The Financial Administration of an Imperial Waqf in an Age of Crisis: A Case Study of Bâyezîd II's Waqf in Amasya (1594-1657)

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June 2001

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I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABSTRACT

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Supervisor: Dr. Eugenia Kermeli

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This study examines the economic development of Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya between 1594-1657 and analyses the effect of the agricultural crisis on the financial administration of the waqf in this period. The study also points to a correlation between the changes in the financial situation of the waqf and the agricultural conditions of the period by the examination of the revenue and expenses of the waqf during the period under review through a detailed analysis of the account books of the waqf. As complementary sources, detailed survey (*tahrîr*) registers, registers of pious endowments (*evkâf defterleri*), *muhâsebe-icmâl* registers, the deeds of foundation (*vakfiyye*) and the court registers of Amasya (*şer'iyye sicilleri*) are also employed. The examination and analysis of the sources revealed that the waqf faced a serious financial crisis in the first half of the seventeenth century. It also appears that this crisis was closely related to the unstable economic, politic and social conditions of the period of great *Celâlî* rebellions and terror as well as to the demographic fluctuations, i.e. decline in and displacement of rural population of Ottoman Anatolia at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Keywords: Waqf, Bâyezîd II, Amasya, Agricultural Crisis, Transformation, Seventeenth Century, Waqf Account Books, Celâlîs.

ÖZET

Bir Kriz Döneminde Amasya'daki Sultân II. Bayezid Vakfı'nın Mali İdaresi (1594-1657)

Kayhan Orbay

Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Eugenia Kermeli

Haziran 2001

Bu çalışma, II. Bâyezîd'in Amasya'daki vakfının 1594-1657 tarihleri arasındaki iktisadi gelişimini incelemekte ve bu dönemdeki tarımsal krizin vakfın mali durumu üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktadır. Ana gelir kaynağını neredeyse tamamen tarımsal üretimin oluşturduğu vakfın mali durumundaki değişiklikler ile dönemin tarımsal koşulları arasında karşılıklı bir ilişki oluşundan hareketle vakfın mali durumundaki değişikliklerin tarımsal koşullardaki değişimin bir yansıması olarak yorumlanabileceği ileri sürülmektedir. İncelenen dönemde vakfın mali durumundaki değişiklikleri belirlemek amacıyla vakıf gelir ve giderlerindeki değişiklikler vakfın *muhasebe defterleri*nin ayrıntılı analizi ile izlenmeye çalışılmış, tamamlayıcı kaynaklar olarak da *mufassal tahrîr defterleri*, *evkâf defterleri*, *muhâsebe-icmâl defterleri*, kuruluşun *vakfiyye*si ve Amasya *şer'iyye sicilleri* kullanılmıştır. Kaynakların incelenmesinden vakfın onaltıncı yüzyılın son yıllarında ve onyedinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında mali güçlüklerle karşılaştığı sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Vakfın mali krizinin büyük Celâli isyanları ve terörünün yaşandığı dönemin istikrarsız ekonomik, siyasi ve sosyal koşulları ile aynı dönemde gözlenen nufus düşüşü ve dağılması şeklinde kendini gösteren demografik dalgalanmayla yakından bağlantılı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vakıf, II. Bâyezîd, Amasya, Tarımsal Kriz, Dönüşüm, Onyedinci Yüzyıl, Vakıf Muhâsebe Defterleri, Celâlîler

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CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

The principle aim of this study is to examine the effects of the agricultural crisis on the financial administration of the imperial waqf of Bâyezîd II in Amasya between 1594 and 1657. The period in question follows the so called "classical" period when the Empire experienced transformations and changes in its fundamental structures and institutions. Besides the changes in the economic, fiscal and military fields as well as the social structure, the agricultural economy is also viewed as being in crisis during this period. The sixteenth and seventeenth century developments, such as the transformation of the military and fiscal order, to meet the military needs of the Empire, and the price movements are considered as the factors causing directly or indirectly the agricultural crisis. Natural disasters and the possible effects of the change in climatic conditions are also taken into consideration as additional factors in explaining the crisis. Besides, demographic fluctuations and the *Celâli* movements in this period however are seen as the main reasons behind the crisis in agricultural economy, the dissolution of rural structure and depopulation.

