue that the spatial distribution of revenue items can tell us something about the type of production, whether related to internal trade and subsistence or commerce. As a result, it seems in this picture that waqfs were an actor, with European merchants, in agricultural production not only by providing credit but also by actively participating in the production process. In contrast to olive, which was the main tree crop of almost all waqfs, mulberry trees, despite their spatial concentration, made certain waqfs actors in the provision of raw material to external trade.

Last but not least, agricultural production in fields such as grain, barley, cotton, and wheat were indispensable for both subsistence of the island and trade. According to Antonis Hadjikyriacou, being one of the three most significant commercial crops on the island (alongside silk and grain), cotton was at the center of agricultural production.[261] After the Ottoman conquest of the island, a considerable amount of sugar fields were turned into cotton fields.[262] As is seen in Figure 11, cotton production spread throughout the island, but it was only concentrated in certain regions.[263] However, by the 17th century, with changes in international trade, cotton production increased all around the island.[264] Faruk Tabak claims that for the commercial cultivation of cotton, the organizational capabilities of large estates or local notables were needed.[265] If so, then it is not a coincidence that in this period, European consuls bought properties mostly in Tuzla and were actively involved in cotton production. On the other hand, the argument of Tabak also explains the absence of waqfs in cotton production. As far as the thesis is concerned, only the

[261] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island,* 46.
[262] Dinç, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kıbrıs, 257.*
[263] Hadjikyriacou, *Çevre Tarihi, İktisat Tarihi ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri,* 48.
[264] Hadjikyriacou, *Çevre Tarihi, İktisat Tarihi ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri,* 48.
[265] Tabak, *The Waning of Mediterranean*, 285.

waqf of Governor Cafer Paşa bin Abdülmemnan had cotton fields, about 33 dönüm in Korfi and Avgroniko villages of Limassol.[266] Taking only Tabak's approach is not enough to understand the absence of waqfs in cotton production. Nevertheless, there is still the question of why waqfs did not involve themselves in cotton production on the island.

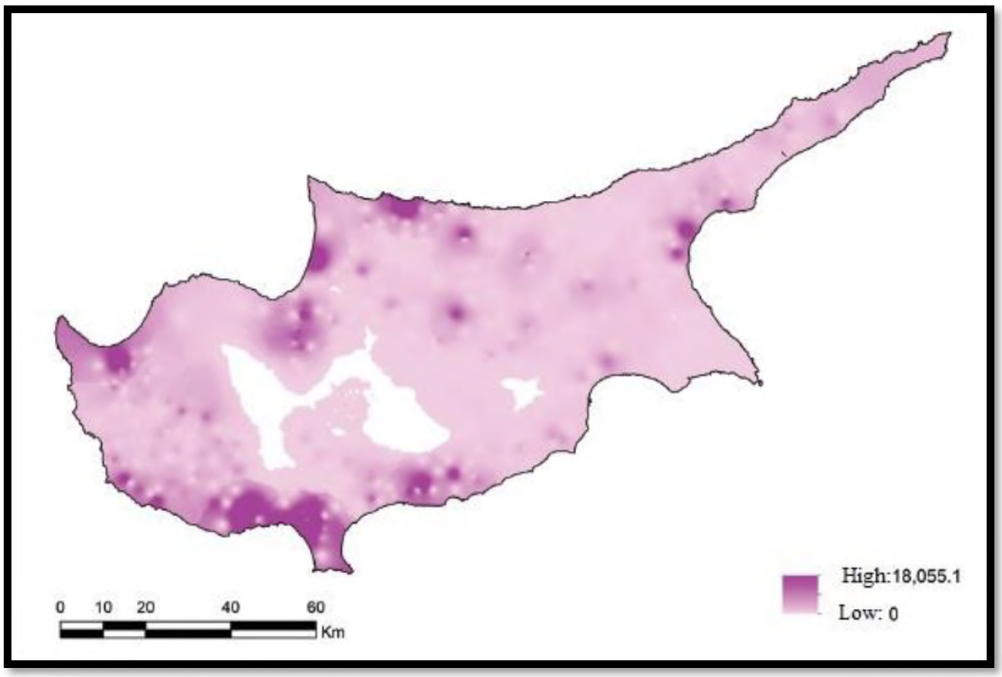



Figure 11. Spatial distribution of cotton production on Cyprus in 1572
Source: Hadjikyriacou, "Kıbrıs'ın 1572 Yılı Mufassal Defterinin Analizi," 48.

It is well-known that the production of grain was widespread on the island. In fact, to meet demand on the island the export of grain, unless it was in considerable abundance, was forbidden.[267] Hadjianastasis shows that as a result of the intensive cultivation of grains, the principal mill town of the island, Değirmenlik (Kythrea), was established.[268] According to him, the importance of the area was beyond doubt

[266] The waqf also had 3900 dönüm field in the different villages of the same region. VGM_DEFTER_00624_00129.
[267] It seems that grains were exported to European countries by people who recieved permission from local authorities. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 118.
[268] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,* 173.

since Balikitre, a village in Mesarya plain, constituted more than 50% of the total production of the grain.[269] Balikitre is located very close to both Değirmenlik and Lefkoşa, in which larger markets existed that could absorb a greater yield. To demonstrate the importance of location, Balikitre, in spite of its smaller population, produced five times more of similar crops than Ayios Sergios, which was located further east.[270]

Not surprisingly, two significant waqfs had a considerable number of fields and other properties in the village of Balikitre. While the waqf of Mufti Ahmed Efendi had a *çiftlik* which consisted of 628 dönüm of fields,[271] the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa had 2,260 dönüm of fields.[272] Figure 12 illustrates that not only in Balikitre but also all around the island, various waqfs had about 38,918 dönüm of fields.[273] Although in many cases waqf deeds do not specify the type of the cultivated product, in some cases it is apparent that cotton or grain and barley were produced within these lands. For instance, Cafer Paşa's waqf had 2,189 *kile*[274] of wheat and barley seed, which was between 26,268 kg and 32,835 kg.[275] On the other hand, the most popular way of deriving revenue from fields like *çiftlik*s was renting.[276] In that sense, waqfs might be thought of as landholders in the agrarian

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[269] Its importance to the whole island was so great that when Çifutoğlu Ahmed Paşa wanted to break the resistance of the rebel Boyacıoğlu, he captured Kythrea and blocked flour supplies, forcing the island, as Kyprianos puts it, "to be without bread". Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,* 174.

[270] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,* 179.

[271] In addition to fields, there were also one mill, one house, one mulberry tree, and one toilet within the *çiftlik* of Mufti Ahmed Efendi's waqf in Balikitre. KŞS. 6/145.

[272] This waqf had also 20 houses, 8 dönüm of gardens with water, 526.5 dönüm *mezra* and a number of trees in Balikitre. VGM_DEFTER_00746_00097.

[273] It should be noted that 1 dönüm of fields around the Aydemet village in Tuzla was sold for 100 akçe in 1594. Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri*, 190 case no: 611.

[274] 1 Cypriot *kile* was equal to 1/5 or 1/4 *kafiz.* 1 *kafiz* for barley was equal to about 60 kg. Therefore, 1 Cypriot *kile* was equal to about 12-15 kg. For the Cypriot *kile:* Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 354. For the *kafiz:* Kallek, "Kafiz," 155-157.

[275] VGM_DEFTER_624_128.

[276] Since there is no detailed information about renting in the waqf deeds, the thesis is going to focus on this matter by scrutinizing the waqf's account registers in the last chapter.

relations of the island. Finally, besides the charitable purposes of waqfs with these grains, trade relations between waqfs and peasants were also created.[277]

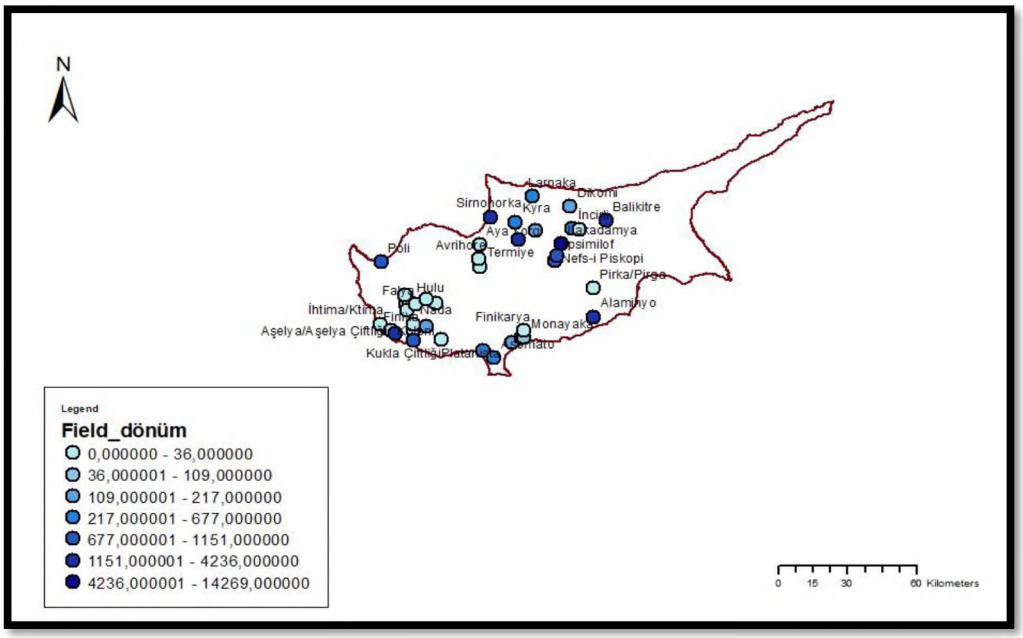



Figure 12. Spatial distribution of waqfs' field throughout the island

All in all, by visualizing the waqf deeds, when we look at the spatial distribution of waqf *çiftlik*s, fields, and tree crops, it is apparent that certain waqfs created the place of agricultural relations of waqf space within the most fertile regions of the island. Depending on this, scrutinizing each component separately suggests that although olive was not a tree crop on which peasants' subsistence depended, it was one of the essential endowment items for waqfs of Cyprus, except the wealthiest ones. On the other hand, cotton and silk were crucial agricultural products for Ottoman Cyprus, but they were not the favored products for waqfs. Finally, it is the common point for agricultural production on the island that they required water through a well-planned irrigation system. The following part is devoted to the function of waqfs in water management.

[277] For such an example please see: Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis," 43-70 Faroqhi, "Vakf Administration in the 16th century Konya," 145-172.

### 3.1.2 Water management

Different geographies necessitate different irrigation systems. Because of the environmental conditions of Cyprus, careful distribution of water was needed. Three natural features of Cyprus, which are the absence of large and permanently flowing rivers, the absence of high mountains and consequently of snow-fed rivers, and a hot climate, caused water scarcity and drought.[278] Since water scarcity was a phenomenon in the island, especially after the 17th century,[279] the construction of structures for water storage and irrigation management has always been a crucial area in the administration of the island. Thus, this chapter is devoted to scrutinizing the role of waqfs in the supply and distribution of water in the rural parts of Cyprus.

Despite individual discussions about it, the use of water still needs elaborate and comprehensive research for the history of the Ottoman Empire regarding the construction and control of water supply systems. From a general point of view, it is Karl Wittfogel's well-known argument that only central administrations could manage and organize the huge amount of labor needed for the implementation of water management systems. By the same token, Russian scholar Tolstov claims that only with a massive amount of labor could the central administration construct such structures.[280] Recent studies, however, show that the building of irrigation systems did not require mass labor. In fact, rather than requiring central administration, local knowledge played a crucial role.[281] Among other studies, the research of Ellen Arnold into water controls in medieval Ardennes makes this argument clear. She

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[278] Lepida, "Water Management Issues in an Ottoman Province: The Case of Cyprus in the Seventeenth Century," 136.
[279] Traveller accounts from 17th century witnessed drought and the scarcity of water on the island. For a brief evaluation of these accounts: Lepida, "Water Management Issues," 135-136.
[280] Kim&Pianciola, "Introduction: Watering the Land Based Empires," 537-538.
[281] For a detailed study please see: Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt*. Also: Mikhail, "Introduction: Middle East Environmental History: The Fallow between Two Fields," 8. Mikhail, "An İrrigated Empire: The View from Ottoman Fayyum," 582.

points out that throughout their existence in the region, the monks of the Ardennes shaped the water resources, turning them to human profit. Moreover, by telling miracle stories, they also maintained the monastic control of water.[282] Here, the central point is that it was the monastery that managed and controlled the water resources, not the king or central administration. In another study on the Xing dynasty of China, Eric Shcluessel examines water management patterns by focusing on the role of local government and powerholders and the custom of communities in the Xinjiang province of China.[283] He explains how the water distribution systems of the Muslim-majority regions of Xinjiang, where the infrastructure was built through local knowledge, served the field closest to the water source first. The water would be cut off after one circuit and the sluice gate opened for the next plot, with each plot irrigated in sequence as part of what Schluessel describes as a system of "rotating distribution."[284] These examples of approaches to water management from different geographies can be used as an apparatus for analyzing waqfs' water management in Ottoman Cyprus.

In a situation similar to, although not exactly the same as, the abovementioned control and distribution patterns, waqfs were not only the most significant agent in providing credit in production and trade but also actors in the water management in the early modern Ottoman Cyprus. Unlike the monastic discourse, waqf deeds do not provide miracle stories or a language that attributes sacredness to water. Waqf institutions perceived the water as subsistence and commodity. That is to say, water was considered as another property of a waqf, and stipulations were made in the waqf deed, theoretically governing both its distribution

[282] Arnold, "Engineering Miracles: Water Control, Conversion and the Creation of a Religious Landscape in the Medieval Ardennes," 480.
[283] Shcluessel, "Water, Justice, and Local Government in Turn-of-the-Century Xinjiang," 600.
[284] Shcluessel, "Water, Justice, and Local Government in Turn-of-the-Century Xinjiang," 604.

and usage.[285] Nevertheless, Haşim Altan points out that maladministration of waqfs, tacit expressions in waqf deeds, contestation of the legal status of water between administrators of waqf and community, and dry wells have always created problems in practice.[286]

For rural water management and distribution, waqfs also built new irrigation channels and wells or repaired old ones. Examining the waqf of Ebubekir Paşa, which was featured in the construction of irrigation channels and wells, provides a good example.[287] For the irrigation of the rural part of the Tuzla region, the waqf built aqueducts and irrigation channels; in this case, it is essential to note that the waqf deed is dated to 1748,[288] in the period in which cotton production increased on the island as a consequence of rising demand from the external market. Another remarkable point is that this sizable investment in infrastructure occurred in this period when the island was administrated as *malikane* system (life-term tax farming) by governor Ebubekir Paşa as the *malikane*-holder.[289] Although the reason behind this investment made by the waqf of Ebubekir Paşa is not apparent, Hadjikyriacou argues that Ebubekir Paşa have felt that his position was secure, or that the Grand Vizier might have thought that the island suitable for such an investment.[290] One way or another, it is apparent that the more irrigated a region, the higher the agricultural production and consequently tax revenue. Thus, turning back to the main topic, the waqf provided water in an arid region of the island, Tuzla, and distributed it to people who lived in that region regardless of whether they were Muslims or non-

[285] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 471.
[286] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 513.
[287] Various waqfs made major or minor contributions to water management in urban contexts, they will be mentioned in the next part.
[288] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 489.
[289] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island, 134.*
[290] Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island, 135.*

Muslims.[291] It applied the rotating distribution system by renting half the amount of water to Feyzullah Efendi and half to Nikola, the son of Piri.[292] As a result of water distribution, the waqf of Ebubekir Paşa gained 152.5 *kuruş* (about 18,300 *akçe)* rent revenue per year.[293]

It is a well-known fact that agriculture on the island required water. It was supplied from rivers by building surface or underground irrigation channels or groundwaters by digging wells from which water was pumped with large wheels driven by oxen or horses.[294] Hadjianastasis and Özkul show that because of the scarcity of water on the island, people as individuals had accepted water as a commodity; consequently, they bought and sought the water rights from each other.[295] In a similar manner, waqfs commodified water as well. Various waqf deeds clarify the pattern of waqfs in water distribution. Usually, waqfs rented the right of irrigation of the land to Cypriots limited to a predetermined number of hours per set period.[296] Furthermore, it should also be noted that lands were commonly rented or endowed with their irrigation rights. To illustrate this, the waqf of Serbevvabin-ı Dergah-ı Ali Hasan Ağa had 22 hours of irrigation rights per 15 days for its 90 dönüm of fields which were assigned by the sultan (*temlik-i saltanat)* in Piskopi.[297] Furthermore, the waqf of Ferruhzade İsmail Ağa had four hours of irrigation rights per 15 days for its 36 dönüm of sugar fields in Piskopo. In total, waqfs had 578

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[291] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, 490.
[292] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 488.
[293] To understand the rent revneue of water, five dönüm of mulberry gardens with a house with a two-storey and water use right were sold for 800 *kuruş.* Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 313. The last chapter of this thesis will also provide a closer look at the various rent revenues of waqfs.
[294] Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 372. Lepida, *Water Management Issues,* 140.
[295] Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans*, 136. Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi,* 283. Hadjianastasis also highlights the significance of water on the island and points out that this significance is expressed by a complicated system of water-sharing which the locals claimed came from ancient times and was devised by Solon the Lawgiver himself. Hadjianastasis, *Bishops, Ağas and Dragomans,* 183.
[296] For brief abstracts about water distribution of waqfs please see: Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları,* 471-513.
[297] KŞS. 15/107.

dönüm sugar field and 97 hours of irrigation rights per 15 days in the town center of Piskopo.[298] A final example is the waqf of the head of the provincial treasury Şeraibzade el-Hac Osman Efendi, which possessed 46 dönüm of sugar fields with irrigation rights of 16.5 hours per 15 days from a river in Piskopi.[299]

Rotating distribution, in early modern Ottoman Cyprus, was also applied by the court to solve disputes around irrigation rights among the peasants of two villages, namely Meniko and Akça, that shared the Çay Korkasa river in Amorfa. Brought to an Istanbul court, the dispute was solved in a similar way to the Xianyang instance, by giving 36 hours per week first usage rights to the peasants of Meniko and the rest to the peasants of Akça.[300] To put it simply, both the courts and waqfs of Cyprus applied rotating distribution systems to the management of water for irrigation in the rural context. As a result, this active and prominent role of the waqf institution not only brought an economic benefit but also gave a social power since it managed a considerable amount of water and the gave right of distributing it to any person that was deemed appropriate by a waqf administrator.

From the environmental perspective, the waqf was an institution that controlled the natural resources, i.e., water, in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. The most concrete examples of this are mills, in addition to aqueducts and irrigation channels. For the subsistence of the island, especially of Lefkoşa, mills were critical structures since the ground wheat of Değirmenlik was the raw material of bakers in Lefkoşa. In fact, Ellen Arnold points out that mills were the expensive, successful, and necessary parts of the agricultural infrastructure. Also, they were a visible sign

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[298] *"... 133 dönüm şekerhane tarlalarından başkaca Piskopi suyu günde 24 saat hakk-ı şeriye ile altı kıt'a tarla... "*, VGM_DEFTER_00730_ 00059, VGM_DEFTER_00730_00060.
[299] *"... ceman kırk altı dönüm şekerhane tarlaları dimekle maruf ve Piskopide ceryan iden nehirden beher on beş günde on altı buçuk saat hakk-ı şer'i olan ma-yı carisiyle mülkünden ifraz ve vakf idüb... "*, TVD. 5/132.
[300] Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, 218.

of the wealth, the status of their owners, and human control of the landscape.[301] As has been stated, the crucial role of watermills was the grinding cereals and grains with the power of water.[302] It is important to note that since they were easy to construct and cheaper than other mills, water mills dominated in the Değirmenlik and Lapta regions of the island.[303] In such an understanding, as the most concrete structures of human's attempt to control nature, many mills were constructed and rented out by the waqfs of Cyprus. For instance, according to Nurbanu Tosun Soyel, various waqfs had 82 watermills around Değirmenlik, Lefke, and Lapta.[304] In addition to this, Table 5 shows that waqfs had 121 water mills in total in different regions of the island. To illustrate this, the waqf of Mehmed Bey, the son of Ebubekir, which was a crucial waqf for water distribution in Baf, had eight watermills and a water wheel in different villages in the area.[305] Thus, by usually renting water mills, waqfs acquired a considerable level of revenue, for example between 2,200 and 3,000 akçe per year at the end of the 16th century.[306]

[301] Arnold, "Engineering Miracles," 488.
[302] Soyel, *Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki Tarihi Su Değirmenleri,* 34.
[303] Since it was in the hinterland of Lefkoşa, the mills in Değirmenlik were attractive for rebels, who seized them and caused scarcity in Lefkoşa in 1680 and 1765. Soyel, *Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki Tarihi Su Değirmenleri,* 52-58.
[304] Soyel, *Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki Tarihi Su Değirmenleri,* 55.
[305] VGM_DEFTER_00987_00139.
[306] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri*, 210 case no: 664.

Table 5. Waqfs' Mills in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/DISTRICT | MILL |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Değirmenlik | Pano Horsiye | 1 |
| 2 | Magusa | Kvmndnh | 2 |
| 3 | Magusa | Nefs-i Magusa | 1 |
| 4 | Amorfa | Peristorana | 3 |
| 5 | Amorfa | Petra | 2 |
| 6 | Baf | Malunda | 2 |
| 7 | Baf | Finika | 2 |
| 8 | Baf | Platanista | 1 |
| 9 | Baf | Aşelya | 1 |
| 10 | Baf | Sndy | 1 |
| 11 | Baf | Celocedra | 1 |
| 12 | Baf | Ptavrbv | 1 |
| 13 | Limason | Yermasoya | 1 |
| 14 | Limason | Kolos | 10 |
| 15 | Limason | Finikarya | 1 |
| 16 | Limason | Rakna? | 1 |
| 17 | Tuzla | Alaminyo | 3 |
| 18 | Tuzla | İskele | 1 |
| 19 | Tuzla | Kvlnba | 1 |
| 20 | Tuzla | Aya Yorgi Manastırı | 1 |
| 21 | Kukla | Mamonya | 3 |
| 22 | Girne | Planya | 10 |
| 23 | Girne | Ematine | 2 |
| 24 | Girne | Termiye | 2 |
| 25 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | 12 |
| 26 | Lefkoşa | Knrya | 31 |
| 27 | Lefkoşa | Saray Önü | 2 |
| 28 | Lefkoşa | İstavrit? Bvrsya | 4 |
| 29 | Lefkoşa | Piskopi | 1 |
| 30 | Lefkoşa | Santa Katerina | 1 |
| 31 | Piskopi | Svtlyn | 1 |
| 32 | Lefke | Aya Yorgi | 3 |
| 33 | Lefke | Avrihore | 2 |
| 34 | Lefke | Timmirka | 3 |
| 35 | Lefke | Kuraku | 2 |
| 36 | Lefke | Ğalat | 5 |
| | | TOTAL | 121 |

In addition to their value as built structures, they were also significant in human-nature interactions. In a recently published article, Antonis Hadjikyriacou raises a legitimate question about how the economy of early modern Cyprus depended on water-intensive commercial agriculture. He takes climate change, a consequence of the Little Ice Age, into consideration along with human interaction

with the natural sources of the island.[307] By raising this question, he makes a point about human-nature relations in the case of water and a human desire to control and shape nature in accordance with human needs. In early modern Cyprus, this thesis claims, water management through the building of channels, water wells, and mills was one of the most prominent functions of waqf institutions. I show that as a consequence of this function of waqfs, human interaction with water, and attempt to change it with an institution of the Ottoman Empire. All in all, the geo-location and geomorphological features of Cyprus inhibited the precise management of water. Owing to the irregular flows of rivers and water scarcity, both irrigation channels and mills were significant actors in agriculture in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. As the owner of these possessions and water distribution rights, it is safe to say that the waqf institution had authority in rural water management of the island.

To conclude, utilising the spatial distribution of waqf properties, which had begun to accumulate after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, this thesis proposes the concept of waqf space. In the rural context, this concept illustrates the agrarian relations of waqfs on the island. By renting *çiftlik,* fields, water, and mills, waqfs gained a position in agricultural production. When we examined the olive, mulberry tree, and cotton, although olive was not the favorite tree crops for peasants, it was indispensable both as revenue and expenditure possession of waqfs while cotton and mulberry tree were not attractive in this regard. The spatial distributions of waqf properties show that the relations between the agricultural part of waqf space and Lefkoşa, the urban center, was conducted by waqfs. In addition to taking its share from one of the most fertile lands in the Mesarya valley and Baf, they were able to

[307] Hadjikyriacou, *Çevre Tarihi, İktisat Tarihi ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri,* 49.

participate in and control in a way the market in Lefkoşa. The following part will investigate the activities of waqfs within the urban part of waqf space.

## 3.2 Urban waqf space in Ottoman Cyprus

It is clear that waqfs were not only actors in agricultural relations as credit providers, landholders, and distributors. Urban places were also a significant arena for the waqfs. For a number of reasons, waqfs both constructed and shaped structures such as mosques, schools, fountains, baths, shops, and inns. That is to say, the urban landscape of the island, primarily Lefkoşa, was shaped by the redistribution of the rural and urban income of the island through waqfs. This was not only about the change in religious buildings from churches to mosques, for waqfs also were involved in and invigorated the economic life of the region by endowing shops, inns, and baths. Additionally, as in the cases of administrator-imams in the ordinary and cash waqfs, the governor *(muhassıl)* of the island played a crucial part in the waqf institution. As their founders and administrators, governors gained through waqfs a more flexible way to control wealth and a means of legitimizing their actions. Beyond that, it can be claimed that the endowments of their waqfs in urban places were the symbols of their status; in line with this, establishing a waqf could be treated as part of a class habitus and a sign of social status.[308] The following pages are going to make clear the urban part of waqf space by examining waqfs' structures and their effect on social relations on the island.

[308] By claiming the sign of a status and habitus of military-administrative class, in addition to my observation on waqf deeds, I rely on a conversation between Mahmud I and Seyyid Hasan Paşa. In this conversation, after his appointment as Grand Vizier, Hasan Paşa said that "they told me it is a good work, now, you should make endowment and I built a school and a fountain. Then, they said that you should built an inn to compensate for the expenditure of them." It seems that Seyyid Hasan Paşa did not have any idea and intention about establishing a waqf. We do not know who the "they" that suggested the endowment were, but it is crystal-clear that founding a waqf was not directly an individual choice, but rather it was a requisite of social status and a class habitus both for local notables and central bureaucrats. For the conversation see: Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi VI,* 362.

### 3.2.1 Waqf buildings and their functions

The devastating impact, particularly pauperization, of the war in 1571 ceased production, trade, and commerce on the island.[309] Even before the fall of Lefkoşa, the Ottoman central government had gradually permitted the construction of markets in the locality of Limassol, which had been devastated by the war.[310] As the center of the island, Lefkoşa was one of the places both Ottoman central and local administration were most interested in. In line with this, the waqf institution became a vital tool in the reorganization of the Lefkoşa under the Ottoman rule. However, this does not mean that the waqf institution played a role in urban activities solely in Lefkoşa, for it also acted in other significant places of Cyprus such as Magusa.[311] As far as waqf documents and secondary literature show, the activities of waqfs became intensified in Lefkoşa. In other words, the center of waqfs overlapped with the center of administration on the island. Therefore, it seems that each power mechanism, such as state or waqf institution, produces and defines their own spaces in which various centers and peripheries conceived and perceived by various actors in a relationship with each other.

Since Lefkoşa was the administrative center of the island, the residency of the governor and certain prominent figures were to be found there. On the other hand, as can be seen illustrated in their waqf deeds, many of them had properties outside Lefkoşa, the revenues of which were one of the primary sources of income for the waqfs of Lefkoşa residents.

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[309] Costantini, "In Search of Lost Property," 55.
[310] Costantini, "In Search of Lost Property," 56. Alasya, *Tarihte Kıbrıs*, 112.
[311] A contemporary source, the travel account of Dandini a professor of theology, attests to the fact that the island had formerly several fine towns but now [1597] there remained only Nicosia (Lefkoşa) and Famagusta (Magusa), the rest but villages. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria,* 183.

M. Akif Erdoğru points out that in the period of Ottoman administration, Lefkoşa was given a specific legal status. Peasants or foreigners could not simply enter the city anytime they wanted. After the conquest, a novel notion, *Lefkoşalılık* (Nicosianness), appeared as a privilege. Settling and living within the city walls of Lefkoşa customarily and legally became a privilege.[312] The view of this thesis regarding this gentrification is that waqfs were the specific agents in the process of the creation of this privileged identity since establishing a waqf was one of the crucial signifiers of social status, in this case, Nicosiannes. Furthermore, they were able to reshape the landscape of the city by making endowments via the waqf institution; consequently, they became more visible to both fellow Nicosians and other inhabitants of the island.

In light of this perspective, this thesis will investigate the waqf's activities in urban spaces, made possible by revenue from the countryside, by addressing the following questions. What were the structures that waqfs built? For what purpose did founders endow different structures at different times? How was the landscape of Cyprus shaped as a consequence of waqf activities in terms of socio-economic meaning?

Historians interested in Ottoman waqf institutions have addressed the functions of waqf structures in many ways. Among these structures, the soup kitchen *(imarethane)* was the most prominent. As their activities have been recorded, they provide a rich source for the researcher. Therefore, historians can follow the social relations and economic fluctuations of this structure.[313] These soup kitchens were usually located in an urban setting within a multi-structured complex, which included

[312] Erdoğru, "XVI.Yüzyıl Sonlarında Lefkoşa," 631.
[313] For instance, Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin 1489-1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları, 237." Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi," 145-146.

mosque, hospital, and school.[314] Each soup kitchen had a kitchen, storehouses, and a refectory. They employed a large staff, including a manager, bakers, and several cooks. Being a part of Ottoman provisioning systems, soup kitchens held a continual and considerable role in contributing to the daily subsistence of individuals, especially in the cities.[315]

Looking at Ottoman Cyprus, one can observe that no waqf constructed a soup kitchen to distribute food to the poor and waqf employees.[316] On the other hand, it might be argued that the lodge of Mevlevis (*Mevlevihane)* in Lefkoşa, near the gate of Girne in Tahte'l-Kala district, was in a way acting as a soup kitchen. As far as this thesis observes, different waqfs endowed a part of their revenues to the kitchen of Mevlevi lodge to feed the poor there. For instance, not only for the kitchen but also for other reasons, Cafer Paşa made a considerable financial contribution via his waqf from the beginning of the 17th century.[317] In addition to his waqf, the head of Janissaries in the island, Yusuf Ağa bin Perviz Bey, in 1608 established a waqf and devoted about 1,800 copper akçe to Mevlevi lodge.[318] This tradition continued in the early 18th century, when the waqfs of Duacı Derviş Mehmed and Müfti Efendizade Mehmed followed the same path.[319] It is a fact that Mevlevis were not only a group concerned with religious activities but also involved in economic and political matters, either directly or indirectly.[320] To illustrate, in the same year, Hacı Keyvan

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[314] Ergin et all., "Introduction," 13.
[315] Ergin et all., "Introduction," 14-15.
[316] The 80 different deeds of waqfs and the secondary literature about Cyprus do not mention any *imarethane.* In the study of Amy Singer, also, of 220 *imarets* from 160 different locations, none of them are located in Cyprus. To see the locations of imarets: Singer, "Mapping İmarets," 46-47.
[317] This contribution will be examined via account registers of the waqf in the last chapter. VGM_DEFTER_ 00624_0129.
[318] KŞS. 2/22.
[319] KŞS. 12/115, 21/297.
[320] As it appeares in the waqf deed of Cafer Paşa bin Abdülmemnan, he divided a considerable amount of money about 6000 akçe per year to the Mevlevi sheikh in Konya. VGM_DEFTER_624_130.

bin Abdülmemnan with Yusuf Ağa also founded a waqf and devoted the revenue of 2,000 akçe to prayers and Masnavi readers in the lodge.[321] Thus, regardless of the religious features of Mevlevi lodge, it was promoted by many local administrators in Cyprus. They established a relationship with Mevlevis via their waqfs. Looked at from this perspective, the promotion of the Mevlevi lodge was bifurcated. It could have been part of the policy of the central administration to colonize the island, as was argued by Barkan for the Balkan regions.[322] On the other hand, it seems like a possibility that it was pashas' one of the possible allies that pashas could conduct a helpful link with the community on the island via them.

To conclude, the approach of waqfs in Cyprus to soup kitchens was different from other waqfs around the empire. Instead of building a soup kitchen, the waqfs of governors chose to contribute to the Mevlevi lodge, while the waqf of Mahpeyker Sultan and Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Paşa did not make any endowment or donation to this field.[323] I propose that the population and reputation of Cyprus were not attractive enough because certain waqfs related to Cyprus built and donated to soup kitchen elsewhere.[324]

In the absence of soup kitchens, one of the most significant donations of waqfs in Cyprus was to mosques. Although mosques were built around the island by waqfs, the most symbolic of them were located in Lefkoşa. Arap Ahmed Paşa, Selimiye or Aya Sofya, Ömeriye, and Yeni Camii mosques are the most prominent of those featured in waqf deeds. These were the main structures that changed the

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[321] KŞS. 2/65.
[322] Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler," 249-387.
[323] Although they had considerable -sources of revenues on the island, both the waqf of Mahpeyker Sultan and Çorlulu Ali Paşa did not make any endowment on the island. Both of them transferred the surplus of the island to Istanbul. VGM_DEFTER_01642, Abuşoğlu, *Sadr-ı A'zam Çorlulu Ali Paşa'nın Vakıfnamesi,* 7-51.
[324] The waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa endowed a soup kitchen in Quneitra, a settlement near Damascus. Kütükoğlu, "Lala Mustafa Paşa," 73-74.

urban landscape of Lefkoşa. On a basic level, a change in the landscape was brought about through Selimiye, Ömeriye, and Yeni Camii being turned from churches or cathedrals into mosques. For the scope of the present thesis, the crucial detail is that almost every waqf of Cyprus had an expenditure for one of these mosques, despite the fact that each mosque had their own waqf.[325] This expenditure was mainly done in two ways: firstly, waqfs endowed some of their income directly to mosques, for lighting or repair payments;[326] secondly, waqfs provided salaries for various mosque workers such as imams, muezzins, preachers, beadsmans (*duacı)*, cleaners and so forth.

Referring to the deeds of 80 waqfs, as are reflected in Table B4, waqfs paid approximately 1,774,249 akçe to the personnel of mosques on the island. From this amount, the personnel of Sarayönü or İbrahim Paşa mosque in Lefkoşa were paid 604,800 akçe per year, which was the highest wage on the island. Also as part of the overall amount, the waqfs from Cyprus paid more than 72,720 akçe in salaries for mosque personnel in Istanbul. Moreover, as another expenditure, waqfs gave about 93,500 akçe per year to the poor of the island. When all of these are taken into consideration, a significant part of the surplus was endowed to mosques and their personnel. In addition to this, mosque personnel also had other sources of income. The imams of these mosques were also appointed and paid as the administrators of various ordinary waqfs.[327] Certain waqfs made a payment to judges or mufti on the island for their duties as the protectors of waqfs.[328]

[325] Selimiye mosque belonged to the waqf of Selim II, Ömeriye mosque belonged to the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa, and Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque belonged to the waqf of Arap Ahmed Paşa.
[326] For such waqfs please see: KŞS. 2/50, 34/99, 28/156, 29/132, 22/101, VGM_DEFTER_00989_00111.
[327] It was discussed in detail in the first chapter.
[328] KŞS 6/145, 21/297, 22/13, 28/51. VGM_DEFTER_ 624_0130.

In line with mosques, schools or madrasas were also founded and funded by waqfs. They were located near a mosque whose name was also given to these facilities. Similar to mosques, the whole expenses of madrasas were absorbed by waqfs, including the salaries of teachers and other employees.[329] In some of them, waqfs provided rooms and scholarships for students, and on some special occasions, i.e., feasts or holy nights, students were given gifts such as clothes.[330]

It should be noted that there were various authoritative power groups on the island, such as janissaries, governors, and religious personnel; to make an alliance with the imams and preachers, they endowed some part of their wealth to schools and mosques. When we consider the example of the struggle between scholars and bureaucrats in Bab-ı Ali, bureaucrats' endowments to madrasas and mosques might be thought as a way of establishing and maintaining good relations with religious personnel by paying them regularly. The reason behind this is that it was in the power of the religious personnel to affect the perception of society through preachers or more direct contact via the local imams. The spatial distribution of wages visualized in Figures 13 and 14 also highlights the impact area of religious personnel, corresponding with the location of waqf founders.[331] From the point of view of the present thesis, this overlap in distribution shows the economic benefits of the waqf community on the island. In such a diverse environment, the waqf institution was a mechanism that provided the legitimate transfer of wealth from administrators to religious personnel. That is why the lion's share of waqfs' wealth, twenty times what was given to the poor of the island, was given to religious personnel.

[329] To see some examples: KŞS 6/145, 21/297, 27/118, 28/156. TVD 5/132, TVD 5/13.
[330] TVD 5/143, VGM_DEFTER_987_0138, VGM_DEFTER_580_0055.
[331] Please look at the Figure 4 and 5.

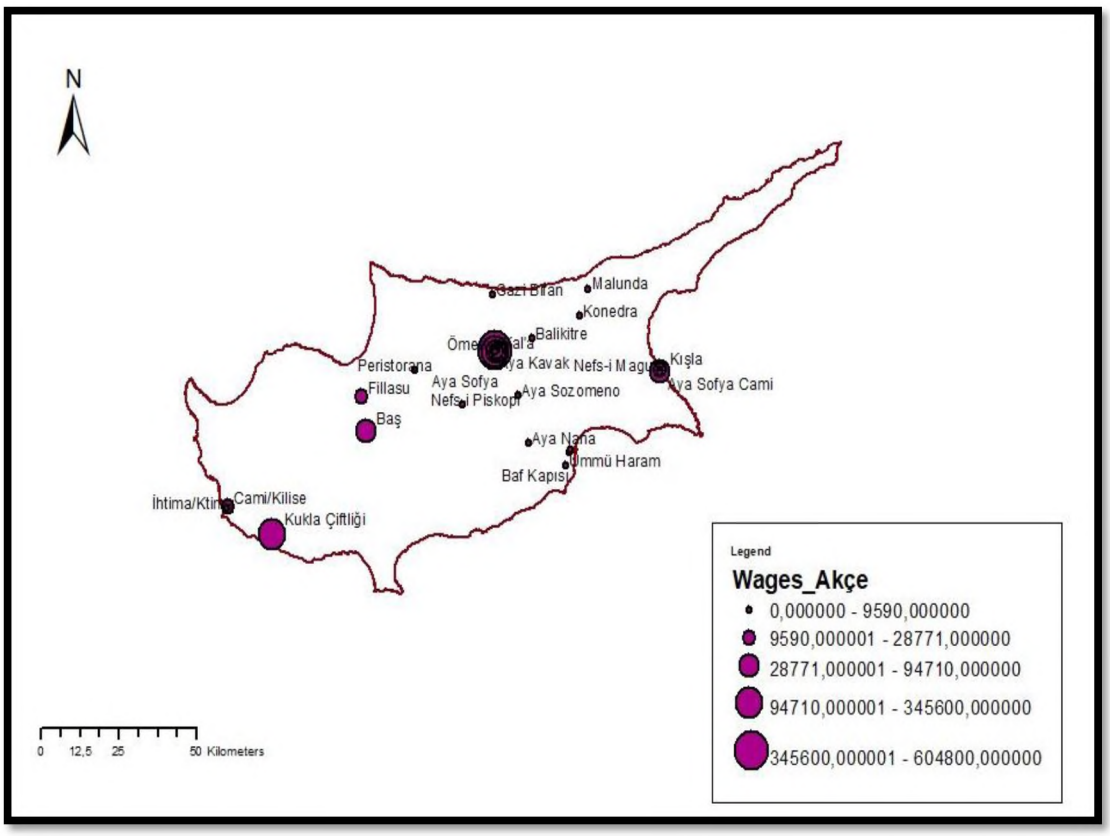



Figure 13. Spatial distribution of the wages of waqfs' religious employees throughout the island

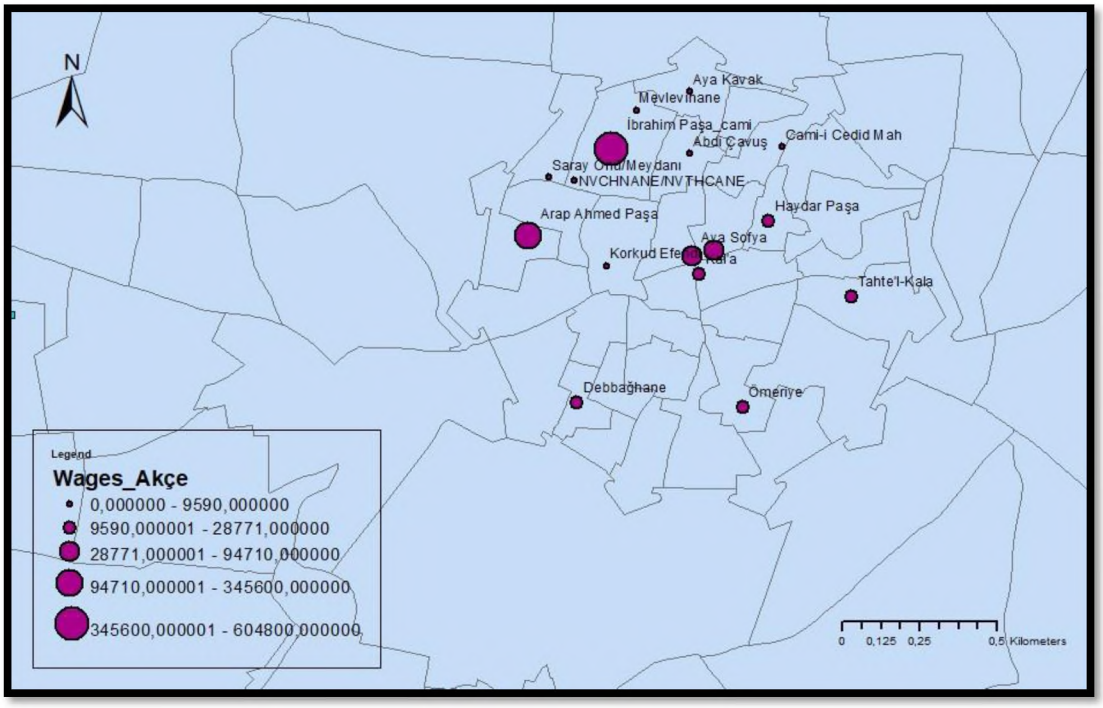



Figure 14. Spatial distribution of the wages of waqfs' religious employees in Lefkoşa

Waqfs did not limit themselves to mosques and madrasas. They also constructed, or bought and repaired, shops, inns, baths, and houses. That is to say, they not only made endowments in the urban setting by using agricultural surplus but also created sources of income by building or repairing structures within the urban part of waqf space. It is safe to say that waqfs played a pivotal role on the invigoration of Lefkoşa-based commerce in early modern Cyprus.