Institutional and local studies provide us with valuable historical information in order to clarify the reasons, the extent and the consequences of the agricultural crisis in this period. In this context, the waqfs are important institutions in studying institutional and local developments. When the primary sources of the period, i.e. survey (*tahrîr*) registers, court registers (*şer'iyye sicil*s), waqfiyyes (the deeds of foundations) and registers of important affairs (*mühimme*s), are studied together with the available waqf account books, one may obtain a detailed picture of the financial development of the waqfs. The financial situation of imperial waqfs (*selâtîn vakıfları*) which had large revenue sources in rural and urban economies, in general appear to be

a crucial indicator of the economic developments of the period. Case studies on these institutions can, therefore, be used to unfold local history, and what follows in this study is an attempt of this kind.

I. The Study

The word *vakıf* (pl. *evkâf*) is a Turkish word rendered from Arabic infinitive "waqf" (وقف). In its literal sense, the Arabic infinitive means to stop, to prevent or to restrain.[1] As a juridical act and term, waqf meant to devote one's own property as a perpetual trust to some religious or charitable service under specific conditions by taking it out of his or her possession eternally.[2] In Ottoman usage the same word also refered to the institution which was founded as a result of this act. Thus, the word waqf came also to mean the pious foundation or endowment.

Waqfs had been one of the major institutions in the Islamic states and societies from the beginning of the eighth century until the end of the nineteenth century.[3]

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[1] J. Milton Cowan, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, London, MacDonald & Evans Ltd., 1980; and H. Anthony Salmone, An Advanced Learner's Arabic-English Dictionary, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1978.

[2] W. Heffening, "waqf", E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936, vol. VIII, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1987, 1096-1103; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 13, İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1986, 153-172; Ali Himmet Berki, "Hukuki ve İçtimai Bakımdan Vakıf", Vakıflar Dergisi, 5, 1962, p. 9; Şakir Berki, "Vakfın Mahiyeti", Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, p. 1; Neşet Çağatay, "İslamda Vakıf Kurumunun Miras Hukukuna Etkisi," Vakıflar Dergisi, 11, 1977, p. 1; Erol Cansel, "Vakıf, Kuruluşu, İşleyişi ve Amacı", Vakıflar Dergisi, 20, 1988, p. 321; Ahmet Gökçen, "Vakıfların Ekonomik Yönü ve Vakıf Müssseselerinin İktisadi Tesirleri", Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları, 35, 1985, p. 88; Nazif Öztürk, Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995, p. 21.

[3] For the history of waqf see, Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü", Vakıflar Dergisi, 2, 1942, pp. 12-14; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri Çerçevesinde XVIII Asır Türk Toplumu ve Vakıf Müessesesi", Vakıflar Dergisi , 15, 1982, p. 53; Neşet Çağatay, "Türk Vakıflarının Özellikleri", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, pp. 1615, 1617; idem, "İslamda Vakıf Kurumunun", p. 1; Hüseyin Salebci, "Tarih Boyunca Vakıflar", in II. Vakıf Haftası, 3-9 Aralık 1984, (Konuşmalar ve Tebliğler), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1985, pp. 108, 109; Ömer Yörükoğlu, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki, Tarihi, Felsefi Temelleri", in II. Vakıf Haftası, 3-9 Aralık 1984, (Konuşmalar ve Tebliğler), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1985, p. 118; For the arguments about the origin of the waqf see, Heffening, "vakıf", E.I.; Yediyıldız, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi; Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin", pp. 3-9; and idem, İslam ve Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Vakıf Müessesesi, İstanbul, Ötüken Neşriyat,

Among these Islamic states, particularly in the Ottoman Empire, waqfs were higly developed and played a very important role in the social and economic order of the Empire.[4] When one considers the so-called imperial waqfs (*selâtîn vakıfları*) as large enterprises, then the importance of these institutions in the Ottoman social and economic life becomes more obvious. The imperial waqfs founded by the sovereign and his relatives had an autonomous legal entity with extensive revenue sources and independent budget.

Waqfs performed various public, charity and religious services.[5] Amongst the charity services it was the feeding of the poor and poor pupils, public services

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1983, pp. 311-314; Ahmet Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988, pp. 11, 12; Nazif Öztürk, Menşe'i ve Tarihi Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar, Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1983, pp. 30-40; İsmet Kayaoğlu, "Vakfın Menşei Hakkındaki Görüşler", Vakıflar Dergisi , 11, 1977, pp. 52, 53; Halim Baki Kunter, "Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd", Vakıflar Dergisi, 1, 1938, 103-129.