Immediately after the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire, 468 shops, 177 bachelor rooms, 31 houses, and many granaries, strctures from the era of Venetian administration that survived the war, were bought by the waqf of Selim II and then rented to merchants.[332] Thus, those who wanted to trade within the city walls of Lefkoşa (Suriçi district), whether Muslim or non-Muslim, had to deal with the waqf of Selim II.[333]

It was not only the waqf of Selim II but also ordinary waqfs and pasha's waqfs that constructed and endowed many shops within the Lefkoşa for centuries. From a total of 369 waqf shops throughout the island, 301 were located in Lefkoşa while 49 were in Magusa. Waqf shops were especially situated around Balık Pazarı[334] and the administrator's palace and Selimiye mosque within the city walls of Lefkoşa.[335] These shops were rented to various individuals regardless of being Muslim or Christian for predetermined rent for a specified period. In some cases, at the end of the 16th century, shops were rented for 90 years and the rental was

[332] Erdoğru, *XVI. Yüzyılda Lefkoşa*, 629.
[333] It is also pointed out that in the walled city of Lefkoşa there was only a few Venetian merchants and no other European merchants. Erdoğru, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Lefkoşa," 630.
[334] KŞS. 27/118, 15/71, VGM_DEFTER_989_00111, VGM_DEFTER_580_00057, VGM_DEFTER_730_0059, VGM_DEFTER_746_0088, VGM_DEFTER_747_00211, VD 5/132, VD 5/13.
[335] These shops are still in business in the same region. Two of them are even called the bazaar of waqfs. Almost all shops around the Selimiye mosque belonged and belong still to various waqfs still in existence.

between 20 akçe and 50 akçe per month.[336] In the same period, a shop of the waqf of Selim II in Lefkoşa in Haffaflar Çarşısı was sold for 1,200 akçe.[337] It seems that rather than only being a landholder in rural areas, waqfs also stimulated local urban trade in early modern Cyprus by dynamically participating in the renting, buying, and selling of businesses, like a real estate agent. I maintain that providing continuity in agricultural production and trade was significant to maintain subsistence and collect taxes from people as much as possible, and therefore waqfs' might be described as being involved both in agriculture and trade by renting to different people and distributing this revenue for certain purposes.

In addition the shops, inns and baths owned by waqfs not only supported trade but also met the needs of Cypriots. Inns were not only a place where merchants or travelers could sleep but was also considered as a place of interaction where various merchants could establish businesses. The ground floor would be used as a storehouse in which products destined for the market were kept, while upstairs would be used as a hostel.[338] Of about 24 inns in Cyprus, Büyük Han and Komari Han were the most prominent. Built by governor Sinan Paşa and registered to the waqf of Sultan Selim II, Büyük Han was the most prominent inn not only in Lefkoşa but also on the island.[339] Komari Han, in the 17th century, was built by Beytü'l-mal Emini Komarizade İbrahim Bey and belonged to the waqf of Kılıç Ali Paşa.[340] This inn, although smaller, was very similar to Büyük Han. Komari Han was used by

[336] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri,* 186-188, case no: 598, 607.
[337] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şeri'yye Sicilleri,* 187, case no: 603.
[338] Bağışkan, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı-Türk Eserleri*, 320.
[339] Largely it was merchants of Alanya who resided in this inn. That is because it was also known as Alanyalılar Hanı. Bağışkan, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı-Türk Eserleri,* 321. There was also another Alaiyye Han with 17 rooms in Tuzla which was the property of the waqf of el-Hac İbrahim Ağa. VGM_DEFTER_0580_0055.
[340] Özkul, "Osmanlı İdaresi'nde Kıbrıs'ta Komarizade Hanı ve Vakfı," 75.

merchants who travelled to villages by donkey for the purpose of trade.[341] Thus, inns were significant for waqfs because revenue was gained through renting them. For instance, Büyük Han was rented out at 28,200 akçe per year for three years in 1594.[342] In addition to rent revenue, by keeping the community of merchants in the waqf space, waqfs maintained their position in the economic relations of the island.

In the urban context, alongside the inns, baths were also another crucial source of income for waqfs. Similar to the situation with inns, by renting to certain people, waqfs obtained a considerable amount of rent revenues from baths. It should be noted that two significant bathhouses in Lefkoşa, Büyük Hamam and Ömerge Hamamı were the properties of the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa. Taking their rent revenue as examples, Ömerge Hamamı was rented for 4,000 akçe for three years in 1607. In 1594, the rent for Büyük Hamam was about 20,000 akçe per year, and was paid by Abdurrahman and Bali Çavuş who belonged to Janissary corps in the island.[343] Since most of the houses in Lefkoşa did not have a bath, these bathhouses were in regular use.[344] Therefore running a bathhouse could be both a prestigious and profitable business in Lefkoşa. To maintain this profitable business of the waqf, Lala Mustafa Paşa, in the waqf deed, authorized that a new bathhouse could be constructed if – and only if – it was built by his waqf.[345] In line with this, the court of Lefkoşa did not permit the building of a new bathhouse.[346] At first glance, this decision could be evaluated within the framework of contemporary economic

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[341] Today, this han is known as "Kumarcılar Hanı." It is claimed that the name of it does not come from gambler but an Albanian word gomar/gomari which means donkey in English. The other possiblity is concern the root of İbrahim Bey who belongs Comorin in India. Özkul, "Osmanlı İdaresi'nde Kıbrıs'ta Komarizade Hanı ve Vakfı," 74.
[342] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şeri'yye Sicilleri*, 280, case no: 1005. Other examples will be evaluated in the last chapter.
[343] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şeri'yye Sicilleri,* 287, case no: 1041.
[344] Bağışkan, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı-Türk Eserleri,* 333.
[345] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00098.
[346] Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şeri'yye Sicilleri*, 204, case no: 649.

understanding. Be that as it may, from the local perspective, this intervention of court might reflect the relationship between Lala Mustafa Paşa and judge (*kadi)* of Lefkoşa since he had two akçe revenue per day from the Lala's waqf.[347] As a result, like an inn, baths were also one of the most symbolic and worldly signifiers in making waqf space that reflected social relations such as between the waqf and janissaries as tenants, and between Lala Mustafa Paşa and the judge as administrators of the waqf institution.

It is evident that a building is not sufficient to run a bathhouse. The indispensable element of this operation is the consistent supply of water, and this is further true not only for bathhouses but also for all people who live in cities. Thus, as Terje Tvedt points out, water is the only universal urban resource that, in this sense, is a necessity, and can be controlled in this strict understanding of the word.[348]

To historicize his idea, in early modern Ottoman Cyprus, as reflected in the waqf deeds, supplying and distributing water in urban places was one of the responsibilities of waqf institutions. Water channels and aqueducts were built or repaired mostly by the waqfs of governors. With a salaried personnel, waqfs maintained the stability of water channels, aqueducts, and fountains. This personnel both cleaned the water and made necessary repairs to water channels.[349] One of the most significant aqueducts of the island, which provided water to the Tahte'l-Kala district for many years, was constructed by the waqf of governor Arab Ahmed Paşa in Lefkoşa in 1584.[350] The other crucial aqueducts for Lefkoşa were the Silahdar aqueduct, which in the first quarter of the 19th century provided water from the

[347] VGM_DEFTER_00746_0098.
[348] Tvedt& Oestigaard, "Urban Water Systems," 2.
[349] Waqf deeds provide information about the number and wages of watermen (*su yolcu*), location of aqueducts and channels. On the other hand, all kind of expenses about water work is recorded in the account registers of waqfs.
[350] The waqf allocated 3000 akçe for repairing water channels. Yıldız, "Aqueducts in Cyprus," 94.

Pedios (*Kanlı Dere)* River via distribution points which carried private supplies to certain privileged houses, institutions, and mosques.[351] In addition, since the local community could not meet the expenses, the waqf of Mehmed Raşid repaired and fixed the waterway that brought water to the center of Magusa from the Kızılkaya region two hours distance from the city walls; and subsequently, the waqf also provided water to Korkud Hamamı in Lefkoşa.[352] All in all, as in the rural case, waqfs brought water to and distributed it in cities by constructing or repairing waterways. This practice also can be considered in terms of rotating distribution since waqfs periodically rented water to other waqfs or individuals.[353] As another form of water management, certain waqfs also provided drinking water by building fountains in certain places in the city center. According to Tvedt, one of the characteristic symbols of urbanized life is specific types of modified waterscapes, i.e., fountains, that distinguish it from rural life. Placed at the very center of cities, fountains have had various functions. Beyond providing water for city-dwellers, they also symbolize human control over nature. Quoting Tvedt, "the unruly, treacherous water element is completely controlled, to serve human needs for aesthetic beauty."[354] This thesis claims that it was waqfs that structured this approach on the island. When we look at the waqf deeds, waqfs either constructed new fountains or repaired old ones. For instance, the waqfs of Süleyman Efendi,[355] İbrahim Ağa,[356]

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[351] Yıldız, *Aqueducts in Cyprus*, 100. Similar to Lefkoşa, Deniz Karakaş also gives detailed information about water distribution in Istanbul. The pattern was that granted houses could have water brought to their houses from the main water channel, mostly belonging to waqfs, by using private water works (*katmas)* the construction of which was implemented by a small group of elites to gain a right to use water privately without permisson of the sultan. Karakaş, "Water Resources Management and Development in Ottoman Istanbul: the 1693 Water Survey and its Aftermath," 186.
[352] KŞS. 21/177.
[353] KŞS 29/132, 29/169.
[354] Tvedt& Oestigaard, "Urban Water Systems," 8.
[355] KŞS. 19/27.
[356] VGM_DEFTER_0580_00055.

Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi,[357] Çektirizade Hacı Yusuf Ağa,[358] and Abdullah bin Hasan Paşa[359] built new fountains. They repaired water channels to supply water to these fountains in the centers of Lefkoşa, Magusa, and Tuzla. The most prominent waqf which supplied water to urban places was Ebubekir Paşa's. In Tuzla and its port, his waqf at first, built water channels to bring water and then organized fountains in central locations in 1748. The waqf also hired watermen for the maintenance of fountains and water channels.[360] As a result, since Tuzla and Magusa were significant trade centers, and the residences of governors and the local elites of Cyprus were located in Lefkoşa, they were highly attractive places for such schemes. On the one hand, water systems brought visibility to the founder of a waqf in the eyes of many people; on the other hand, by providing water in some districts of Lefkoşa, the founder maintained a friendly relationship with the local elites.

To conclude, like baths and inns, structures related to water management were one of the strongest pillars in the making of the urban part of waqf space. It seems that these water projects, the construction of aqueducts on the island, could not be related to regional development projects of the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the Suez Canal. In early modern period Cyprus, water management might be considered to be one of the municipal duties of the waqfs of governors, rather than a charitable, religious act. Beyond that, supplying and governing water provided governors with both prestige and power to in their relations with the local elites of the island.

[357] KŞS. 29/132.
[358] KŞS. 31/133.
[359] VGM_DEFTER_01605_00007.
[360] Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi,* 485.

### 3.2.2 Waqf-owner local governors as a redistributor

Having mentioned properties and endowments of various waqfs, this part will examine the governors of the island as the founders of the wealthiest waqfs on the island. In the administration of Cyprus under Ottoman rule, one of the three most powerful roles was that of local governor (*muhassıl)* since he was both civil and military governor of the island.[361] Furthermore, his most prominent duty as a representative of the central administration was collecting taxes on the island.[362] The tax revenue of the island was highly attractive not only for local governors but also for viziers of the Ottoman Empire with Cyprus treated as their property [363] Since the island was the *hass* of the sultan at first, local officers were paid from the treasury; for instance, the *Beylerbeyi* of the island was salaried at 1,100,000 akçe according to the 1571 and 1608 budgets of Ottoman Cyprus.[364] In the following years, as was mentioned, the island was given to the Grand Vizier and then the Chief Admiral (*Kapudan Paşa).* Under the government of the Chief Admiral, the appointed governor received 15,000 kuruş (about 1,800,000 akçe) at the end of the 17th century.[365] However, by the 18th century, both contemporary and modern histories state that the governor could collect as much as his conscience permitted, thereby allowing him to oppress Cypriots in order to raise tax revenue.[366]

This was the established way for governors to accumulate wealth, and it was with the revenue that they established waqfs. In such circumstances, leaving aside the behavior of local governors, in the scope of this thesis, the question is why

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[361] In the early modern period the other two institutions were the Church of Cyprus and the Office of Dragoman. For details: Stravides, "Cyprus 1750-1830: Administration and Society," 90-91.
[362] Hill, *A History of Cyprus IV*, 73.
[363] Kütükoğlu, *Çeşmi-zade Tarihi*, 48.
[364] Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi," 15. Dündar, "18 Mart-14 Haziran 1608 Yılı Kıbrıs Eyaleti Bütçesi," 1036.
[365] Hill, *A History of Cyprus IV*, 71.
[366] Kütükoğlu, *Çeşmi-zade Tarihi,* 49. Hill, *A History of Cyprus IV,* 100-101.

governors intended to establish waqf and endowments, especially money endowments. For what purposes did they use these waqfs? What kind of source of income and expenditure did they manage via the waqf?

Apart from their income from taxes, lands which were given by the sultan were another significant form of the wealth of governors. However, as Barkan points out, these lands, after a certain period, were given to establish waqfs.[367] To bring this point home, it should be noted that when any kind of property was endowed, it was no longer counted as the property of the individual and was not listed in the probate inventory, but instead became the property of the waqf and was counted in the separate account register of the waqf institution. That is to say, the account of a governor and his waqf were separate, and they were registered separately.

From the very beginning of the Ottoman administration in Cyprus, local governors were given state lands, and they endowed them.[368] Governors endowed not only lands but also shops, inns, public baths, and money. The structures of waqfs have already been analyzed in the urban and rural context. Briefly, this thesis claims that beyond the religious incentives, with these endowments, they participated in socio-economical activities on the island by redefining space. The present part is going to examine mainly the purposes and reasons for cash endowments for both the governor and the community.

In the early 19th century, between 1813 and 1827, various local governors, namely Muhassıl Mehmed Efendi, Muhassıl es-Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi, Muhassıl Ahmed Raşid Efendi, and Muhassıl es-Seyyid Hacı Halil endowed money in addition to other endowments.[369] The use of money in these waqfs was the same

[367] Barkan, "İslam-Türk Mülkiyet Hukuku Tatbikatının Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aldığı Şekiller III," 908.
[368] İnalcık, "Ottoman Policy and Administration of Cyprus," 64-65.
[369] KŞS 28/51, 28/156, 29/132, 34/42, VGM_DEFTER_00582_0002.

as in waqfs that only endowed cash. Beyond charitable acts, paid for by the interest on endowed money, a significant question is why governors, as founders and administrators of waqfs, lent money. The answer is that, as in ordinary cash waqfs, money was lent to help people for their various needs. For their waqfs, Muhassıl Mehmed Efendi endowed 200 kuruş, Muhassıl es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi endowed 2,200 kuruş, and Ahmed Raşid Efendi and Muhassıl Hacı Halil Efendi endowed 1,000 kuruş.[370] These amounts were not enough to make profitable investments. On the one hand, the local governor was the chief tax collector on behalf of the Ottoman state in Cyprus, and a crucial part of his revenue was based on this. On the other hand, local governors provided credit via their waqfs, presumably for people to pay their tax debts. In such circumstances, for peasants, shopkeepers, or anyone in tax debt to the governor as the top representative of the Ottoman Empire on the island, it became possible to gain credit from the local governors' waqfs, thus being in debt to the waqf rather than the governor. The difference for the taxpayer was that credit had to be repaid at a certain level of interest to the credit provider, and that under certain circumstances they risked losing their properties.[371]

From the perspective of governors, a waqf might have been considered more easier to manage than tax revenue, even if there were restrictions imposed by the waqf deed[372]and the state maintained its right of inspection.[373] In this context, the difference between imams, mentioned in the first chapter, and local governors was that while imams were administrators of different waqfs, local governors were

[370] Each waqf's deed clarify that the interest rate must be 15% as usual in the island.
[371] In 1593, a court register determined that two different people were indebted to Arap Ahmed Paşa's waqf to the amounts of 1000 akçe and 1040 akçe. Tamçelik& Kasapoğlu, *Kıbrıs Şer'iyye Sicilleri,* 208, case no: 656.
[372] It should be kept in mind that since the founder of the waqf was the governor, the waqf deed was dictated by himself.
[373] Each waqf had to provide an account register of waqf to the central administration periodically as was mentioned above.

mostly both founders and administrators. This brought about a full control over the waqf despite its status as a legal entity. The particular difference between them was that imams did not have a right to collect taxes on the island. These two identities, tax collector as governor and credit provider as waqf owner, might make him a more wealthy, powerful and prestigious person on the island. In any way, with these two identities, people on the island were his debtors, whether to him as the governor or to his waqf. Thus, with other actors on the island, i.e., European Merchants or the Church, local governors became a pillar of credit provision on Ottoman Cyprus, especially in the early 19th century.

## 3.3 Conclusion

First of all, the thesis proposes that founding a waqf might be evaluated as a sign of social status and for governors a useful piece of political public relations to change social perceptions of themselves. With the structures that were mentioned above, they became visible in the eyes of society, not as a cruel tax collector but as a philanthropist. To achieve this image, they exploited the revenue of rural lands on the island. By renting, as one of the most significant landholders, *çiftlik*s, fields, olive trees, and various other trees, waqfs both affected the agrarian relations on the island and provided the necessary funds to shape the landscape of cities. Of these properties, although the rent of *çiftlik*s was the highest, almost every waqf had an olive tree, whether for rent as such, or for the production of olive oil for distribution to mosques, schools, and teachers. Secondly, by focusing on the spatial distribution of waqf properties, I offered the notion of waqf space, which analyzes property relations and the flow of revenue from rural to the urban part of waqfs, as well as relations that were evolving around the waqfs stemming from the redistribution of

wealth. In other words, analysis of the spatial distribution of waqf properties reveals that waqfs deliberately bought lands in adjacent areas to maintain control over land transactions, rent relations, and the flow of wealth by creating space. Some of the most significant structures employed in these acts of political public relations and space creation are water channels and aqueducts since water, used both for human consumption and irrigation, was the most prominent source for the island due to its scarcity. By renting and distributing water, waqfs both gained revenue and power and became visible before the community. Finally, it is clear that by endowing shops or building water channels, they endeavored both to invest in their public image and to act as agents in the economic life of the island, thus adding to their administrative power and their social position. The following chapter is going to analyze and compare the account registers of certain waqfs, to examine economic activities of waqfs in detail.

# CHAPTER 4

## ANALYSIS OF WAQFS THROUGH ACCOUNT BOOKS: CASE STUDIES

This thesis scrutinizes the social and economic activities of waqfs of Ottoman Cyprus by mainly relying on their deeds, which provide valuable data about the founder, type, spatial distribution of properties, duties, and the number of employees along with their duties and salaries. As Kayhan Orbay shows, although waqf deeds provide a valuable departure point, waqf account books, with other sources, could reflect changes in the economic activities of waqfs over time and their day-to-day management.[374] In addition, these records also enable us to trace the validity of waqf deeds in practice.[375] Thus waqf account registers reflect both the institutional history of waqfs and the socio-economic conditions of their location at a given time since waqfs were significant actors in economic life.[376]

This chapter is going to analyze account registers of various waqfs by comparing them with the waqf deeds, to make a closer examination to certain waqfs, and to test the central concepts of the present thesis through mainly archival research. These concepts, simply, are the waqf community implying the relationship between the primary actors in waqfs, such as founders, administrators, borrowers and tenants; and waqf space, implying a region defined by waqfs in which property relations and the redistribution of wealth became possible. Finally, the account registers of the Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa and Cafer Paşa waqfs are going to be examined separately with an account register that consists of 15 different records of waqfs on

[374] Orbay, "Structure and Content of The Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History," 6.
[375] Orbay, "Structure and Content of The Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History," 6-7.
[376] Orbay, "Structure and Content of The Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History," 7.

Cyprus. At the end of the chapter, these waqfs will be compared and contrasted in terms of the scope of this thesis.

## 4.1 The waqf of Selim II

The waqf institution, as a significant part of Ottoman administration, was introduced to Cyprus in 1570 with the conversion of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Lefkoşa into Aya Sofya or Selimiye mosque belonging of the waqf of Sultan Selim II.[377] This was the first and one of the wealthiest waqfs in the island. Not only the Aya Sofya Mosque but also the school of Selimiye and Aya Sofya Mosque in Magusa were prominent donations of the waqf of Selim II. This part intends to scrutinize this waqf by looking at its record in the 1572 *Mufassal Defteri*[378] along with three account registers from the Ottoman Archive dated to 1600, 1602-1603,[379] and 1612-1613.[380] By doing so, as a dynamic structure, the socio-economic activities of waqf of Selim II will be illustrated within the period 1572-1613.

According to the study of M. Akif Erdoğru, two separate waqfs were established for the Aya Sofya mosque since the first waqf was not able to cover the expenses on its own. The school and mosque were accounted for together, and the second waqf covered their expenses. At first, 47,520 akçe, which was the revenue of 434 shops, were endowed for the expenses of the mosque. However, this revenue did not meet the expenses, and the second waqf was established with additional assets. The revenues of 177 rooms, 31 houses, 34 shops, and 22 storehouses, with the latter

[377] Netice Yıldız, "The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 121.
[378] The records are studied by Mehmet Akif Erdoğru as a chapter of his study. To see: Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar 2,* 58-65.
[379] These documents are in the collection of Topkapı Sarayı archive in the State Archives. For details see: BOA, D.03686.0016, D.03686.0017.
[380] This register is studied by Mehmet Demiryürek, H.İbrahim Cellatoğulları, and Deniz Arıcı: Demiryürek et al., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 151–169.

income alone being 62,940 akçe were endowed to the mosque. In addition, the revenue of Büyük Hamam, 39,000 akçe, which was constructed by Lala Mustafa Paşa was also endowed to Aya Sofya mosque. In total, 698 properties in Lefkoşa were endowed, yielding 149,460 akçe. With 79,560 akçe devoted to the expenses of the mosque, 69,900 akçe remained in the waqf for the school in 1572.[381] For the salary of the administrator, a fief of 20,000 akçe per year was endowed in 1572.[382] In addition, Ronald Jennings points out that by buying the properties of waqfs of churches, the waqf of Aya Sofya mosque in Magusa gained ten houses, two storehouses, and eight shops which were rented for 22.5 akçe per day. Apart from them, three pastures and 20 gardens were also in possession of the waqf.

The abovementioned 79,560 akçe was divided among more than 13 employees of the waqf, which were two imams, one preacher, two muezzins, one administrator, and other beneficiaries, along with other expenses of the mosque such as carpeting and olive oil for lighting.[383] In the same way, according to the findings of Jennings, the waqf paid six akçe per day to the imam of Aya Sofya Mosque, four akçe per day to a müezzin and 40 akçe to the administrator of waqf in 1594.[384]

This was the overall financial picture of Selim II's waqf in the first years of its foundation. It is apparent from the above data that for these years the primary source of income for the waqf was urban rents from baths, houses, and especially shops. This revenue was redistributed between the mosque and the school, with about 55% of it given to the mosque and 45% to the school. Before making a general argument concerning the direction of the flow of wealth and the beneficiaries of this

[381] Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II*, 59.
[382] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 48. Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II,* 63.
[383] Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II,* 61.
[384] Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 54. Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II,* 62.

waqf, a close look at the account registers will provide a better understanding of a concise analysis.

The account registers of 1600-1601 and 1602-1603, which are cataloged in *Topkapı Sarayı* section of the State Archive, contain sources of revenues and records of expenditures of Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa and Aya Sofya mosque in Magusa.[385] The first register, dated 1600, covers 33 months during the administration of Osman Aga and Abdurrezzak Aga, who were Chief of Eunuchs in the Ottoman Palace. To obtain information, they assigned Ali Efendi and the judge of Lefkoşa Mehmed Efendi as the inspectors of the waqf.[386]

According to the account register of Selim II's waqf, in 1600-1601 the total revenue (*asl-ı mal)* consisted of credit balance, loans, and prepaid income – about 361,280 akçe – in addition to arrears of the waqf which means cash akçe and outstanding debt – about 5,650 akçe. Moreover, the revenue of the waqf for the fiscal period covered by the register was about 356,240 akçe. Table 6 clarifies that roughly 321,640 of it came from the shops, mills, and inn. While shops in Bezzaz Sinan bazaar in Lefkoşa were rented for 134,148 akçe, shops in the center of Magusa were rented for 4,610 akçe for 33 months. In addition, wells in Girne were rented for 70,040 akçe, and the inn in Lefkoşa, Han-ı Cedid, was rented for 81,240 akçe.

Table 6. Rent Revenues of the Waqf of Selim II in 1600-1601 and 1601-1602

| | WAQF'S PROPERTIES | RENT REVENUES OF 1600-1601 FOR 33 MONTHS | RENT REVENUES OF 1601-1602 FOR 3 MONTHS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Shops in Bezzaz Sinan bazaar in Lefkoşa | 134,148 akçe | 49,680 akçe |
| 2 | Inn, Han-ı Cedid | 81,240 akçe | 17,242 akçe |
| 3 | Wells in Girne | 70,040 akçe | 1,744 akçe |
| 4 | Shops in Magusa | 4,610 akçe | 2,240 |
| | | TOTAL: 290,038 akçe | TOTAL: 70,906 |

[385] BOA, D.03686.0016 and D.03686.0017.
[386] It should be clarified that the administration of imperial waqfs was always among the most crucial duties of the Chief of Eunuchs. Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü," 23. BOA, D.03686.0016.001.

Apart from these sources of revenue, as is seen in Table 7 the waqf also had the rent and tithe revenues of various shops and water wheels.

Table 7. Various Revenues of the Waqf of Selim II in 1600-1601

| | TITHE REVENUES IN 1600-1601 | INCOME | RENT REVENUES IN 1600-1601 | INCOME | TAX REVENUES IN 1600-1601 | INCOME |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cabi Mehmed's shop | 100 akçe | Monakardi?'s shop | 600 akçe | Bath of Cafer Paşa in Magusa | 420 akçe |
| 2 | Musa's shop | 200 akçe | Durmuş's water-wheel | 400 akçe | A Zımmi's Sarraç shop | 40 akçe |
| 3 | Yakumi's shop | 190 akçe | Bahri's shop | 600 akçe | Tax of a shop | 400 akçe |
| 4 | Mehmed's shop | 590 akçe | Veli's two shops | 420 akçe | Tax of Mehmed's house | 600 akçe |
| 5 | Sinan's shop | 200 akçe | Musa zımmi's shops | 1,800 akçe | | |
| 6 | Yorgi's shop | 400 akçe | Mehmed's attar shop | 1,300 akçe | | |
| 7 | Abdullah Halil's shop | 200 akçe | Jewish Abraham's shop | 400 akçe | | |
| 8 | Yusuf Sarraç's shop | 500 akçe | Süleyman's shops | 20,000 akçe | | |
| 9 | Mehmed's shop | 420 akçe | A coffeehouse | 1,260 akçe | | |
| 10 | Halil's shop | 100 akçe | Abraham's shop | 1,100 akçe | | |
| 11 | Mehmed's shop | 400 akçe | A water-wheel in Magusa | 670 akçe | | |
| 12 | Mehmed Çelebi's shop | 590 akçe | Jewish Musa's water-wheel | 2,000 akçe | | |
| 13 | Sinan's shop | 160 akçe | Unknown revenue | 1,600 akçe | | |
| 14 | A shop | 500 akçe | | | | |
| 15 | Aya Sofya mosque's shop in Magusa | 290 akçe | | | | |
| | | TOTAL: 4,840 akçe | | TOTAL: 32,150 akçe | | TOTAL: 1,460 akçe |

From 32 assets, the tithe or rent of 28 shops, rent of three water wheels, and the *mukataa* revenue of the bath of Cafer Paşa in Magusa were accounted as 35,195 akçe in total for 33 months. The amount of rent and tithe of shops varies from 100 akçe to 20,000 akçe. According to the account register, the waqf could not collect the total rent revenue of a shop which was rented for 20,000 akçe; it could only collect about 15,000 akçe of it. Besides these, while three water wheels were rented for 3,070 akçe, the *mukataa* revenue of the bath was 420 akçe.[387] Another remarkable record for the present thesis is that non-Muslims operated about one third of the waqf's shops.

In line with the 1600-1601 account register, the register of 1601-1602 follows the same logic. While the administrator and inspector were the same, the only change was that this register covered three months.[388] According to the register, for the three months, the total revenue of the waqf was 133,410 akçe, and arrears were 19,649 akçe. On the other hand, the revenue of the waqf for the current fiscal period in question was about 113,409 akçe, and the monthly revenue of the waqf was about 111,102 akçe. Focusing on each revenue item separately, the rent revenue of shops in Bezzaz Sinan bazaar was 49,680 akçe for three months, and shops in Magusa brought about 2,240 akçe rent revenue for three months as well. Moreover, the rentrevenue of the inn, Han-ı Cedid, in Lefkoşa was 17,242, and the waqf gained about 1,774 akçe rent revenue from the mills in Girne. Apart from these, the waqf also gained 2,860 akçe rent and tithe revenue from various shops in the same period.[389]

[387] D.03686.0016.001, 1.
[388] D.03686.0017.001, 1.
[389] D.03686.0017.001, 1.

The last account register of the waqf of Selim II this thesis looks at is the register of 1612-1613 studied by M. Demiryürek, H.İ. Cellatoğulları, and D. Alıcı. This register covers 14 months, and the administrator during this period was Ahmet Ağa, while the protector was Mustafa Ağa.[390] According to them, the total revenue of waqf for that register was 196,964 akçe. From this revenue, 72,400 akçe per year was the rent of the bazaar and inn in Lefkoşa. The other inn, Han-ı Cedid, was also rented for 42,000 akçe, and the bazaar in Girne was rented for 48,500 akçe per year. Moreover, the rent revenue from Magusa was 7,434 akçe.[391] In addition to these, waqf also had 26,480 akçe rent revenue from various shops in Lefkoşa.[392]

All in all, looking at the income sources of Selim II's waqf from 1600 to 1613 in these three account registers, it can be said that there were no sharp fluctuations in real prices; changes occurred because of each register representing different periods, which are three months, 14 months and 33 months. Concerning the waqf's financial situation, the 1602-1603 account register records 19,649 akçe arrears, which is the highest when compared to the other registers. The reason why the waqf could not collect rent, as far as I can assess, was not an earthquake or other calamity since sources do not record such an event. When compared to the 1572 records, although the number of shops that belonged to Selim II's waqf decreased, the activities of the waqf continued in the urban settlements, mainly Lefkoşa and Magusa. Presumably, the reason behind this decrease in the number of shops lay in new and more profitable endowments such as an inn, which was not recorded in 1572 register. By doing so, being the first waqf of the island, it expanded its control of the

[390] Demiryürek et all., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 155.
[391] Demiryürek et all., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 157.
[392] Demiryürek et all., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 158.

abovementioned urban centers' economic life through having shops, storehouses, and an inn. In other words, urban activities, rents, and taxes were the primary revenue sources of the waqf. Therefore, with the initial step in 1572, Selim II's waqf started to the create the urban part of waqf space by buying shops of Venetians consolidating it in the following years by endowing not only shops but also different assets related to trade.

As the other side of the waqf's function, this total income was redistributed for all kinds of expenses at the Aya Sofya mosques in Lefkoşa and Magusa, specifically wages of employees of the waqf and two mosques, in addition to other costs such as olive oil for lighting and repair expenses. According to the register, the number of employees of two waqfs, including mosques was 90 in total, and the waqf paid 930 akçe for their wages per day.[393] On the other side of the same page with revenues, the wages of employees of Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa were registered.[394] Table 8 shows that according to the 1600-1601 account register, for 55 employees, the waqf paid 223 akçe per day. The highest wage, 40 akçe per day, was paid to the administrator of the waqf, while three clerks of the waqf were paid 17 akçe per day in total. Looking at the wages of employees of Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa, while the preacher, Yakub, was getting 14 akçe per day, two imams received six akçe per day per person. Apart from them, Table 8 clarifies that the rest of the 45 employees, such as prayer, cleaner, and muezzin, were paid two or three akçe per day. Moreover, the teacher at the school, Ali Hoca, received five akçe, and his assistant was paid three akçe per day.[395]

[393] BOA, D.03686.0016.001, 1.
[394] BOA, D.03686.0016.001, 2.
[395] BOA, D.03686.0016.001, 2.

Table 8. Daily Wages of the Personnel of Selim II's Waqf in Lefkoşa in 1600-1601 and 1601-1602

| | PERSONNEL | WAGES IN 1600-1601 ACCOUNT REGISTER | WAGES IN 1601-1602 ACCOUNT REGISTER |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Administrator, Mahmud | 40 akçe | same |
| 2 | Clerk, Yusuf | 10 akçe | same |
| 3 | Cabi, Mehmed | 3 akçe | 10 akçe |
| 4 | Mu'temed, Mehmed | 4 akçe | same |
| 5 | Clerk, Yusuf | 2 akçe | same |
| 6 | Imam and Preacher of Cami-i Şerif, Yakub Mehmed Çelebi | 12 akçe | same |
| 7 | Imam and Caretaker of Mosque of Han-ı Cedid, Ali Hoca | 5 akçe | same |
| 8 | Preacher *(vaiz)*, Yakub | 10 akçe | same |
| 9 | Preacher *(hatib)*, Yakub | 4 akçe | 9 akçe |
| 10 | Imam, Abdullah | 6 akçe | same |
| 11 | The Second Imam | 6 akçe | same |
| 12 | Prayer, Yusuf | 4 akçe | same |
| 13 | Caretaker and Hafiz, İbrahim | 6 akçe | same |
| 14 | Caretaker, Hüseyin | 4 akçe | same |
| 15 | Caretaker, Yusuf | 4 akçe | same |
| 16 | Prayer, İbrahim | 4 akçe | same |
| 17 | Cleaner, Süleyman | 2 akçe | same |
| 18 | Caretaker, Abdülkadir | 4 akçe | 2 akçe |
| 19 | Muarrif, Mustafa | 2 akçe | same |
| 20 | Quran reciter, Mustafa | 3 akçe | same |
| 21 | Muezzin, Yusuf | 4 akçe | same |
| 22 | Prayer | 3 akçe | same |
| 23 | Prayer | 2 akçe | same |
| 24 | Cleaner | 2 akçe | same |
| 25 | 29 person for praying and reciting Quran | 69 akçe | same |
| 26 | Teacher, Ali | 5 akçe | same |
| 27 | Assistant of Teacher, | 3 akçe | same |
| | | TOTAL: 223 akçe | TOTAL: 233 akçe |

The same pattern can be seen in the wages of the Aya Sofya mosque in Magusa as is reflected in Table 9. 35 people in total were paid 140 akçe per day as the servants of the waqf and the mosque. Three representatives of Sultan Selim II's waqf in Magusa were paid 16 akçe per day. The remaining 124 akçe was divided among the rest of

the 32 employees of the Aya Mosque in Magusa.[396] For other expenditures of the two mosques, shops and inn, the waqf paid 78,502 akçe over 33 months; 53,430 akçe of the total amount was paid for the lighting, cleaning, heating, and repair expenses of the Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa. For the same expenses, 7,495 akçe was paid for the mosque in Magusa. Moreover, while repair expenses of shops and the inn were about 14,138 akçe in Lefkoşa, they were about 4,439 akçe in Magusa.[397]

Table 9. Daily Wages of the Personnel of Selim II's Waqf in Magusa in 1600-1601 and 1601-1602

| | PERSONNEL | WAGES IN 1600-1601 ACCOUNT REGISTER | WAGES IN 1601-1602 ACCOUNT REGISTER |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cabi, Abdi | 5 akçe | same |
| 2 | Cabi, Mehmed | 5 akçe | same |
| 3 | Accountant, Yakub | 6 akçe | same |
| 4 | Preacher *(hatib)*, Ali | 2 akçe | 10 akçe |
| 5 | Imam, Ali | 5 akçe | same |
| 6 | Assistant of Imam, Arslan | 5 akçe | same |
| 7 | Pointer *(noktacı)*, Abbas | 1 akçe | same |
| 8 | Caretaker, Ahmed | 4 akçe | same |
| 9 | Caretaker, Hasan | 4 akçe | same |
| 10 | Clenar, Hasan | 4 akçe | same |
| 11 | Prayer, İlyas | 4 akçe | same |
| 12 | Reciter, Abdi | 3 akçe | same |
| 13 | Muarrif, Mehmed | 2 akçe | same |
| 14 | Prayer, Abdurrahman | 4 akçe | same |
| 15 | Prayer, 1 akçe | 1 akçe | same |
| 16 | 20 person for praying and reciting Quran | 43 akçe | same |
| | | Total: 98 akçe | Total: 106 akçe |

Similar to the register of the previous year, 90 people were recorded as employees of the two Aya Sofya mosques in the 1601-1602 account register. Their total wages were 447 akçe per day. For the Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa, the waqf

[396] BOA, D.03686.0016.001, 2.
[397] BOA, D.03686.0016.001, 3.

paid 243 akçe per day to 55 employees. It seems that the only change concerning the wages of employees of this mosque was the increase in the wage of the imam. He began to receive 19 akçe per day as the preacher of the mosque at the same time, while the rest of the employees were getting between 1 and 6 akçe per person.[398] The pattern is similar to the Aya Sofya mosque in Magusa. 35 people were paid 204 akçe in total per day for their service to this mosque. While the preacher received 10 akçe per day, other employees were paid around 1 to 5 akçe per person.[399]

Finally, at the end of the register, as is seen in Table 10, the repair expenses of the mosque, shops, and inn are written. It appears that, while the total repair expenses were 82,583 akçe in 1600-1601 for 33 months, the waqf paid 25,160 akçe in 1601-1602 for three months.[400]

Table 10. Repair Expenses of Mosques, Shops and Inn of Selim II's Waqf

| | PROPERTIES AND ENDOWMENTS | REPAIR COSTS IN 1600-1601 FOR 33 MONTHS | REPAIR COSTS IN 1601-1602 FOR 3 MONTHS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Aya Sofya mosque in Lefkoşa | 53,430 akçe | 12,848 akçe |
| 2 | Aya Sofya mosque in Magusa | 7,495 akçe | 1,480 akçe |
| 3 | Shops and Inn | 14,138 akçe | 5,308 akçe |
| 4 | Other expenses | 7,520 akçe | 5,524 akçe |
| | | TOTAL: 82,583 akçe | TOTAL: 25,160 akçe |

Like other registers, the 1612-1613 account register mentions the total expenses of the waqf. For 67 employees of two mosques, the waqf paid 157,920 akçe per year.[401] It can be noted as a key difference that the number of clerks of waqf had increased. The total wages of eight administrative personnel, including an

[398] BOA, D.03686.0017.001, 2.
[399] BOA, D.03686.0017.001, 2.
[400] BOA, D.03686.0017.002, 3.
[401] Demiryürek et all., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 158.

administrator, were 36,120 akçe for 14 months.[402] In addition to this expenditure, the waqf also paid 39,201 akçe for repairs and various other costs such as lighting.