[4] Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin", pp. 12-14; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları", Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, I/2, 1964, pp. 236-237; John Robert Barnes, An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1986, p. 2.

[5] For the role of waqfs and the waqf system in economy and society in general see, Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti", Vakıflar Dergisi, 1, 1938, 1-6; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Sosyal Teşkilatlar Bütünlüğü Olarak Osmanlı Vakıf Külliyeleri", Türk Kültürü, 219, 1981, p. 264; idem, "Vakıf Müessesinin XIII. Asır Türk Toplumundaki Rolü", Vakıflar Dergisi, 14, 1982, pp. 2-8; idem, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri", p. 38; idem, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi; Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600", in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 47, 79-83; idem, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire", Journal of Economic History, XXIX-1, 1969, pp. 132-135; Colin Imber, Ebu's-su'ud The Islamic Legal Tradition, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 140; A. H. Berki, "Hukuki ve İçtimai Bakımdan Vakıf", p. 11; Furuzan Selçuk, "Vakıflar (Başlangıçtan 18. Yüzyılına Kadar)", Vakıflar Dergisi, 6, 1965, p. 22; Süleyman Hatipoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Külliyeler", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, pp. 1641, 1642; Hasan Yüksel, Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü (1585-1683), Sivas, Dilek Matbaası, Ekim 1998, pp. 153-176; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler", Vakıflar Dergisi, 2, 1942, 279-304; idem, "Vakıfların Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Kullanılmasında Diğer Şekiller", Vakıflar Dergisi, 2, 1942, 354-365; Vera P. Moutafchieva, Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries, New York, East European Monographs, No. CCLI, 1988, pp. 79-91, 99-104; İsmet Miroğlu, "Türk İslam Dünyasında Vakıfların Yeri", in II. Vakıf Haftası, 3-9 Aralık 1984, (Konuşmalar ve Tebliğler), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1985, p. 123; on the other hand, some approach the waqf institutions arguing their negative effects on economy and *timar* system, see, Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin", pp. 28-31; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asırda Türk Vakıf Teşkilatı", Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, XII, 1981-82, p. 187; idem, "Vakıf Müessesinin", p. 4; idem, "Vakıf Müessesesinin XVIII. Asırda Kültür Üzerindeki Etkileri", in Türkiyenin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920), eds. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık, Ankara, Meteksan Limited Şirketi, 1980, p. 161; Mustafa Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, İstanbul,

included the construction and maintenance of irrigation works and water arches for cities, and in terms of educational and cultural services waqfs built and run *medrese*s (theological schools), and provided religious services such as the building of mosques and *mescid*s (small mosques). Waqfs managed large revenue sources dedicated to these services. The revenues were derived from agricultural lands, mills, etc. in rural areas, and from the rents of houses, shops, from the operation of inns, public baths and workshops, etc. in cities. Consequently, waqfs emerged as leading economic-trading enterprises managing large revenue sources to perform the above-mentioned public and charity services.

Thus, they had a significant place in the economic life of the cities with their commercial properties and service enterprises. By possessing large agricultural lands, they also had an important share in agricultural economy. They at the same time had a considerable place in the economy as a purchasing power. They employed large numbers of personnel and transfered their income to their workers and poor, thus performing a redistributive function in the economy.[6]

İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayınları No. 28, 1965, pp. 56-62; for a more balanced approach to waqfs see, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Şer'i Miras Hukuku ve Evlatlık Vakıflar", in Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi; Toplu Eserler I, Istanbul, Gözlem Yayınları, 1980, p. 220.