As a result, evaluating the four registers in terms of the expenditures of Selim II's waqf, it seems that there were no crucial changes in the wages of employees and other expenses. On the other hand, it should be noted that compared to the 1572 record, the salary of the administrator slightly decreased, but the number of beneficiaries increased in the following years. Assessing the wages of the two mosques' employees in Lefkoşa and Magusa, since the number of employees was higher in Lefkoşa, the total wages were also higher there too. However, wages per person were almost the same in both cities. From a different perspective,putting salary levels to one side, it is important to note that as was seen in registers the same people benefitted from waqf revenue by taking different jobs, such as the fact that a muezzin was at the same time prayer or a caretaker (*kayyum*) was at the same time a cleaner (*ferraş).* Moreover, religious personnel, in other words the imam, muezzin and reciters, were the chief beneficiaries of the revenue of the waqf. Thus is proved one of the claims of this thesis, namely that as a pressure group involved in the foundation of waqfs, and as an indispensable pillar of the waqf community, religious personnel were the primary beneficiaries of waqfs in both social and economic terms.

In a nutshell, when the abovementioned registers are taken into consideration, the main source of income of Selim II's waqf was the rent revenue from shops, baths, and inns in city centers. As far as is reflected in the registers, it seems that the waqf did not have properties in rural areas. It can be claimed that one of the most crucial reasons for this was the war in 1570. Since agricultural lands were devastated

[402] Demiryürek et all., "4 Mart 1612- 20 Nisan 1613 Tarihli Sultan II.Selim Vakfı Muhasebe Defteri," 163.

in the war, especially in the Mesoria valley, which was the most fertile land in Cyprus, the main arena of the waqf had to be urban places at first. Furthermore, buying and renting real estate might be considered the easiest and fastest way to immediately reinvigorate and intervene in the economy in the two most populous and urban centers of the island, Lefkoşa and Magusa. It is evident from the registers that the waqf rented shops not only to Muslims but also to the Christians and Jews of Cyprus in the early 17th century. By taking this and the presence of religious personnel in the registers into account, I argue that material conditions determined the relations of people and a novel waqf community came into being. In the following chapter, with the introduction of a waqf's agricultural lands, the socio-economic activities of waqfs within a period both in urban and rural contexts will become more visible.

## 4.2 The waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa

The second largest waqf in Ottoman Cyprus, the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa, was founded in 1579.[403] It is a well-known fact that he was the chief commander of the Ottoman army in the Cyprus campaign in 1571. Because of his success in the war, he was given a considerable amount of land on the island by the sultan. As reflected in the introduction of his waqf deed,[404] these lands were devoted to the Ömeriye mosque, which was built by him in Lefkoşa. This part aims to analyze the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa in Cyprus by scrutinizing the waqf deed written in 1579[405] and an account register covering the years 1644-1646 by mainly focusing on its socio-

[403] Yıldız, "The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus," 129.
[404] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00088.
[405] It is crucial to keep in mind that the waqf deed was registered by the court in 1810. This means that the existence of the waqf with its properties was approved in the 19th century.

economical dimensions as was done in the previous chapters rather than the financial situation of the waqf.

First of all, the waqf deed of Lala Mustafa Paşa reflects the property transfers after the conquest of Cyprus. *Çiftliks,* fields, shops, gardens, and other places were either given by the sultan to the waqf or bought from Muslim and non-Muslim Cypriots in accordance with the imperial edict.[406] In this way, the waqf gained a considerable amount of land on the island. Quantitatively, the waqf had about 26,097 dönüm of fields in total in various villages on Cyprus. In brief, while 14,269 dönüm of these fields were in a *çiftlik* in Lakatamia village, 2,260 dönüm were in Balikitre, and 3,826 dönüm were in the hinterland of Lefkoşa. In fact, Lakatamia and Balikitre were crucial environs of Lefkoşa, located to the south and north of it. Similar to these fields, a massive area of gardens was also located around Lefkoşa. The gardens covered about 104 dönüm in total; 68.5 dönüm were in the districts of Lefkoşa, and about 21 dönüm were in Sirknohorka, a village of Amorfa in Cyprus.

In addition to these, as a revenue source, the waqf had about 10,371 olive trees, 9,030 of which were in Lakatamia. The waqf also had about 2,600 trees of varieties such as fig, mulberry, and carob. Despite the number of mulberry trees, about 35, there is no direct information about whether the waqf was involved in textile activities or not. Another crucial property of the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa were hamlets (*mezra).* The waqf had about 5,230 dönüm of hamlets; 1,840 dönüm in Tuzla, 2,000 dönüm in Magusa, and 1,348 dönüm in Balikitre. When we look at the urban properties, the waqf also had 380 shops, 268 of them in Lefkoşa. In addition to these, the waqf had six baths in Lefkoşa and Magusa, which were significant sources of income. The number of mills, as another crucial asset for the waqf, was about 94,

[406] For instance, a *çiftlik* in Lakatamia was sold by Haydar Bey to Lala Mustafa Paşa because of the edict of sultan (*ferman mucebince).* VGM_DEFTER_00746_00088.

13 of which were horse mills. Not surprisingly, mills were also mostly located around Lefkoşa. Last but not least, a number of storehouses, houses, animals were the important assets of the waqf according to waqf deed.

The waqf donated mosques, schools, and aqueducts and also paid the wages of all kinds of staff that worked in these places, redistributing the rent revenue of the abovementioned properties. Six persons were employed as the administrative branch to ensure the functioning of waqf operations. One of the most significant of them was the administrator of the waqf who had to be a family member of Lala Mustafa Paşa. For this job, the waqf determined to pay 30 akçe per day. The judge of Lefkoşa and the Chief Governor *(Beylerbeyi)* of Cyprus, as the protectors of the waqf, were given 2 and 5 akçe per day respectively. Within the various beneficiaries of the waqf, the preacher was paid 10 akçe, and two teachers were given 8 akçe. Imams and muezzins were also noteworthy employees of the waqf. Five imams received a total of 24 akçe, while six muezzins were paid 18 akçe per day. 24 other beneficiaries received a total of 47 akçe per day to pray for Lala Mustafa Paşa. Finally, as an additional expenditure, for Ramadan month, the waqf bought extra olive oil for lighting.[407]

Analyzing the waqf deed of Lala Mustafa Paşa provides the main structures that revenues and expenditures of the waqf depended on. In brief, although the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa had substantial properties in the urban centers, its primary source of income was agricultural lands, unlike the waqf of Selim II. In addition to data that is derived from the waqf deed, looking at the account register of the waqf gives a significant clue about the activities of the waqf in the mid-17$^{th}$ century. In other words, analyzing the waqf deed along with the abovementioned account

[407] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00098.

register, which bring forths a clear image of the situation of the waqf 50 years after its foundation and enables a comparison with the initial phase, might provide a firmer ground for understanding the financial operations of the waqf. This comparison also makes more concrete the waqf space and waqf community.

The account register of the waqf of Ömeriye or Lala Mustafa Paşa, registered in the *Maliyeden Müdevver* section of the Ottoman Archive, includes the account of two years between 1644 and1646.[408] In these years, the register shows that the administrator of the waqf was Veli Ağa, who was an officer in the Ottoman palace.[409] It means that the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa was administrated by the palace officers under the Chief of Eunuchs, despite the waqf deed dictating that the administrator had to belong to the family of Lala Mustafa Paşa.[410] In this matter, the significant point is that the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa was controlled and administrated by state servants in the middle of the 17th century.

At the beginning of the register, the revenue sources of waqf are recorded. According to this part, illustrated in Table B5, the annual income of the waqf was 112,702 akçe. The considerable part of this revenue was the rent income derived from seven *çiftlik*s. The annual rent of *çiftlik*s was as follows: a *çiftlik* with a mill was rented for 32,000 akçe, a *çiftlik* in Lakatamia for 18,000 akçe, a *çiftlik* in Magusa for 1,200 akçe, and the four other *çiftlik*s rented for 3500, 1300, 8000, and 5,000 akçe respectively. In total, the annual rent income that was gathered from *çiftlik*s was 69,000 akçe. Furthermore, one mill in Piskopi was rented for 400 akçe, and another in Alaminyo, a village in Tuzla, was rented for 40 akçe. In addition to the *çiftlik*s and mills, looking at the urban revenue sources, the waqf had three gardens in Lefkoşa,

[408] BOA, MAD.d. 06080.
[409] BOA, MAD.d 06080_00001.
[410] VGM_DEFTER_00746_00098.

one of them in Ömeriye district, with their annual rents being 200 akçe, 850 akçe, and 1,080 akçe. Five shops were also recorded in the register, of which one coffeehouse in Magusa was rented for 360 akçe, two shops 230 akçe, one shop in Tahte'l-kale 80 akçe, and one coffeehouse was rented for 160 akçe. Another urban revenue source of the waqf was house rent in Magusa and Lefkoşa. According to register, the annual rent for one house in Magusa was 100 akçe, and five houses were 460 akçe. Last but not least, the most significant sources of income in urban Lefkoşa were two baths. While the bath of Ömeriye was rented for 16,000 akçe, Hamam-ı Kebir was rented for 18,700 akçe. The yard of *Hamam-ı Kebir* was also rented for 4,332 akçe for a year.[411]

By considering this data, it is safe to argue that the primary source of income of the waqf, about 71,130 akçe, which is almost 63% of total annual rent revenue, was related to agricultural production in *çiftliks* and gardens, even if the register does not provide any data about the number of trees and fields. For the urban part of the rent revenue of the waqf, baths were the most financially prominent. About 39,032 akçe, which is about 34% of the total revenue, was the annual rental of baths of Lala Mustafa Paşa's waqf. In line with the waqf deed, in the middle of the 17th century, the rural rent income dominated the total income of the waqf.

When compared to the waqf deed, a decrease is noticeable in the number of shops in the account register. Although the exact reason is not given in the account register, an imperial edict that was published by M. Akif Erdoğru provides essential information that can be related to the loss of shops. In this document, it is clarified that the administrator of waqf, Süleyman, did not or could not send an account register to Istanbul for two years in spite of the orders of the sultan. The reason, as

[411] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00001.

written in the order, is that 120,000 akçe had been transferred from the waqf to his children.[412] Therefore, it can be said that maladministration and plundering could be the reasons for the decrease in the number of waqf properties. On the other hand, about 65 years after its foundation, the waqf still had its main properties, which provided a significant source not only of wealth but also for social relations. That is to say, certain persons, in the 17th century, chose the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa to make endowments; for instance, Subaşı Mehmed endowed his house to Lala's waqf and the daughter of Şeyh Sa'deddin endowed the tax revenue of a house in Lefkoşa.[413]

It is legitimate to raise the question of how the waqf distributed this revenue within the same years. The register provides invaluable data from 1644 to 1646 by giving expenditures in certain months. In the general picture, the considerable part of the revenue of the waqf was distributed regularly in each registered month to employees of Ömeriye mosque. In addition to this, repair expenses of the two baths, Ömeriye and Kebir, and the mosque were other prominent expenditures of the waqf. In this account register, not only Ömeriye mosque in Lefkoşa but also a mosque in Ağrıboz, in Greece, belonging to the same waqf is also recorded.[414] Then, it can be said that the surplus of Cyprus was transferred to Ağrıboz via the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa. Looking at each register of different months, as illustrated in Table 11, the personnel expenditures of the waqf can be scrutinized.

[412] Erdoğru, *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar 2,* 66, 160.
[413] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00001.
[414] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00001.

Table 11. Annual Wages of the Mosque and School Personnel of Lala Mustafa Paşa's Waqf in 1644-1646

| | EMPLOYEES OF LALA MUSTAFA PAŞA'S WAQF | WAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Protector of waqf, Haydar Paşa | 150 akçe |
| 2 | Judge of Cyprus | 60 akçe |
| 3 | Administrator, Veli Ağa | 1,200 akçe |
| 4 | Clerk, Mahmud | 300 akçe |
| 5 | Cavalry Cabi, Abdullah | 360 akçe |
| 6 | Two accountants | 370 akçe |
| 7 | Preacher *(vaiz)*, Yahya Efendi | 300 akçe |
| 8 | Imam, Mehmed Efendi | 180 akçe |
| 9 | Second Imam, Mehmed Efendi | 180 akçe |
| 10 | Preacher *(hatib),* Mehmed Efendi | 300 akçe |
| 11 | Teacher, Mehmed Efendi | 210 akçe |
| 12 | Head of Reciters(*sermahfil*) | 150 akçe |
| 13 | Assistant of Imam, Mustafa | 210 akçe |
| 14 | Assistant of Imam, Sinan | 180 akçe |
| 15 | Assistant of School, el-Hac Mustafa | 90 akçe |
| 16 | Assistant of Muezzin, Ali | 60 akçe |
| 17 | Assistant of Teacher, Ali Hasan | 60 akçe |
| 18 | Quran Reciters, 10 people | 600 akçe |
| 19 | Prayers in Ömeriye mosque, 7 person | 870 akçe |
| | | Total: 5,830 akçe |

First of all, as the Chief Governor *(Beylerbeyi)* of Cyprus was also the protector of the waqf, he earned 150 akçe for three months. In addition to him, the judge of Cyprus received 60 akçe for the same period. Although they were not direct employees of the waqf, the chief governor and the judge of Cyprus were paid too. Also, as the employees of the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa, two preachers received the highest salary. For every three months, each preacher was paid 300 akçe. Other payments to the waqf employees were as follows: the teacher of the school, 210 akçe, and his assistant, 90 akçe; three imams, 180 akçe per person, and one imam 210 akçe; *ser-mahfil*, 150 akçe; and two employees received 60 akçe per person. In total, the waqf paid 2,160 akçe to the employees of Ömeriye mosque. For reciters of the Quran, the waqf paid 60 akçe per person. With them, all in all, the expenditure of the waqf was 2,760 akçe for the first record.[415]

Another record in the same register clarifies the wages of the administrator and clerks of Lala Mustafa Paşa. 1,200 akçe of the total 2,250 belonged to the administrator of the waqf, namely Veli Ağa. The remaining 1,350 akçe was divided between four clerks of the waqf. It is significant to note that with the wages of the mosque in Ağrıboz, the total payment made to waqf employees each month was 8,490 akçe. As seen in Table 12, the total expenditures of April 1644 were 9,004 akçe, of which 514 akçe was spent on the repair expenses of the baths and 8,490 akçe was given to the employees. For the following month, the waqf spent 9,497 akçe, 1,007 akçe of which was spent on the expenses of the mosque and baths. The next month, 9,669 akçe was the total expenditure of the waqf, 1,179 akçe of which was divided between the Ömeriye mosque and baths for maintenance and repair costs. In October 1644, while 532 akçe was spent on maintenance, the total expenditure was

[415] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00001.

9,022 akçe.[416] The only change in the accounts occurs in November of 1644 and 1645, being the time of Ramadan month, when the size of payments increased. One of the extra expenditures, as reflected in the waqf deed, was an additional payment made for reciting the Quran during Ramadan. In addition to this, an additional 504 akçe was spent on olive oil for the lighting of the mosque. As a result of these, the spending of the waqf increased to 11,377 akçe with additional payments. The record ended in April 1646; in the end, the total expenditure of the waqf was 113,785 akçe.[417]

Table 12. Repair Expenses of the Bath, Inn, and Mosque of Lala Mustafa Paşa's Waqf in 1644-1646

| | MONTHS | EXPENDITURE AS AKÇE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | July 1644 | 514 akçe |
| 2 | August 1644 | 1,007 akçe |
| 3 | September 1644 | 1,179 akçe |
| 4 | October 1644 | 576 akçe |
| 5 | November 1644 | 3,319 akçe |
| 6 | September 1645 | 282 akçe |
| 7 | October 1645 | 2,887 |
| 8 | November 1645 | 143 akçe |
| 9 | December 1645 | 907 akçe |
| 10 | January 1646 | 908 akçe |
| 11 | February 1646 | 13 akçe |
| 12 | March 1646 | 122 akçe |
| 13 | | TOTAL: 11,857 akçe |

All in all, there is no severe deficit in the account. While the rent revenues of *çiftlik*s and baths were the main sources of income of the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa, it seems that imams and other employees of Ömeriye mosque were the most significant part of the expenses. It should be noted here that the wages that were determined in the waqf deed do not differ from the account register. Looking at

[416] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00002.
[417] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00002.

wages in the account register in detail, the highest payment was made to preachers (*vaiz* and *hatib*); they annually received 300 akçe per person. Hatib Mehmed Efendi as the imam of Ömeriye mosque at the same time received 480 akçe for his two duties per year. I argue that the significance lies in not the amount of money that was given but the behavior of the waqf. As was mentioned above, members of the military-administrative class established waqfs to gain legitimacy and spread their ideology.[418] Then imams and preachers were the best choices to achieve this aim since they had close relationships with people. It was of mutual benefit to both sides; while the governor protected his position on the island, religious personnel enjoyed the revenue of the waqf. In line with this, payment to the judge of Lefkoşa and Chief Governor of Cyprus as the supervisors of waqf might also be evaluated as the Lala Mustafa Paşa's intention to protect both his administrative position and not only the waqf but also his other properties on the island. Furthermore, repair costs of baths and mosques were also among the main expenditures of the waqf. A large proportion of payments was made to the repair of waterways in Lefkoşa. During the years covered by the register, 1644-1646, contemporary sources did not record severe earthquakes or conflagrations. Thus fluctuations, such as the considerable increase in November 1644,[419] were due to routine maintenance.

To conclude, the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa was the second biggest waqf in Ottoman Cyprus in the late 16th century in terms of its properties. It is apparent that its income was highly dependent on rural places, mostly *çiftlik*s in various villages. The agricultural lands of the waqf were concentrated in the villages around Lefkoşa. With this income, the waqf became able to change and reshape the landscape of Lefkoşa, the capital of the island. Baths, shops, and inns were constructed to

[418] Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 78.
[419] BOA, MAD.d.6080_00002.

maintain the economy, which was devastated after the war in 1571. As a landowner in the rural region and real estate owner in the cities, the waqf gained the opportunity to control the economy in Lefkoşa and also gain urban rent revenue with Selim II's waqf. All of these activities of the waqf, both in the urban and rural context, as was also revealed in the account register, show that beyond its religious discourse, the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa had an economic purpose and constituted waqf space as a whole. In addition to the urban activities of Selim II's waqf, the waqf of Lala Mustafa Paşa created the rural part of waqf space by buying and then renting various properties. It also contributed to the urban part of waqf space, which was initiated by Selim II's waqf. The following part is going to analyze another crucial waqf, which enables us to see a microcosm of the waqf community in the network that Cafer Paşa established and conducted through the waqf.

## 4.3 The waqf of Cafer Paşa bin Abdülmemnan

As one of the former slaves of Kılıç Ali Paşa, Cafer Paşa was a Beylerbeyi in 1593 and then the governor of Cyprus in 1600.[420] This part of the chapter is devoted to the analysis of the waqf of Cafer Paşa in Cyprus by focusing on waqf deeds,[421] an abstract of the account register of 1605,[422] and two studies of Nevzat Sağlam[423] and Sıddık Korkmazer,[424] of which the latter provides an account register of 1724-1725.

Cafer Paşa established a waqf in 1590 and added new properties and various expenditures, with new waqf deeds being written in 1599, 1602 and 1607. According to these waqf deeds, the waqf of Cafer Paşa had eight *çiftlik*s in various parts of

[420] Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Beylerbeyi Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'taki Vakıfları," 213.
[421] VGM_DEFTER_00624_00127-00131.
[422] BOA, D.01404.0009_00002.
[423] Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Beylerbeyi Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'taki Vakıflar," 211-257.
[424] Korkmazer, "Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'ta Kurduğu ilk Vakfı ve Hizmetleri," 258-279.

Cyprus, namely Lefke, Değirmenlik, Tuzla, Limason, and Mesarya. In the same locations, the waqf had houses with 139 rooms, six storehouses (four of which were converted from churches), one inn with 30 rooms, 22 shops (one of them a coffeehouse), gardens, about 3,972 dönüm of fields (with 27 dönüm of cotton fields), 52 pair of oxen, 4,335 sheep and goats, 1,130 *kıyye* of wheat seed, 862 *kıyye* of barley seed, 100 *kıyye* of cottonseed, 44 *kıyye* of vetch seed, seven mills, more than 2,100 olive trees, about 103 carob trees, a bath in Magusa, and as endowments a school and a mosque in Girne.

After providing the sources of income of the waqf, according to waqf deeds, the waqf divided its revenue as follows: the administrator of the waqf would receive 5,400 akçe per year, the administrators of Aya Sofya mosques in Lefkoşa and Magusa would be annually given 720 akçe per person, and the administrator of the waqf of Celaliye in Konya would receive 1,000 akçe per year. The sheik of Mevlevis in Lefkoşa would be given 800 akçe per year while the Chief Mufti (*Şeyhülislam)* in Istanbul would receive 1,800 akçe. In addition, the waqf would annually send 43,000 akçe to the servants of the mosque of the prophet in Medina and 20,000 akçe to the imam. The wages of employees of the waqf, namely a clerk and a collector, were determined as 2,880 akçe for the clerk and 1,800 akçe for the collector per year. Lastly, the judge of Baf and various imams were also beneficiaries of Cafer Paşa's waqf.[425]

As one of the most crucial charities of the waqf, the 1605 account register consists of the revenue that was devoted to the servants of the mosque of Prophet Muhammad in Medina. It is an abstract account register, which means it only provides the total revenue and expenditure. The register also includes the revenue of

[425] VGM_DEFTER_00624_00130.

properties of Mustafa Paşa with some other waqfs, namely Mehmed Bey, former governor of Baf, and Mufti Sa'deddin Efendi. Although it is unclear whether these properties were part of the waqf of Cafer Paşa, it is safe to say that the revenue of certain waqfs that gave to Medina was gathered and accounted in the Cafer Paşa's waqf and in this way they were transferred there. Table 13 clarifies that the annual rent income of Mustafa Paşa's waqf shops in Magusa was 500,000 akçe, according to the record.

Table 13. Revenues and Expenditures of Cafer Paşa's Waqf in 1605

| | RENT REVENUE OF CAFER PAŞA'S WAQF IN 1606 | VARIOUS REVENUES OF CAFER PAŞA'S WAQF | EXPENSES OF CAFER PAŞA'S WAQF |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Shops in Magusa 120,000 akçe | Revenue of Mehmed Bey's waqf, former governor of Baf, 7,200 akçe | Revenues of other 3 waqfs were sent to poors of Medina, totally 517,200 akçe |
| 2 | Çiftliks 60,000 akçe | Shops of late Mustafa Paşa in Magusa 500,000 akçe | From 720,000 mukataat revenue 420,000 akçe were sent to Medina 300,000 akçe to Istanbul |
| 3 | Çiftlik in Bodamiya 40,000 akçe | Revenue of Mufti Saadeddin Efendi's waqf 10,000 akçe | About 434,760 rent revenue were sent to Medina |
| 4 | Soap factory in Magusa 3,000 akçe | | Administrator 12,240 akçe |
| 5 | Tax (ebna-yı sipahiyan-ı müsellem veresesi) revenue of Amorfa 216,800 akçe | | |
| 6 | Mukataat revenue 720,000 akçe | | |
| | Total: 1,159,800 | Total: 517,200 | Total: 1,684,200 |

Similar to this, 10,000 akçe of the waqf of Saadeddin, the mufti of Cyprus, was accounted for in the waqf of Cafer Paşa, and the revenue of Mehmed Bey's waqf was 7,200 akçe.[426] Thus, the waqf of Cafer Paşa could be evaluated as an umbrella structure that acted as the center of the transfer mechanism, which had to be a network in Medina to distribute these revenues. Leaving this issue aside, if we turn to Cafer Paşa's waqf, the annual rent revenue of the *çiftlik* in Potamia was 40,000 akçe. The other *çiftlik*s of the waqf were rented for 60,000 akçe in 1605. The asset of the waqf in Limason was rented for 120,000 akçe while the one in Lefkoşa produced 7,200 akçe per year. A soap factory in Magusa was rented to Hüseyin Kethüda, a chamberlain of Şaban Paşa, for 3,000 akçe per year. Lastly, 216,800 akçe was also gathered and endowed from tax and other revenues

By looking at the expenditures in the same register, the administrator of the waqf was paid 12,240 akçe per year. The waqf of Cafer Paşa also sent 420,000 akçe to Medina and 300,000 akçe to Istanbul. In total, by considering the account of Cafer Paşa, 1,016,800 akçe was sent to Istanbul, and 1,205,399 was sent to Medina in 1605.[427] What is missing in this register is the waqf employees and their wages on Cyprus. To be able to make a consistent evaluation of the waqf and compare it with the other waqfs, another account register will be mentioned.

The 1724-1725 account register that is provided by Sıddık Korkmazer is crucial for this chapter since it consists of data about the wages of waqf employees and the rent revenues of the waqf in the 18th century. According to this register, the annual rent of the *çiftlik* in Potamia was about 7,200 akçe while *çiftliks* in Linu, Peristeronari, and Misivri were rented for 4,800 akçe per *çiftlik.* In addition to them, three gardens were rented for about 1,360 akçe per year. Furthermore, eight houses

[426] BOA, D.01404.0009_00002.
[427] BOA, D.01404.0009_0002.

were rented for 520 akçe per year while the inn was rented for about 6,600 akçe per year.[428] On the other hand, according to this account register, the administrator of waqf of Cafer Paşa gained 4,680 akçe per year while three clerks recieved 3,960 akçe. The imam of the mosque, who was at the same time teacher, was paid 2,520 akçe. For the same year, the wages of the other two servants of the mosque were 2,520 akçe, and a servant of school's salary was 360 akçe. The waqf also paid 720 akçe to the teacher of İbrahim Paşa school and 720 akçe to the imam.[429] Looking at this account register, it appears that the only addition to the list of expenditures was the salary of a teacher of İbrahim Paşa school, an item not present in the waqf deed. In addition to this, it can be argued that the wages and number of employees of the waqf in Cyprus were less than those of the two others. Finally, as is shown in the study of Nevzat Sağlam, these activities of the waqf of Cafer Paşa lasted until the end of the 19th century. Owing to mismanagement, the waqf began to lose some of its properties. For instance, in 1869, 100 dönüm of waqf fields were given as a pledge for a 15,000 kuruş debt of Hacı Mehmed Ağa who had the usufruct right of the fields. Three years later, since Mehmed Ağa could not pay his debt, the fields were sold.[430] In the 19th century and into the early 20th century, it is reported that the properties of the waqf were devastated.[431]

All in all, until the 19th century, despite limited changes, the waqf deeds, the account register of Medina in 1605, and the 1724 account register of Cafer Paşa agree on the size of revenues and expenditures. The waqf's properties in the form of rural agricultural land and real estate in cities contributed to changes in property relations and, consequently, crystallization of waqf space. It seems that Cafer Paşa's

[428] Korkmazer, "Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'ta Kurduğu ilk Vakfı ve Hizmetleri," 272.
[429] Korkmazer, "Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'ta Kurduğu ilk Vakfı ve Hizmetleri," 266.
[430] Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Beylerbeyi Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'taki Vakıfları," 244.
[431] Sağlam, "Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Beylerbeyi Frenk Cafer Paşa'nın Kıbrıs'taki Vakıfları," 246.

waqf distributed a certain part of the revenue of Cyprus to Mevlevis in Cyprus and Konya, and Medina. It also made payment from the waqf's revenue to the Chief Mufti in Istanbul. Thus, I argue that beyond the waqf community in Cyprus, presumably to ensure the safety of his position in local administration and central bureaucracy, Cafer Paşa tried to conduct a beneficial relationship with various religious groups such as imams, sheiks, judges, and prayers who were the encouragers and primary beneficiaries of waqfs. Distributing the revenue of his waqf on the island to certain people in Konya, Istanbul, Medina, and Cyprus, he defined a broad waqf community which was not only a local power group, but was based on his own network consisting of influential religious people in various centers. Finally, it can be seen, starting from the waqf deed, that the waqf gradually lost its financial power due to mismanagement, and by the 20th century had lost its properties.

## 4.4 Ordinary waqfs

This chapter pursued the social and economic activities of the abovementioned waqfs through a certain period, scrutinizing the account registers of each one of the three biggest waqfs on the island. In the previous chapters, also, not only wealthy waqfs but also those established by ordinary people on the island have been evaluated in many ways. One of the most crucial points was that religious personnel, who were imams and preachers, were dominant actors in the foundation and administration of ordinary waqfs. Thus, this part is going to evaluate an interesting account register dated June 7, 1694, covering six months and providing invaluable data about the expenditures of 15 various waqfs on Cyprus.[432] The interesting point is that the register also includes accounts of various waqfs on the different islands of the

[432] BOA, MAD.d.01821_00001.

Ottoman Empire. These records in various places make it possible to compare and contrast the expenditures of different waqfs on different islands.

If the register is evaluated from a general point of view, the financial statement of various waqfs might be seen in context. The register consists of an account of 95 waqfs on seven different islands. Within these 95 waqfs, eight of them were on Lesbos; eight on Kuşadası; 12 on Chios; 13 on Rhodes; five on Kos (*İstamköy)*; 34 on Crete (of which 17 were in Heraklion, eight in Chania, nine in Rethymno); and 15 of the total 95 waqfs were on Cyprus. In terms of the number of waqfs that are registered, Crete and Cyprus were the two most prominent islands. When their expenditures are taken into consideration, for six months, 899,840 akçe was recorded.[433] 554,940 akçe of the total amount belonged to waqfs on Crete, of which 333,180 akçe was recorded in Heraklion, 118,260 in Rethymno and 103,500 in Chania. Rhodes was the second biggest island with 125,280 akçe with regard to the expenditures of waqfs. While the expenditures of waqfs in Chios was 34,560 akçe, it was 28,980 akçe on Cyprus, 28,620 akçe on Kuşadası, 21,240 akçe on Kos and 6,220 akçe on Lesbos. It seems that for this record, the waqf expenditures of Crete exceeded those of other islands. Since the date of this register follows the conquest of Crete by Ottomans in 1669, it could be reasoned that the number, revenue, and expenditures of waqfs there Crete was higher than on other islands owing to Ottoman endeavors to establish its administration.

Turning back to the main subject of this thesis, 15 waqfs from Cyprus are recorded in the account register. According to the register, looking first at spatial distribution, 11 of these waqfs were located in Lefkoşa, two of them in Magusa, one in Tuzla, and the last one in Mesarya. Furthermore, four of them were directly

[433] BOA, MAD.d.1821_00002.

registered as a waqf of a mosque, while only one of them, in Lefkoşa, was registered as a waqf of a school. The remaining waqfs were registered with the name of their founder. The financial data of the register shows that for six months, the total expenditure of these waqfs was 28,260 akçe. The total expenditure of the four mosques' waqfs was 14,980 akçe, which is more than half of the total. Of this amount, the expenditure of a mosque in Lefkoşa was 9,180 akçe, and that of Haydar Paşa Mosque's waqf was 3,960 akçe. Of the other two mosques' waqfs, the expenditure of the mosque of Lisi, a village in Mesarya, was 540 akçe per waqf. Apart from them, while the expenditure of the waqf of the school in Lefkoşa was 540 akçe, the lodge of Ümmü'l-Haram in Tuzla was 720 akçe. From the other waqfs, the expenditure of Arap Ahmet Paşa's waqf was 3,420 akçe; Cafer Paşa's waqf, 2,700 akçe; Lala Mustafa Paşa's waqf, 720 akçe; the waqf of an Agha, 720 akçe; the waqf of Hacı Mehmed Efendi in Magusa, 720 akçe; the waqf of Sinan in Lefkoşa, 2,160 akçe; and the waqf of Mazhar Efendi in Lefkoşa, 1,440 akçe. Finally, the expenditure of the waqf of Mevlevis in Lefkoşa was 700 akçe for six months.[434]

In a nutshell, as far as the register represents, the revenue of the waqfs of Cyprus in 1694 was at the average when compared to the other islands in the register. When looking solely at the Cyprus part of this register, not only ordinary waqfs but also governors' waqfs were registered and the question remains as to why such a register was prepared and why governors' waqfs were included. However, although the detail of these expenditures is also unknown, it can be seen that, similarly to the other waqf records examined by this thesis, this register makes clear that Lefkoşa was promoted as the center of waqf space.

[434] BOA, MAD.d. 1821_00002.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter was an attempt to scrutinize certain significant waqfs of Cyprus by examining their account registers. One of the intentions was to test the main arguments of the thesis for each waqf separately. The first one concerned the structure of waqfs, which was shaped according to the relationship between founder, administrator, and beneficiaries of the waqf. A particular group of people who established this relationship around the waqf institution was called the waqf community. With the three abovementioned waqfs' account registers taken into consideration from this perspective, all of them are seen to have conducted a network and distributed a certain amount of wealth to the religious personnel. It seems that as the prominent figures, the imams of different mosques were paid about the same wages by waqfs. At first glance, imams' wages could be considered appropriate for the island. However, it is barely possible to calculate the total income of an imam since different waqfs could pay the same imam; meanwhile, the 1833 census illustrates that, in most cases, imams had more than the average level of property for their neighborhoods.[435] This series of registers, from waqf deeds and account registers to the 1833 census, clarifies the primary beneficiaries of waqfs on the island. With the exception of the waqf of Selim II, the waqfs also conducted relations with various other religious groups, not only on Cyprus. Specifically, the relations of Cafer Paşa's waqf in Istanbul, Medina, and Konya with scholars and Sufis gives a keen sense of the roots of the waqf community. That is to say, as could be traced from both waqf deeds and the account registers, behind the religious discourse, the

[435] For instance, the 1833 census value of the total properties of İmam Monla Ahmed was 2175 akçe while the average of the 30 households in Peristerona was about 965 akçe. A similar pattern can be found with the households of İmam Ali in Baf and İmam Mehmed Efendi in Amorfa and other parts of the island. It should be noted that the wealthiest districts of Lefkoşa in which the prominent mosques were located have not been entered in the register. To see some examples: BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.d. 16153_00133, 16155_00061, 16154_00005, 16152_00105.

waqf institution was used as a tool in the relationship among people from different strata.

The other crucial argument concerns the spatial distribution of waqfs' properties and endowments as was reflected in waqf deeds, and this thesis proposed the notion of waqf space, which connotes property and rent relations, and consequently, the function and direction of redistribution of wealth on the island. The waqf account registers provide a close look at the creation and changes in the waqf space. First of all, it is understood that it was the not fortuitous or static reproduction of space, but a dynamic space that changed over time. At first, with the foundation of Selim II's waqf, the urban region of the waqf space was constituted. As a consequence of property transfers, whether given by the sultan or bought by the waqf, the rural region of the waqf space started to be constituted by the waqfs of Lala Mustafa Paşa and Cafer Paşa, which became the primary source of income for waqfs. With the redistribution mechanism, the urban and rural activities of waqfs created and maintained the waqf space, and this space arranged credit relations, agricultural relations, trade, and religious activities on the island. On the other hand, to be able to make a more concise analysis of the position of waqfs in agrarian relations, for future studies, the nature of the relationship between peasants and waqfs and the position of peasants vis-à-vis waqfs as the landholder should be examined.

# CHAPTER 5

# CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the social and economic activities of waqf institutions in early modern Cyprus, roughly between 1579 and1855. Dealing with a long time period allowed us to see patterns related to the reasons for the foundation of a waqf and the administration of it, the patterns of the redistribution of wealth, and its impact on both urban and rural space. With this understood, it can be said that this study adopted a space-centric approach rather than a time-centric perspective in its research. As is expected in academic studies, this thesis endeavored to analyze sources by asking questions and following precise methodologies to reach valid and coherent answers in an orderly manner and within set limits. My primary motivation was to promote the waqf as a dynamic economic institution beyond its religious function. Disregarding the religious narratives of sources allows us to unearth the economic, financial, political and social relations that existed around the waqf institution in a province, which represents a straightforward example of the empire in many senses. Since the waqf institution is a matter of law and politics, questions about the identities of the main actors in the organization of the waqf institution and the function of waqfs on the island were always kept in mind when scrutinizing different topics in each chapter.

Rather than finding an absolute answer to these questions, each chapter produces and reproduces the abovementioned questions to understand the social and economic activities of waqfs in early modern Ottoman Cyprus. In the literature, various studies have looked at the impact of waqfs in the economy and urban settings of different parts of the empire. Those concerned with the waqfs of Ottoman Cyprus

are largely descriptive studies, giving information about governors' waqfs and the endowment of certain waqfs rather than providing analysis. For this reason they could not provide a coherent context to understand these waqfs' function on the island. In addition, they also neglect the functions of ordinary waqfs, which were more numerous than the governors' waqfs. Thus, to fill this gap, this study examined 63 ordinary waqfs and 17 governors' waqfs by using GIS. This tool, by visualizing data, makes it possible to see patterns in the functions of waqfs. Thus, this thesis initially scrutinized the cash waqfs in the context of credit relations on the island in Chapter 2. With the Ottoman administration on Cyprus, credit was spread throughout the island to meet the needs of daily life, pay taxes, and maintain continuity in agricultural production. By highlighting the role of European consuls and merchants as well as the Orthodox Church in moneylending activities, I argued that cash waqfs, mostly founded by ordinary people of the island, were significant actors that included various people from all communities of the island in credit relations. To understand the structure of these waqfs, Chapter 2 also examined each actor of the waqf institution. Thus, mapping the various layers of 63 different ordinary waqfs revealed the connection between founders and administrators. Making use of this, I claimed that the founding of a waqf was not an individual decision but related to a class habitus. Moreover, as the neighbors of founders, administrators, and primary beneficiaries of waqfs, religious personnel could influence their decisions with religious discourse about the virtue of charity. Being an administrator of a waqf or waqfs, especially cash waqfs, added a novel role to religious personnel and made them moneylenders who provided credit not only to Muslims but also to non-Muslims via waqfs. Thus, I offered the concept of the waqf community in order to understand this relation of various actors of the island around the waqfs' surplus. The

same pattern was also deemed valid for governors' waqfs. In that case, not only religious personnel but also other religious elite in the central bureaucracy were involved in the process. Huri İslamoğlu argues that since the interest of the *umera* and religious elite were intertwined, it was common for the *umera* to endow their properties as waqf.[436] I claimed that from the perspective of governors, the waqf institution was a necessary tool to secure their position by establishing a relationship with religious personnel through waqf revenue.

The integration of the island into the Ottoman Empire brought about new administration, institutions, laws, and social and economic relations. Focusing mainly on wealthy waqfs, Chapter 3 examined the spatial distribution of waqfs' properties with respect to agrarian and urban relations since the redefinition of space made these novel relations possible. The rural properties of waqfs were scrutinized to understand waqfs' place in the agrarian relations of the island. I argued that olive and mulberry trees were among the most crucial properties of waqfs, owing to their rental value and the usefulness of their products. Waqfs also had a massive amount of fields and *çiftlik*s along with water rights that provided considerable sums in rent revenue, which were the main sources of waqfs' urban assets. In that sense, Chapter 3 also evaluated urban economic activities of waqfs. Shops, inns, baths, and houses owned by waqfs makes clear that the crucial role of waqfs in trade in cities. Therefore, by focusing on each urban and rural properties within the context of the island's economy and visualizing many of them, the thesis brought about the concept of waqf space to examine waqfs' role in agrarian and urban relations. Waqf space, which is defined by the spatial distribution of waqfs' properties and endowments,

[436] İslamoğlu-İnan, "Peasants, Commercialization, and Legitimation of State Power in Sixteenth-Century Anatolia," 64.

reflects the main arena of the waqf institution on the island in which all kinds of waqf activities happened, such as the redistribution of wealth from rural to urban settings or from waqf founders to religious personnel. Acting mainly within Lefkoşa and its hinterland, the waqf institution was one of the most dynamic and crucial agents in the economy of the island, controlling and managing crucial agricultural lands, *çiftlik*s, inns, shops, and many other urban and rural properties. The last chapter, as a result, made a micro analysis of three wealthy waqfs, which were the waqf of Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa, and Cafer Paşa, to trace both the arguments of the thesis and financial changes of waqfs over time by examining the waqf account books of each waqf from different years.

By analyzing the activities of waqfs in Cyprus, this thesis contributes to both waqf studies and Cyprus historiography. Introducing GIS to such a study allowed me to bring together the approaches of spatial, social, and economic history by bringing new questions to the analysis of waqf deeds, which are toponym-rich sources that include every vital piece of information concerning the structure of waqfs despite their static nature. I attempted to overcome this problem not only by using GIS but also by examining waqf account books, court records, and real estate censuses from different periods. However, due to language limitations, this thesis could not benefit from primary sources and secondary literature written in Greek.

Furthermore, I focused on waqf deeds to show their significance as historical material by approaching them with new methods and questions. Since some of the abovementioned waqfs still exist and are a political matter in Cyprus, an historical space-centric analysis involving their socio-economic context might offer a valuable alternate perspective.