[6] See, Inalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", p. 47, where he stressed the role of the waqfs in the redistribution of the wealth in society and their significant role economically in Ottoman society. He appreciates this role of the waqfs in a context where he makes a special reference to the Karl Polanyi's studies. The conceptual framework of the so-called "Polanyian Economy" may in fact be convenient and fruitful for the study of economic role of the waqf system. See, Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory, New York, The Free Press, 1965, especially Polanyi's article, "The Economy as Instituted Process" between the pages 243-270 in this study, also see, Karl Polanyi, Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi, ed. George Dalton, New York, Anchor Books, 1968; and George Dalton, Economic Anthropology and Development: Essays on Tribal and Peasant Economies, New York, Basic Books, 1971. Peter Berger's theory in sociology of knowledge as established in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge, New York, Anchor Books, 1967, and for the application of this theory to the sociology of religion see, Peter L. Berger, Dinin Sosyal Gerçekliği, tra. Ali Coşkun, İstanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 1993. His theory would also be inspiring for a social analysis of the waqf system. Also see, İlkay Sunar, "State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire", in The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987, 63-87, who treated the Ottoman economy of the classical age as a redistributive economy following the Polanyian concepts.

Waqfs constitute an interesting subject of study from the perspective of economic, fiscal and social history as well as from the viewpoint of history of settlement and urbanization. They also provide an area of interest for historical topography, administrative and institutional history, and history of religion.[7] At the same time, as unique and autonomous institutions in terms of administration, fiscal management and provision of public order and security, waqfs merit further study.

The present thesis, however, will primarily focus on the economic aspect of the Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya between 1594-1657. However, the documents at our disposal covering the period of 1496-1792 will allow us to better understand the development of the waqf by comparing with the preceeding and the following periods. In terms of the method employed, the financial situation of the waqf during the period in question will be studied through the examination of a series of waqf account books. They provided us with detailed information about the financial administration of the waqf. Complementary materials found in the court registers of Amasya covering the period 1624-1657 are also employed. In addition making use of the waqfiyye (the deeds of foundation) of the waqf in question and of the detailed survey registers (*mufassal tahrîr defterleri*), *muhâsebe-icmâl* registers and registers of pious endowment (*evkâf defterleri*) proved extremely useful in providing us with additional information about the economic development of the waqf.

Such an approach permits us to observe the change in the amount of waqf income and expenses over time. The waqf of Bâyezîd II was established in Amasya, and its large revenue sources in the form of agricultural holdings were scattered around the various districts of central Anatolia. Since the waqf derived almost all of its income from agricultural lands, the study of the fluctuations in the waqf's revenue

[7] About the importance of waqf documents see, Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi"; Barkan, "Edirne ve

and expenses would allow us to see these changes as a reflection of a more general change in the agricultural production for the period in question. Any serious change in agricultural production is then, expected to directly affect the financial situation of the waqf; one of the aims of this study therefore, is to observe a correlation, if any, between the rise and decline of income and expenses of the waqf on the one side, and the change in the agricultural conditions of the period on the other.

The time span this study particularly covers is the period from the end of the sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. This period is generally known as the period of "transformation"[8] or change in Ottoman history. During the same period, the Ottoman Empire also witnessed *Celâli* rebellions and widespread terror in Anatolia. The scholars researching the period this study covers often argue that, the central Anatolian agricultural economy was going through a crisis throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Several factors were considered in order to explain the causes of the agricultural crisis.[9] The population decline in the seventeenth century and widespread *Celâli* events seem to have played a major role on the emergence of the agricultural crisis. *Celâli* movements grew larger in scale by late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The *Celâli* rebels seriously harmed the social and economic order by plundering and terrorizing Anatolian countryside. Consequently, uncertain about their safety, peasant masses left their farms uncultivated and they seeked refugee in safer locations such as towns and *palanka*s (small fortifications). Thus, the effect of the rebellions particularly in the countryside was devastating, resulting into disorder, large scale migrations of the rural population

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Civarındaki", pp. 237-239.

[8] Mehmet Öz, "Osmanlı'da Çözülme ve Gelenekçi Yorumcuları", İstanbul, Dergah Yayınları, 1997, p. 11, p. 11n1, 98ff.

[9] Among these factors which will be dealt with in more detail, one can mention the abuses of provincial governors, climatological change, natural disasters such as floods and epidemics, population decline and the *Celâli* movements.

and a decline in the agricultural production. Finally it is argued that, as a result of the above-mentioned events combined with a serious decline in population, both the agricultural production and agricultural prices decreased throughout the period.

Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya was among the largest waqfs of its time, and the Sultan endowed to his waqf the revenue of quite a number of villages from various parts of Anatolia. The waqf would inevitably be affected by an agricultural crisis of this scale as its revenue sources were agricultural and they were located in various districts of Anatolia. Therefore, studying the financial situation of the Bayezid II's waqf in Amasya might provide us with valuable information in researching the effects of the agricultural crisis. Since the waqf derived almost all of its income from agricultural holdings, it provides a suitable basis for the establishment of a correlation between the financial situation of the waqf and the current agricultural conditions. In this respect, the study also aims to analyse the correlation between the financial situation of the waqf and the general economic-political conditions of the period in question, by having a closer look at the agricultural crisis, which seems to have been a general phenomenon of the time.

In the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries the Ottoman Empire experienced drastic changes in its classical order which affected the whole political structure, military and fiscal organizations, and the social conditions of the Empire. In this period earlier fiscal, military, and social institutions were seriously transformed or lost their significance as the power of the central authority diminished. The social order began to breakdown and, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the Empire witnessed widespread *Celâli* rebellions.

Scholars offer varied perspectives in explaining the reasons behind these developments. They took into consideration various factors ranging from economic,

commercial, social and political to technological, demographic, and climatic changes. While some Ottomanists asserted these changes as the result of fundamental long term causes,[10] others considered conjunctural events as the main reason leading the Empire into the transformation. Though many arguments have been put forward to explain this transformation, the causes and the consequences of the main events of the period have not yet been clearly identified. Further case studies focused on certain localities and institutions in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries are needed in order to reach much more reliable conclusions. At this point, the present thesis will make use of a set of valuable historical sources like waqf account books in order to follow local economic developments.

The same methodology, namely using waqf account records together with other documents like *evkâf* defters and waqfiyyes in order to shed light on the economic development of a waqf, has previously been applied by Suraiya Faroqhi. Faroqhi produced a series of articles, all based mainly on waqf account books, and she stressed the importance of using these sources in studying individual waqfs.[11] She first used waqf accounts together with *evkâf* and *mufassal* survey registers to study the development of a medium-sized waqf, the *zâviye* of Sadreddin-i Konevi in sixteenth century Konya.[12] In studying the account books of Konevi's waqf, she first established the revenue and expense figures of the waqf, and then evaluated personnel records and their wages,[13] and kitchen outlays in order to reach a conclusion about the

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[10] Lütfi Güçer, XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayımlarından: No.: 1075, İktisat Fakültesi: No.: 152, 1964, pp. 3-7, 10-12.

[11] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Vakıf Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya, The Zaviye of Sadreddin-i Konevi", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, XVII/2, 1974, pp. 167, 169; and idem, "Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Documents", Turcica, 1981, p. 113

[12] Idem, "Vakıf Administration", p. 145.

[13] Ibid., "Vakıf Administration", p. 164.

financial situation of the waqf.[14] As a conclusion, she argued that the waqf suffered a financial crisis between 1570-76. In her assessment of the decline in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf, she concluded that an agricultural catastrophe occured.[15] In another article, she took into consideration three different waqfs.[16] This study sketching "the growth or decline of a given foundation in the course of time", was also based mainly on waqf account books. However, she also stressed in this work the importance of using *tahrîr* registers together with account books.[17] Aiming at showing the reflection of agricultural conjuncture on account books, she tried to establish a relationship between the level of charitable and ceremonial activities of the waqfs and the agricultural conjuncture.[18] She then studied the waqf revenues, the expenditures for the waqf kitchen, illumination, ceremonial activities, and the security of posts and positions so that she could picture the financial situation of the waqfs. At the end, by taking into consideration three different waqfs, she concluded, again, a crisis at the regional harvest.[19]

Yet in another article, she applied the same methodology and pointed out that "many foundation acccounts as yet remain unknown and unexploited".[20] In this article, she attempted to place the financial difficulties of a major waqf in the context of a general economic and demographic crisis in the mid-seventeenth century.[21] Faroqhi asserted that the general assumptions concerning Ottoman economic and demographic history can only be confirmed or disproved by regional and local

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[14] Ibid., p. 165-166.
[15] Ibid., p. 162
[16] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Wordly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes (1595-1652)", Turcica, XX, 1988, 43-69.
[17] Ibid., p. 44.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., p. 47.
[20] Suraiya Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties: or some evidence on economic contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-seventeenth century", Revue D'Histoire Magrebine, 47-48, 1987, p. 110.
[21] Ibid.