Last but not least, this study led us to ask further questions for future studies about the spatial distribution of both ordinary and wealthy waqfs of different provinces, waqfs' role in water supply, management, and distribution, and an institutional inquiry about the function of waqfs in the relation among the sultan, central bureaucracy, ulema, and local governors. It might also be asked in regard to the rural waqf properties such as in *çiftlik*s, how were production relations organized? Did waqfs only extract rent revenue or were they involved directly in the production process? Parallel to these questions, the role of waqfs in agrarian relations throughout the empire can be investigated by taking the questions of environmental history, spatial history, and digital history into consideration.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS AND TRANSLITERATION

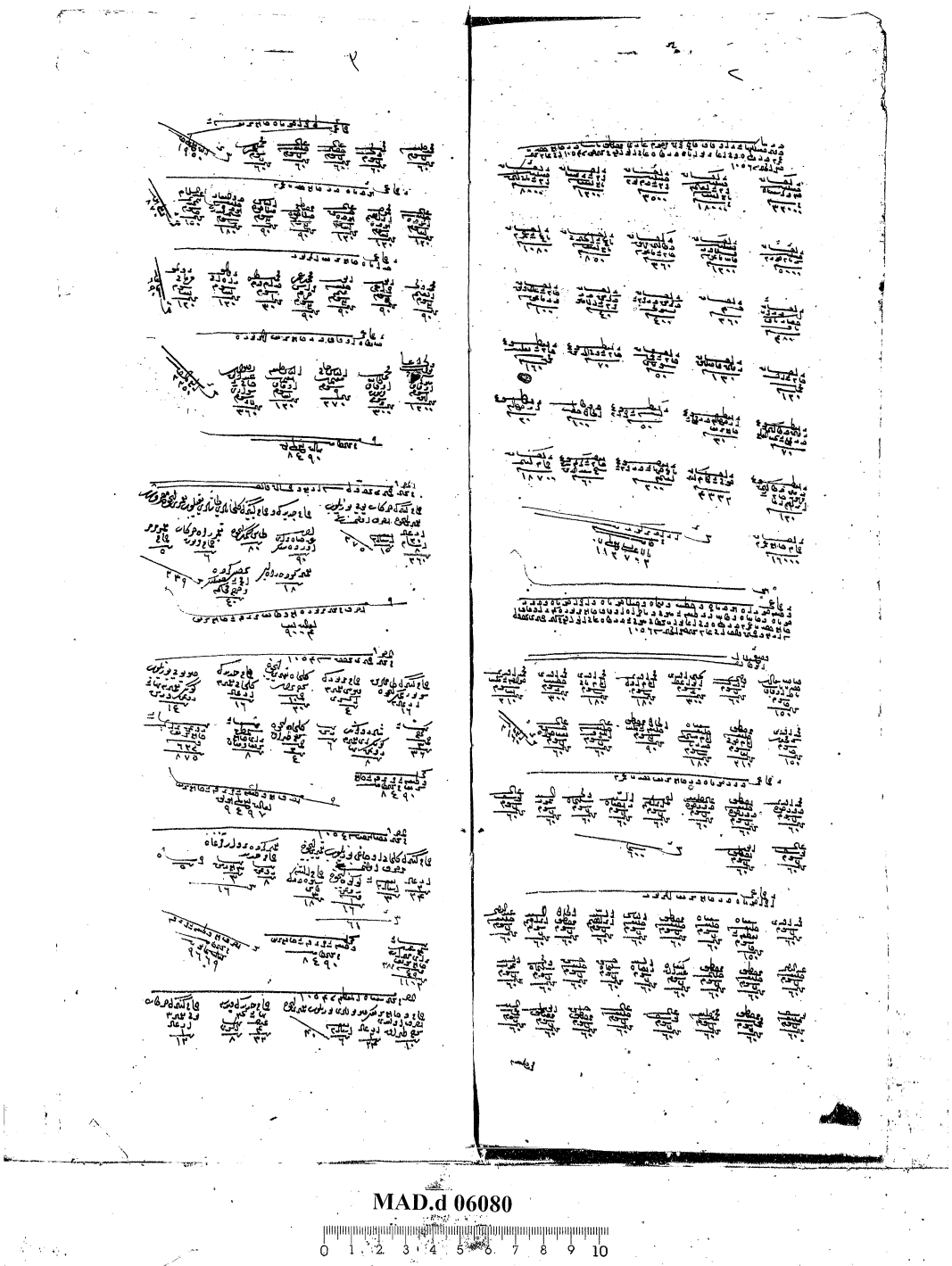



Figure A1. A sample of the account register of Lala Mustafa Paşa
Source: BOA, MAD.d 06080

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Der muhasebe-i | | | |
| Defter-i çiftlikha-yı an evkaf-ı fatih-i Kıbrıs merhum Gazi Mustafa Paşa der cami'-i hazret-i Ömeriye der zaman-ı Veli Ağa ser-bevvaban-ı Dergah-ı 'Ali el-vaki' fi şehr-i Safer sene 1054 ila tamam-ı şehr-i Saferi'l-hayr sene 1056 | | | |
| | | | |
| an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i |
| Çiftlik ma' degirman | Çiftlik | Çiftlik | karye-i Termiya |
| fi sene | karye-i Lakadamya | karye-i … | tabi-i Lefkoşa |
| 32000 | tabi-i Lefkoşa | sene | sene |
| | fi sene | 3500 | 1200 |
| | 18000 | | |
| an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i |
| Çiftlik | Çiftlik | Çiftlik | dekakin-i kahve |
| karye-i tabi-i Lefke | tabi-i … | tabi-i Magusa | cabi-i Magusa |
| sene | sene | sene | sene |
| 8000 | 5000 | 1200 | 360 |
| | | | |
| an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i |
| Bağçe | Bağçe-i Ömeriye | Çiftlik | HSM |
| tabi-i Lefkoşa | sene | tabi-i Baf | sene |
| sene | 1080 | sene | 360 |
| 850 | | 480 | |
| | | | |
| an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-icare-i |
| Degirmen der | Degirmen der | Hane-i Ali | Hane-i Ali |
| karye-i Piskopi | karye-i … | der Magusa | el-Seyyid |
| sene | sene | sene | Mehmed |
| 400 | 40 | 100 | sene |
| | | | 130 |
| an-icare-i | an-icare-i | an-maktu'-i | |
| Dükkan-ı hasıllık | Hane-i Mehmed | Hane-i Veliyüddin | |
| sene | Subaşı | sene | |
| 130 | sene | 70 | |
| | 50 | | |
| an-maktu'-i | an-maktu'-i | an-maktu'-i | an-maktu'-i |
| Hane-i Mehmed | Dükkan-ı dekakin | … mücavir-i | kenisa-i Hradye |
| sene | der mahmiyye-i | cami-i şerif | sene |
| 160 | Tahte'l-Kal'a | sene | 50 |
| | sene | 30 | |
| | 70 | | |
| | | | |
| Dükkan-ı | an-maktu'-i | an-maktu-i | an-icare-i |
| el-Hac Hatib | …. | Dükkan-ı dekakin-i | havlu-yı |
| sene | sene | kahvehane-i | hamam-ı |
| 100 | 30 | İbrahim Ağa | kebir |
| | | sene | sene |
| | | 120 | 4332 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| an-maktu-ı | an-maktu-ı | an-icare-i | an-icare-i |
| bağ-ı çuha | hane-i kerimesi-i | Hamam-ı kebir | Hamam-ı cami-i |
| der karye-i | Şeyh Sa'adeddin | sene | Ömeriye |
| Lakadamya | sene | 18700 | sene |
| sene | 60 | | 16000 |
| 200 | | | |
| | | | |
| Yekun | | | |
| Îrâd-ı mezkur | | | |
| fi sene-i | | | |
| kamile | | | |
| 112702 | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| An-cema'ati | | | |
| Vazifehoran-ı merduman ve hatib ve salahuyan ve eczahuyan ve devrhuyan ve cabiyan ve katib ve an-tab'i-i mütevelli ve nazıran-ı evkaf-ı cami'-i mezbure ki an-evkaf-ı cami'-i hazret-i Ömeriye der zaman-ı Veli Ağa ser-bevvaban-ı Dergah-ı 'Ali el-vaki' fi şehr-i Cemaziye'l-evvel sene 1054 ila nihayet-i şehri-i Saferi'l-hayr sene 1056 | | | |
| | | | |
| Vuzia' min zalike'l | | | |
| Vezaif | | | |
| | | | |
| Sahib-i Sa'adet | Kadı | Yahya Efendi | Mehmed Efendi |
| Hazret-i Paşa | Efendi | Va'iz | İmam-ı evvel |
| nazır-ı evkaf | yevm | yevm | yevm |
| yevm | 2 | 10 | 6 |
| 5 | şehr | şehr | şehr |
| şehr | 60 | 300 | 180 |
| 150 | | | |
| | | | |
| Mehmed Efendi | Mehmed Efendi | Mehmed Efendi | Mehmed Efendi |
| İmam-ı sani | Hatib | Hace-yi mekteb | Ser-mahfil |
| yevm | yevm | yevm | yevm |
| 6 | 10 | 7 | 5 |
| şehr | şehr | şehr | şehr |
| 18 | 300 | 210 | 150 |
| | | | |
| Mustafa | Sinan | el-Hac Mustafa | 'Ali |
| Halife-yi | Halife-yi | Halife-yi mekteb | halife |
| İmam-ı cevami | İmam-ı mescid-i | yevm | yevm |
| yevm | Haydar Paşa | 3 | 2 |
| 7 | yevm | şehr | şehr |
| şehr | 6 | 90 | 60 |
| 210 | şehr | | |
| | 180 | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| ‘Ali | | | | |
| Hüseyin | | | | |
| …horan | | | | |
| yevm | | | | |
| 2 | | | | |
| şehr | | | | |
| 60 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Yekun | | | | |
| 2160 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| An-cema’at-i | | | | |
| Der-zümreyan-ı der cami’-i şerif-i hazret-i Ömeriye | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Mehmed Efendi | Mustafa | ‘Ali | Yusuf | es-Seyyid |
| Devr-horan | Halife-yi | Devr-horan | yevm | Sinan |
| yevm | Devr-horan | yevm | 2 | yevm |
| 2 | yevm | 2 | şehr | 2 |
| şehr | 2 | şehr | 60 | şehr |
| 60 | şehr | 60 | | 60 |
| | 60 | | | |
| Veli | es-Seyyid | ‘Ali | ‘Ali | Ulvi |
| Süleyman | Timur | Yusuf | Yusuf | Mustafa |
| yevm | yevm | yevm | yevm | yevm |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| şehr | şehr | şehr | şehr | şehr |
| 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| | | | | |
| Yekun | | | | |
| 600 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| An-cema’at-i | | | | |
| Hıdmetgan-ı evkaf-ı der cami’-i şerif-i hazret-i Ömeriye | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Veli Ağa | Mehmed | İlyas Hacı | İlyas tabi’-i | Ramazan |
| Mütevelli-i evkaf | Katib-i evkaf | Muhasib | muhasib | cabi-i |
| yevm | yevm | yevm | yevm | süvari |
| 40 | 10 | 9 | 4 | yevm |
| şehr | şehr | şehr | şehr | 12 |
| 1200 | 300 | 270 | 120 | şehr |
| | | | | 360 |
| Yekun | | | | |
| 2250 | | | | |
| | | | | |