studies. According to her, the yearly accounts of waqfs constitute some of the most valuable sources at our disposal to arrive to a more detailed picture of urban and rural economies.[22]

Faroqhi's studies are important and pioneering in terms of dynamic analysis of the waqfs. She, for the first time, used successive waqf account books together with *sicil*s and *tahrîr* registers thus, being able to follow the development of waqfs over time. Faroqhi's afore-mentioned articles covering the period of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, studied the effect of the agricultural crisis of this period on waqfs. Thus, Faroqhi sought a dual purpose in her studies. She produced an institutional analysis and studied the developments of the waqfs while interpreting her findings in the context of agricultural crisis in order to determine its actual effect on the administration of the crisis. Her studies therefore, demonstrate the importance of waqf account books as historical sources in studying both the development of waqfs and the crisis of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The same dual purpose is to be followed in the present thesis utilizing the waqf account books. The sources employed in this study will be introduced in the next section. Among these sources, the waqf account books are comparatively little-known sources. As mentioned earlier, altough these sources were employed by Faroqhi in a number of articles, there are some differences in the structural formats of the account books used in this study and those she used. For this reason, it is imperative to have a closer look at the waqf account books in the following chapter.

[22] Ibid. See also Oktay Özel, "The Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th

II. Sources

The principal information about waqfs are generally documented in waqfiyyes, qadi court records, *tahrîr* registers, and in waqf account books.[23] Waqfiyyes are among the most fundamental and important sources.[24] Waqf's foundation charter which is called "waqfiyye" or "waqfname" is a legal document approved by the qadi, and it includes the statement of the founder's will for the establishment of the foundation and of the conditions set by the founder about the administration of the waqf.[25]

The waqfiyye of Bâyezîd II's foundation in Amasya is housed in the archive of the General Directorate of Endowments, or "Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü" in Ankara. It is dated Cemâzîye'l-evvel 901, January/February 1496.[26] In this study, we used two translations of the waqfiyye whose original text is in Arabic. The first translation was made in 1948 from Arabic to Turkish and the second one was translated in 1959. Although both translations appear to have been done not in a scholarly manner and the village names seems not to have been read scholarly, they are the only translations available to us.

The waqfiyyes include valuable and detailed information on a broad range of subjects. The purpose of foundation declared by the founder and the services which were to be performed were stated in these documents. Revenue sources which were

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Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered", forthcoming, p. 22, where he also emphasized the importance of account books for the studies in the context of 16th and 17th century events.

[23] Ruth Roded, "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project", Osmanlı Araştırmaları, 9, 1989, p. 71.

[24] Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi", p. 4.

[25] Yediyıldız, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri", p. 24.

[26] The copy of the original waqfiyye of Bâyezîd II's foundation in Amasya can be found in the line 32 of page 179 in the register 2113, and its translation is in the register 2148 starting from the page 84 in the archive of "Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü". Its "hududname" can be found in the box numbered 33, and another copy in the box numbered 68.

alloted to the foundation, and the rules of the administration of these sources, staff and the profession of the foundation's personnel, definition of their duties, scope of their authority and their salaries were designated and included in the waqfiyye. The conditions for the administration of the foundation and the regulations concerning with its inspection and other conditions about the operation of the foundation were all determined and clearly stated in these documents by the founder.[27] Therefore waqfiyyes which list the endowed properties and the revenue sources on the one hand, and determining the expenses on the other, at the very time of the foundation's establishment, is a good starting point for the study of the economic aspect of a waqf.

However, waqfiyyes alone do not provide us with information on the actual process of the waqfs' economic activities and the change of these activities over time.[28] Waqf accounts on the other hand, have proven to be far more useful for in-depth economic analysis as Roded rightly points out.[29] Accounts of income and expenditures are particularly important in determining the changes in the economic situation and activities of a waqf over time. These documents allow us to follow the growth or decline of a given waqf in financial terms in the course of time.[30] In addition, such accounts, which also permit us to establish fluctuations in waqf's agricultural revenues derived from villages, are the main sources of information to correlate the waqf's financial situation and agricultural conjuncture.[31]

Account books also provide information regarding to the total amount of the waqfs' income and expenses in a certain period. According to the accounting system