Figure A2. Transliteration of BOA, MAD.d 06080

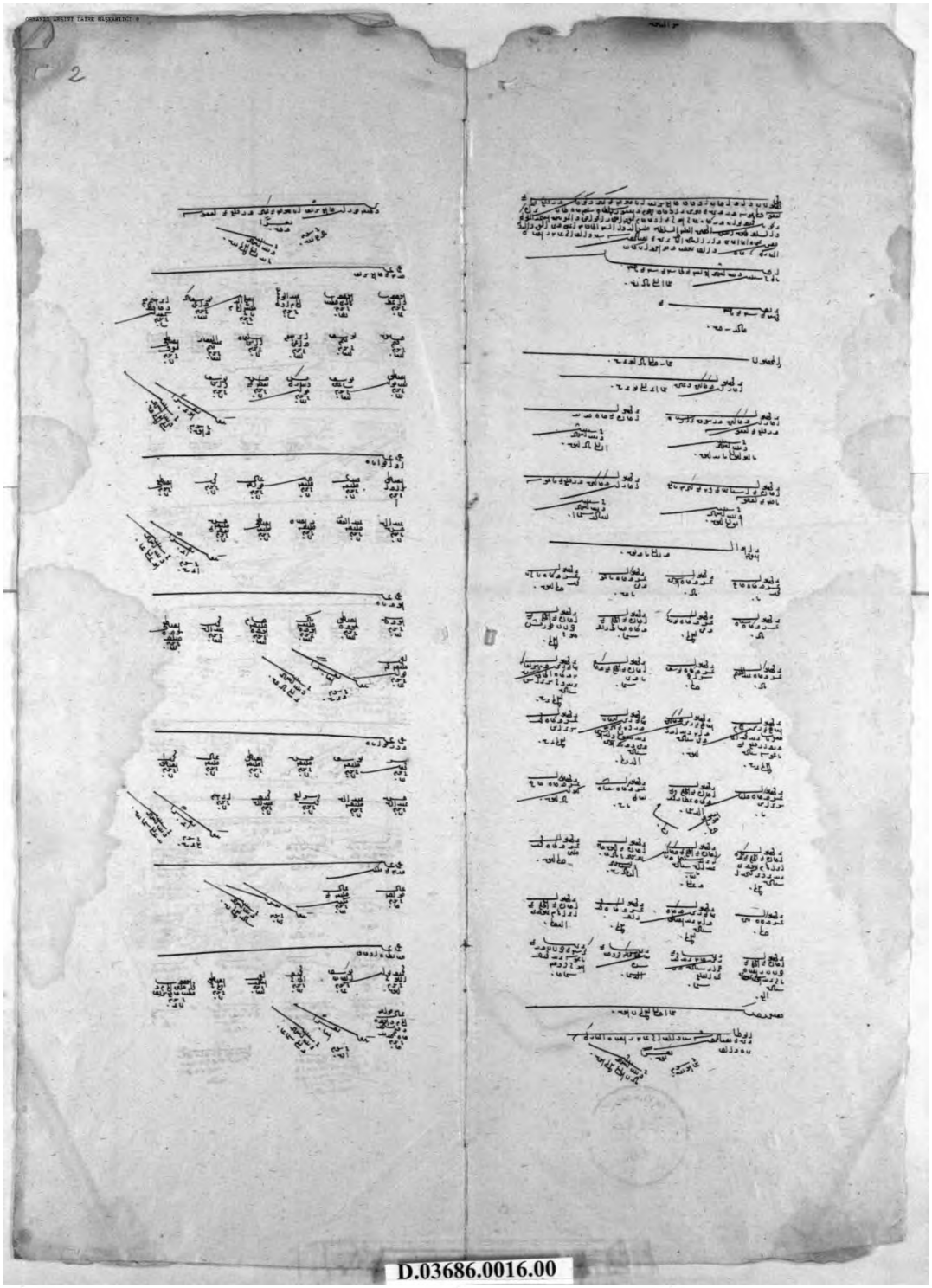



Figure A3. A sample of the account register of waqf of Selim II

Source: BOA, D.03686.0016.00002

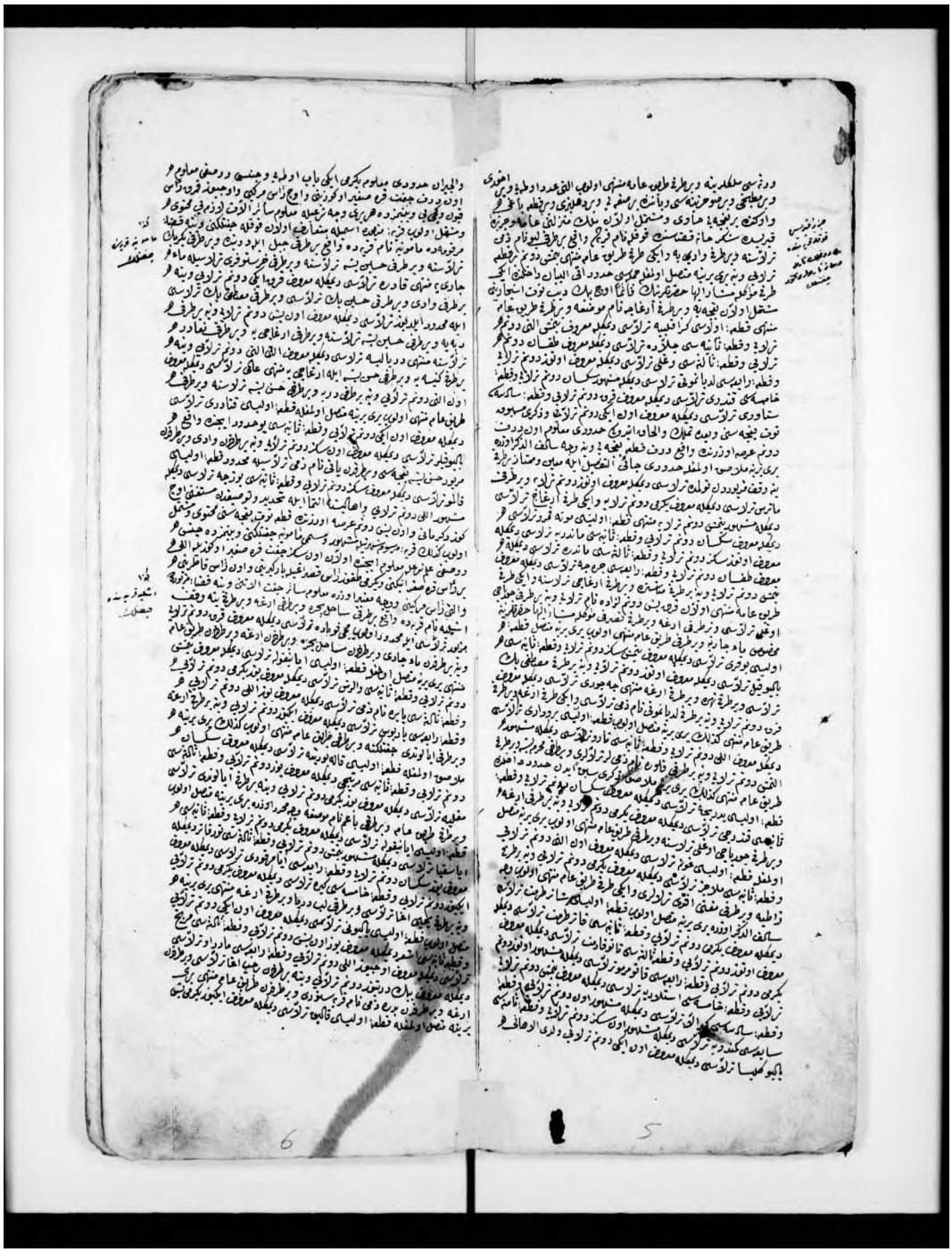


Figure A4. A sample of the deed of waqf of Mahpeyker Sultan

Source: VGMA, VGM_DEFTER_16142_00008




Figure A5. A facsimile of the deed of waqf of Hadice bint-i Abdullah

Source, ISAM, KŞS.d: 012/35-36

# APPENDIX B

## DATA ON WAQF'S ASSETS AND EXPENDITURES

Table B1. Ordinary Cash Waqfs in Ottoman Cyprus 1610-1837

| | WAQF NAME (FOUNDER) | LOCATION | ADMINISTRATOR | DATE | AMOUNT OF ENDOWED MONEY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ali Beşe ibn Abdullah | Lefkoşa-Kocat/Dağ | Selime, the daughter of Halim-his wife | 1018/1610 | 100 kuruş (12,000 akçe) |
| 2 | Ümmühani bint-i Mehmet Kethüda | Lefkoşa-Abdi Çavuş District | Preacher of Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque | 1101/1689 | 120 akçe |
| 3 | Şaşı Cemile bint-i Abdülkerim | Lefkoşa-Ömeriye District | Imam of Ömeriye mosque | 1121/1709 | 40 kuruş (4,800 akçe) |
| 4 | Mümine bint-i el-Hac Mustafa | Lefkoşa-Ömeriye District | İbrahim Ağa (her husband) | 1133/1720 | 300 kuruş (36,000 akçe) |
| 5 | Hacı Ahmed bin Osman | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Imam of Arap Ahmet Paşa mosque | 1133/1720 | 40 kuruş (4,800 akçe) |
| 6 | Hacı Mustafa bin İvaz | Lefkoşa-Tutihane? District | Imam İbrahim Efendi, Imam of İbrahim Paşa mosque | 1137/1724 | 120 kuruş (14,440 akçe) |
| 7 | Ali Beşe ibn Abdullah | Lefkoşa-Debbağhane District | Imam of Arap Ahmet Paşa mosque | 1137/1724 | 10 kuruş (1,200 akçe) |
| 8 | Hatice bint-i Abdullah | Lefkoşa-AZLKOLA? | Hacı Mustafa | 1139/1727 | 300 kuruş (36,000 akçe) |
| 9 | Hanım bint-i Halil | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Administrator of Arap Ahmet Paşa's waqf | 1139/1727 | 50 kuruş (6,000 akçe) |
| 10 | Emir Ağazade Esseyid Ali Ağa | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Himself | 1150/1737 | 400 kuruş (48,000 akçe) |
| 11 | Hasan Ağa bin Hacı İsmail Ağa | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Administrator of Arap Ahmet Paşa's waqf | 1152/1740 | 300 kuruş (36,000 akçe) |
| 12 | Fatma Hatun ibnet-i Hüseyin Ağa | Lefkoşa-Cami-i Cedid District | Mahmud Efendi, teacher of Ömeriye mosque | 1159/1746 | 600 kuruş (72,000 akçe) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | Seyyid Mustafa Ağa ibn Hacı Mehmed Ağa | Lefkoşa-Kal'a | Himself | 1173/1759 | 500 kuruş (60,000 akçe) |
| 14 | Ayşe bint-i Mehmed | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Imam of Aya Sofya mosque | 1175/1761 | 50 kuruş (6,000 akçe) |
| 15 | Ayşe bint-i Mustafa | Lefkoşa-Cami-i Cedid District | Hafız İbrahim Efendi | 1183/1770 | 150 kuruş (18,000 akçe) |
| 16 | Emine Hatun bint-i Zurnacı Hacı | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Esseyyid Zaim Hüseyin Ağa | 1210/1795 | 75 kuruş (9,000 akçe) |
| 17 | Hacı Dede Mustafa Ağa | Magusa-Nefs-i Magusa | Himself | 1212/1797 | 700 kuruş (84,000 akçe) |
| 18 | Basmacı Mehmed bin Hacı Abdurrahman | Lefkoşa-Tahte'l-Kal'a | Himself | 1214/1799 | 100 kuruş (12,000 akçe) |
| 19 | Şerife Fatma bint-i Mehmed | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Feyzullah Efendi-Muezzin of Aya Sofya mosque | 1217/1802 | 100 kuruş (12,000 akçe) |
| 20 | Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Ağa ibn İsmail | Lefkoşa-Kal'a | Himself | 1225/1810 | 150 kuruş (18,000 akçe) |
| 21 | Hafize Hanım bint-i el-Hac Ahmed | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmet Paşa District | Emir El-hac Mehmed Ağa | 1228/1813 | 300 kuruş (36,000 akçe) |
| 22 | Nuri Baba | Magusa-Nefs-i Magusa | Emine Hatun-vekil | 1230/1815 | 35 kuruş (4,200 akçe) |
| 23 | Mufti Kızı Fatma Kadın | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Abdi Çavuş | 1232/1817 | 300 kuruş (36,000 akçe) |
| 24 | Emine bint-i Ahmed | Lefkoşa-Ömeriye District | Zaim el-Hac Ömer Ağa, administrator of Mescid-i Şerif | 1232/1817 | 150 kuruş (18,000 akçe) |
| 25 | Fatma bint-i Hüseyin | Lefkoşa-Abdi Çavuş District | Hafız of Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque | 1232/1817 | 400 kuruş (48,000 akçe) |
| 26 | Ayşe Molla Hatun | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Herself | 1242/1826 | 900 kuruş (108,000 akçe) |
| 27 | Ahmed Efendi bin Mehmed Efendi | Lefke- Linu | Himself | 1245/1829 | 400 kuruş (48,000 akçe) |
| 28 | Hatice bint-i Ahmed Ağa | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Hafız of Aya Sofya mosque | 1250/1834 | 1,200 kuruş (144,000 akçe) |
| 29 | Rukiye Kadın bint-i Derviş Efendi | Lefkoşa-Aya Sofya District | Imam of Aya Sofya mosque | 1250/1834 | 1,000 kuruş (120,000 akçe) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | Köşklü Emine Kadın bint-i Ahmed Efendi | Lefkoşa-Ömeriye District | El-hac Feyzullah-Imam of Abdi Çavuş district mosque | 1251/1835 | 700 kuruş (84,000 akçe) |
| 31 | Fatma Kadın bint-i Seyyid Ali | Lefkoşa-Haydar Paşa District | Imam of Aya Sofya mosque | 1251/1835 | 2,500 kuruş (300,000 akçe) |
| 32 | Rahime Hatun bint-i el-Hac Mustafa | Lefkoşa-Cami-i Cedid District | el-Hac Mustafa | 1253/1837 | 1,500 kuruş (180,000 akçe) |

Table B2. Properties of Ordinary Waqfs in Ottoman Cyprus (1595- 1855)

| | WAQF NAME | LOCATION | ADMINISTRATOR | DATE | PROPERTIES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Hüma bint-i Ali Hatun | Lefkoşa | İbrahim Çavuş, judge | 1003/1595 | 2.5 dönüm yard |
| 2 | Rafa'il veled-i Lazari | Lefkoşa-Kal'a | Himself | 1013/1605 | 1 house with 8 rooms, yard with water well |
| 3 | Hacı Keyvan bin Abdülmemnan | Lefkoşa-İncirli | Himself | 1016/1608 | 1 çiftlik with 500 dönüm field, 4 rooms, 2 pairs of oxen and water |
| 4 | Mehmed Efendi bin Abdülmemnan | Limason-Zodiyi? | Himself | 1018/1610 | 3 kile seeds, 1 mulberry tree, 1 olive tree, water |
| 5 | Belkıs Hatun ibnet-i merhum Ferruh ağa | Lefkoşa- Aya Sofya District | Herself | 1059/1649 | 152 dönüm land, 10 olive trees, 6 dönüm garden, 1 press, 8 rooms in Piskopi |
| 6 | Ümmühani bint-i Mehmet Kethüda* | Lefkoşa-Abdi Çavuş district | Preacher of Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque | 1101/1689 | 1 boiler shop |
| 7 | Hacı İsmail Ağa bin Ramazan Ağa | Lefkoşa- Aya Sofya District | Himself | 1134/1721 | 23 olive trees in Değirmenlik |
| 8 | Duacı Derviş Mehmed bin Mahmud | Lefkoşa-Tutihane? District | Derviş HTR Efendi | 1138/1725 | 3 dönüm mulberry garden, 14 olive trees, water use rights for 7 seven hours in 15 days and 1 house with 2 rooms and yard in Değirmenlik |
| 9 | Hacce Fatma bint-i Şaban | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmed Paşa district | Administrator of Arap Ahmed Paşa's waqf | 1139/1726 | 1 house in Arap Ahmed Paşa district, 11 olive trees in Lefkoşa, 4 olive trees in Matyat village |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | Fatma Hatun | Lefkoşa-Debbağhane district | Mahmud Ağa, her husband | 1144/1731 | 1 house with 10 rooms and 1 dönüm yard |
| 11 | Demirci el-Hac Hasan bin Mahmud | Lefkoşa-Balık Pazarı | es-Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed bin el-Hac Abdullah | 1151/1738 | 1 smithy |
| 12 | Serbevvabin-i Dergah-ı Ali hasan Ağa | Lefkoşa-İbrahim Paşa district | Himself | 1152/1739 | 90 dönüm field with 22 hours water use right |
| 13 | Gülden bint-i Abdullah Derviş ibn el-Hac Abdullah | Lefkoşa-Kızıl Kale district | Imam of Peristorona mosque in Amorfa | 1158/1745 | 1 house with 1 room and yard |
| 14 | Kara Ayşe bint-i Derviş | Lefkoşa-Emin Paşa district | Imam of Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque | 1181/1767 | 1 house |
| 15 | Emine Hatun bint-i Seyyid el-hac Ebubekir | Lefkoşa | Herself | 1184/1770 | 1 saddler shop |
| 16 | Emetullah bint-i Ömer Ağa | Değirmenlik-Minareli village | Administrator of Cami-i Cedid in Lefkoşa | 1208/1793 | 10 olive trees |
| 17 | Emetullah bint-i Mevlüd | Lefkoşa-Tahte'l-Kal'a district | el-Hac Ali Efendi bin İbrahim | 1214/1799 | 1 house with 7 rooms, 1 toilet and yard |
| 18 | Hacı Ahmed bin Hacı Abdurrahman | Lefkoşa-Abdi Çavuş district | Himself | 1214/1799 | 3 olive trees in Kadalyonda village in Dağ |
| 19 | İmamoğlu el-Hac Mehmed | Tuzla | Himself | 1215/1800 | 1 bath |
| 20 | Sultan bint-i Davud | Girne- Gazi Bifan village | Hafiz Mustafa Efendi | 1221/1806 | 7 olive trees |
| 21 | Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Ağa ibn İsmail* | Lefkoşa | Himself | 1225/1810 | A library |
| 22 | Abdi oğlu Bakkal Hacı Hüseyin bin Mustafa | Lefkoşa-Tahte'l-Kal'a district | Himself | 1225/1810 | 4 Basmacı Shops, 3 Attar Shops, 1 Bakkal Shop, in Lefkoşa and 200 olive trees in Dağ |
| 23 | Abide bint-i Hasan Abdullah | Lefkoşa-Arap Ahmed Paşa district | Hafiz İbrahim Efendi | 1226/1811 | 1 house with 2 rooms and yard |
| 24 | Fatma bint-i Mehmed bin Abdullah | Lefkoşa-İbrahim Paşa district | Hafiz İbrahim Efendi | 1227/1812 | 1 house with 3 rooms and yard |
| 25 | Debbağ el-hac Hasan | Lefkoşa-Pazar | Himself | 1227/1812 | 1 shop |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | Zenciye Alime bint-i Abdullah | Lefkoşa- Tahte'l-Kal'a district | Imam of mosque Tahte'l Kal'a district | 1229/1814 | 1 house with 2 rooms, yard and fresh water |
| 27 | Fatma Hatun Vakfı | Lefkoşa- Aya Kavak district | Hafız Mustafa Efendi of Arap Ahmed Paşa mosque | 1229/1814 | 1 shop in Saray Önü square |
| 28 | Debbağ Dana el-hac Hasan | Lefkoşa- Debbağhane district | Himself | 1243/1827 | 30 olive trees |
| 29 | Ahmed Efendi bin Mehmed Efendi* | Lefke- Linu | Himself | 1245/1829 | 20 olive trees |
| 30 | Fatma Monla bint-i Emir Ahmed | Lefkoşa- Abdi Çavuş district | Mehmed bin Feyzullah, neighborhood resident. After him, imam of Lala Mustafa Paşa mosque | 1252/1836 | 1 house with 2 rooms and yard |
| 31 | Emine bint-i Hacı Hüseyin | Lefkoşa- Hacı Şerif district | Herself | 1253/1837 | 1 shop in Kara Baba district |
| 32 | Eşmene bint-i Mustafa | Mesarya- Konedra village | es-Seyyid el-Hac Mustafa, Imam of Aya Sofya mosque | 1254/1838 | 1 house with 3 rooms and yard in Kondera and 11 olive trees in Malunda village in Mesarya |
| 33 | Şerife Kadın bint-i Hüseyincik | Lefke- Baş village | Herself | 1257/1841 | 1 house with 1 room and yard, land with trees and water use rights 2 hours in 22 days |
| 34 | Hadice Hatun ibnet-i Hacı Mustafa Ağa* | Lefkoşa- Aya Kavak district | Monla Hasan bin Mercan | 1272/1855 | 50 olive trees in Potamia village in Değirmenlik, 80 olive trees in Lefkoşa |

*These waqfs are also listed in the Table B1 since they also endowed cash money

Table B3. Olive and Various Trees of both Ordinary and Governors' Waqfs in Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/ DISTRICT | OLIVE TREE | VARIOUS TREES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Limason | Zodiyi | 1 | |
| 2 | Değirmenlik | Minareliköy | 10 | |
| 3 | Değirmenlik | Pano Horsiye | 23 | |
| 4 | Değirmenlik | Ali Çelebi Çiftliği/Tırhon | 14 | |
| 5 | Dağ | Kocat | 100 | |
| 6 | Dağ | Kadalyonda | 3 | |
| 7 | Dağ | Analyonda | 100 | |
| 8 | Dağ | Matyat | 104 | |
| 9 | Lefke | Linu | 20 | |
| 10 | Lefke | Aya Yorgi | 70 | |
| 11 | Girne | Dikomi | 600 | |
| 12 | Girne | Gazi Bifan | 7 | |
| 13 | Mesarya | Malunda | 11 | |
| 14 | Baf | Kurdaka | 1 | 2 |
| 15 | Baf | Hulu | 1 | 2 |
| 16 | Baf | Lemona | 1 | 2 |
| 17 | Baf | Kado Panaya | 1 | 2 |
| 18 | Baf | İpşati | 1 | 2 |
| 19 | Baf | Koloni | 1 | 2 |
| 20 | Baf | Malunda | 1 | 2 |
| 21 | Baf | Finika | 1 | 2 |
| 22 | Baf | Nada | 1 | 2 |
| 23 | Baf | Falya | 1 | 2 |
| 24 | Baf | Platanista | 1 | 2 |
| 25 | Baf | İksilohorya | 1 | 2 |
| 26 | Baf | Lazaronada | 1 | 2 |
| 27 | Tuzla | Kofoniye | 1 | 1 |
| 28 | Tuzla | İşa | 1 | 1 |
| 29 | Tuzla | Pirka/Pirga | 71 | |
| 30 | Tuzla | Aya Yanni | 60 | |
| 31 | Tuzla | Alaminyo | 8 | 9 |
| 32 | Tuzla | Aya Nana | 700 | |
| 33 | Tuzla | Çita | 6 | |
| 34 | Tuzla | Tirsefan | 40 | 4 |
| 35 | Limason | Yermasoya | 40 | |
| 36 | Limason | Monayaka | 6 | 86 |
| 37 | Limason | Finikarya | 9 | 8 |
| 38 | Piskopi | Apaşa | | 400 |
| 39 | Hirsofi | Poli | 120 | 15 |
| 40 | Kukla | Aşelya/Aşelya Çiftliği | 500 | |
| 41 | Amorfa | Kyra | 352 | 70 |
| 42 | Amorfa | Metoşe | 75 | |
| 43 | Girne | Termiye | 9 | 6 |
| 44 | Lefkoşa | İstavrit? Bvrsya | 4 | 20 |
| 45 | Lefkoşa | Aya Kaşano | 5 | |
| 46 | Lefkoşa | Lakadamya | 9,030 | 2,186 |
| 47 | Lefkoşa | Aya Soma | 8 | 41 |
| 48 | Lefkoşa | Sentokatlene? | | 10 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 49 | Lefkoşa | İncirli | 115 | 39 |
| 50 | Lefkoşa | Kastelorise | 1 | 6 |
| 51 | Lefkoşa | Bağ yolu | 5 | |
| 52 | Lefkoşa | Litronda yolu | 6 | |
| 53 | Lefkoşa | Nefs-i Piskopi | 10 | |
| 54 | Lefkoşa | Aya Lefteri | | 25 |
| 65 | Lefkoşa | Santa Katerina | | 10 |
| 56 | Magusa | Todoro/kala | | 1 |
| 57 | Magusa | Andoni | | 1 |
| 58 | Amorfa | Petra | 176 | 32 |
| 59 | Amorfa | Polisibo | | 1 |
| | | TOTAL | 12,434 | 2,998 |

Table B4. Annual Payments of Waqfs of Cyprus

| | PROVINCE | VILLAGE/ DISTRICT | RELIGIOUS EMPLOYEE | PAYMENTS FOR POOR | ADMINIS TRATOR | SCHOOL EXPENSES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lefkoşa | Kal'a | 20,062 | 900 | 24,400 | |
| 2 | Lefkoşa | Aya Sofya | 76,104 | 500 | 12,840 | 19,800 |
| 3 | Lefkoşa | İncirli | | | 360 | |
| 4 | Lefkoşa | Mevlevihane | 8,280 | 2700 | | |
| 5 | Lefkoşa | Cami-i Cedid | 9,590 | | 993,600 | 3,600 |
| 6 | Lefkoşa | Emin Paşa | 28,771 | | 1,080 | |
| 7 | Lefkoşa | Şıracılar Suku | | | | 5,000 |
| 8 | Lefkoşa | Balikitre | 720 | | | |
| 9 | Lefkoşa | Ömeriye | 21,744 | | 5,100 | 1,800 |
| 10 | Lefkoşa | Arap Ahmed Paşa | 196,200 | 24,000 | 18,000 | 18,000 |
| 11 | Lefkoşa | Debbağhane | 18,072 | | 360 | |
| 12 | Lefkoşa | Tutihane? | 360 | | 720 | |
| 13 | Lefkoşa | İbrahim Paşa | 604,800 | | 720 | |
| 14 | Lefkoşa | Korkud Efendi | 360 | | | |
| 15 | Lefkoşa | Nefs-i Piskopi | 1,440 | | | |
| 16 | Lefkoşa | Azlkola | | | 1,080 | |
| 17 | Lefkoşa | Abdi Çavuş | 5,400 | | 6,120 | |
| 18 | Lefkoşa | Tahte'l-Kala | 14,760 | | | |
| 19 | Lefkoşa | Zurnacı Camii | 5,996 | | | |
| 20 | Lefkoşa | İpsimilof | | | 10,080 | |
| 21 | Lefkoşa | Aya Kavak | 7,200 | | 1,200 | |
| 22 | Lefkoşa | Saray Önü | 3,600 | | 40 | 12,000 |
| 23 | Lefkoşa | Haydar Paşa | 19,200 | | 6,000 | |
| 24 | Lefkoşa | Hacı Şerif | 4,800 | | | |
| 25 | Magusa | Aya Sofya Cami | 20,880 | | 720 | |
| 26 | Magusa | Nefs-i Magusa | 720 | | 9,000 | 27,000 |
| 27 | Magusa | Kışla | 43,560 | | 13,319 | |
| 28 | Magusa | ...Dede Tekkesi | 720 | | | |
| 29 | Tuzla | Aya Nana | 360 | | | |
| 30 | Tuzla | Girne Kapısı | 900 | | | |
| 31 | Tuzla | Baf Kapısı | 1,800 | | | |
| 32 | Tuzla | Aya Sozomeno | 1,080 | | | |
| 33 | Tuzla | Ümmü Haram | 9,072 | | | |
| 34 | Baf | İhtima/Ktima | 4,680 | | 2,520 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35 | Baf | Cami/Kilise | 11,520 | | | |
| 36 | Mesarya | Konedra | 7,200 | | | |
| 37 | Mesarya | Malunda | 360 | | | |
| 38 | Lefke | Baş | 43,200 | 12,000 | | |
| 39 | Lefke | Fillasu | 14,398 | | | |
| 40 | Değirmenlik | Bodamiya | | | 7,776 | |
| 41 | Kukla | Kukla Çiftliği | 345,600 | 1,800 | 17,280 | |
| 42 | Limason | Zodiyi | | | 360 | |
| 43 | Amorfa | Peristorana | 360 | | 360 | |
| 44 | Girne | Gazi Bifan | 1,080 | | 720 | |
| 45 | Konya | Mevlana Türbesi | | | 1,008 | |
| 46 | Mekke | | 27,390 | 18,000 | 35,985 | |
| 47 | Medine | Ravza-yı Mutahhara | 94,710 | 21,600 | | |
| 48 | İstanbul | Kasımpaşa | 56,160 | | 78,480 | 8,280 |
| 49 | İstanbul | Üsküdar | 24,480 | 12,000 | 122,040 | |
| 50 | İstanbul | Tavşantaşı/Soğan Ağa | | | 19,800 | |
| 51 | İstanbul | Yeni Odalar | 16,560 | | | |
| | | TOTAL | 1,774,249 | 93.500 | 407,404 | 95,600 |

Table B5. Annual Revenues of Lala Mustafa Paşa's Waqf in 1644-1646

| | RENT REVENUES | TAX REVENUES |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | A çiftlik with mill 32,000 akçe | Veliyüddin's house 70 akçe |
| 2 | A çiftlik in Lakadamya 18,000 akçe | Mehmed's house 160 akçe |
| 3 | A çiftlik in Termiya 1,200 akçe | A shop in Tahte'l-Kal'a 70 akçe |
| 4 | A çiftlik in Magusa 1,200 akçe | The daughter of Şeyh Sa'deddin house 60 akçe |
| 5 | A çiftlik in Balikitre 8,000 akçe | 22) İbrahim Ağa's coffeehouse 120 akçe |
| 6 | 2 çiftliks 8,500 akçe | Unknown tax revenue 100 akçe |
| 7 | Coffeehouse in Magusa 360 akçe | |
| 8 | A shop 130 akçe | |
| 9 | A shop in Baf 480 akçe | |
| 10 | el-Hac Hatib's shop 100 akçe | |
| 11 | Subaşı Mehmed's house 50 akçe | |
| 12 | Ali es-Seyyid Mehmed's house 130 akçe | |
| 13 | Ali's house in Magusa 100 akçe | |
| 14 | 2 Gardens in Lefkoşa 1,930 akçe | |
| 14 | A garden in Lakadamya 200 akçe | |
| 15 | Yard of the Hamam-ı Kebir 4,332 akçe | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16 | Hamam-ı Kebir 18,700 akçe | |
| 17 | Ömeriye Bath 16,000 akçe | |
| 18 | A mill in Alaminyo 40 akçe | |
| 19 | A mill in Piskopi 400 akçe | |
| 20 | Hsm? 360 akçe | |
| | | TOTAL:112,702 akçe |

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