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[27] Yediyıldız, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri", p. 24; Nazif Öztürk, "Vakıfların İdaresi ve Teşkilat Yapısı", I. Vakıf Şurası, 3-5 Aralık 1985, Tebliğler, Tartışmalar ve Komisyon Raporları, Ankara, 1986, p. 43; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar", İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 23/1-2, 1962-63, p. 243; idem, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585/1586)", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, p. 109.
[28] Barkan, "İmaret Sitelerinin", p. 244.
[29] Roded, "Quantitative Analysis", p. 61.
[30] Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis", p. 44.

of these sources, total revenue presents the revenue of the current year and the surplus transfered from the previous year which is to be equal to the total expense. This represents the expenditure of the current year, plus the surplus for the following year. In general, first the figures for the total income and expenditure are stated and later they are written down item by item in the accounts books. By comparing these figures the financial situation of the waqf can be established for a given year or its financial trend can be followed over time.

Some selected account books of the large imperial foundations have already been transcribed and published by Ö. L. Barkan.[32] Barkan emphasized the importance of these documents as a source of Ottoman history and explained where and how these documents can be used by the Ottomanists.[33] In these studies, he explained their preparation process [34] as well as their contents.[35] Emphasizing the importance of studying successive account books of certain waqfs and their account books from different regions in a comparative manner, he undertook the first study of the account books of the Bâyezîd II's *imâret* in Edirne between 1489/90 and 1616/17.[36]

It is understood that it was not necessary in practice to keep account records each year. Account books generally were kept once every three years, therefore, it is not always possible to follow account records year by year. Account books of the Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya, the subject of this study, are found in "Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi" (BOA), in the "Maliyeden Müdevver" (MM) section. The first

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Barkan, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti"; idem, "Fatih Cami ve İmareti Tesislerinin 1489-1490 Yıllarına ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, 297-341; idem, "Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüb Türbesinin 1489-1491 yıllarına ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, 342-379; idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", 235-377.
[33] Idem, "İmaret Sitelerinin", p. 243-246; idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", p. 237-39; idem, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti".
[34] Idem, "İmaret Sitelerinin", p. 246-48, idem, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti", p. 110-112.
[35] Idem, "Fatih Cami ve İmareti", idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", idem, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti".
[36] Idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", pp. 252-261.

account book of the waqf at our disposal is MM 5265 (1595-96). This account book or the book of *muhâsebe-i mahsûlât ve ihrâcât-i evkâf* (the account of the revenues and the expenses of the waqfs) in essence has the same accounting system as the other books MM 5265 (1596-97), MM 469 (1600), MM 5159 (1632) and MM 5776 (1646-47), which also belong to the same waqf. However, it is not always possible to find the same structure in successive account books. For instance while the general structure of other account books namely MM 5666 (1635) and MM 15809 (1656-57) are the same as the above-mentioned books, the *cema'ats* (a cadre of waqf employees) are not given in detail but in abbreviated form. They do not include names, positions and the number of the members of each *cema'at*. Similarly, the account book of the year 1656-57 does not include the stored food section. The account books EV-HMH 2382 and 2388 of the year 1719 which is placed in the "Nezaret Öncesi Evkaf" section of BOA, give just one total figure for the wages of *cema'ats*. Moreover, beginning with EV-HMH 5065 (1757) and continuing with the account books EV-HMH 6701 (1787-88), EV-HMH 6757 (1788-89), and EV-HMH 6992 (1791-92), the structure of the account books changes. These account books clearly seem to have been kept with less care and the structure of the last three account books are confused.

Another register used for this study is a "*vâridât-ı mukâta'ât defteri*" MM 15480 (the register of income from tax-farms) covering the period 1001-1009 (1592-1601) which appears to have been prepared as an additional register to MM 469 (1600). This book includes the records related to the *mukâta'a* revenues which were not collected in the year 1008-09 and it seems that it was prepared in order to register arrears. The last register at our disposal from BOA is a "*Rûznâmçe Defteri*" MM 15168 (register of daily records), dated 1016 *Şa'bân* (November/December 1607). This register gives the waqf's expenses on the daily basis. Another document employed in this study is

from "Cevdet Evkaf Catalogue" numbered 1514. It is about the *mukâta'a* of Kargun. It is not dated however it probably belongs to the hidjri year 1065-66 (1655-56).

We have also used in this study tax registers known as "*tahrîr defter*s". These registers are generally of three types as detailed registers (*mufassal defterler*), summary registers (synoptic-*icmâl defterleri*) and registers of pious endowment (*evkâf defterleri*). Both the *evkâf* and the *mufassal* registers are among the most important sources in order to follow the economic development of any waqf. Information about waqf villages and waqf revenues can be found not only in *evkâf* registers but, they might also be included in *mufassal* registers. Together with the account books one can follow the revenue figures of the waqf villages also recorded in these registers. Since the villages whose revenues were assigned to the Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya dispersed in different provinces, these villages can be found scattered in survey registers of the different sancaqs.

The first survey register used in this study is an *evkâf* register, ED 583 (1576), belonging to the province of "Rûm". The villages assigned to the Bâyezîd II's waqf in question can be found in this register. The register does not account for the revenue figures but the owner of *dîvânî-mâlikâne* shares[37]. Other *evkâf* and *mufassal* registers on the other hand give the revenue figures for the villages. These registers belong to the late sixteenth century. I also used *muhâsebe-icmâl defters* belonging to 1530s to obtain revenue figures of the villages in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Yet another important set of sources used in this study are court registers (*şer'iyye sicil*s) which are proved to be crucial as complementary documents for this study. I have gone through the first twelve *sicil*s of Amasya. In the *sicil*s, one can find

[37] The *Mâlikâne-Dîvânî* system was widespread in central Anatolia. About this system, see, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Türk-İslam Toprak Hukuku Tatbikatının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aldığı Şekiller; Malikane-Divani Sistemi", in Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi; Toplu Eserler I, Istanbul, Gözlem Yayınları, 1980, 151-208.

various records relating to the waqf such as the records concerning false *berât*s, appointment documents, and also the records about waqf administration, personnel and *re'âyâ,* etc.[38]

III. Historical Context: The Age of Crisis

It is a commonly accepted argument among contemporary scholars that the Ottoman Empire experienced a transformation and passed through a period of serious economic crisis and social disturbances which began in the late sixteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth century. In this period, beside the economic crisis and social disorder, some fundamental institutions and systems of the preceding "classical" period also underwent changes or disappeared, while some new institutions appeared or assumed prominence in various spheres of the Ottoman state and society.

In the military sphere, the *timar* system which formed the main structure of the Ottoman military power and was an effective means of provincial administration in the framework of the "Çift-Hane" system, began to lose its function.[39] Timariots were no more effective with their traditional weapons in battlefields. They became obsolate against the new war technology of hand guns,[40] therefore, the *timar* system gradually

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[38] See, Ronald C. Jennings, "Pious Foundations in the Society and Economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565-1640. A Study Based on the Juridical Registers 'Şer'i Mahkeme Sicilleri' of Trabzon", in Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Woman, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 1999, 613-665; idem, "The Pious Foundation of İmaret-ı Hatuniye in Trabzon; 1565-1640", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, 1569-1579.

[39] Halil İnalcık, "Village, Peasant and Empire", in The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire; Essays on Economy and Society, Bloomington, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, volume 9, 1993, 137-160; idem, "The Çift-Hane system and Peasant Taxation", in From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History, Istanbul, The Isıs Press, 1995, 61-72; idem, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", pp. 145-153.

[40] When the whole Ottoman army was considered, it may not be inferior to European armies in terms of hand-guns technology and use, see, Jonathan Grant, "Rethinking the Ottoman 'Decline': Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", Journal of World History, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1999. However, heavy siege guns of the Ottomans were ineffective when

lost its primary importance. Instead, the number of soldiers in the central army increased, replacing timariots; also mercenary troops equipped with fire-arms were formed in the sixteenth century.[41]

In the fiscal sphere, under conditions of serious financial crisis, the extraordinary taxes and customary levies called *avârız-i dîvâniyye* and *tekâlîf-i 'örfiyye* were combined and converted to regular annual tax some time in the early seventeenth century. These *avârız* taxes gradually became the main source for the state treasury. Some new taxes which are called *imdâd-i seferiyye* and *hadariyye* were also levied in the seventeenth century in order to finance military expenses, and some methods such as *maktû'* system were applied more widely in tax collection.[42] The land and population surveying system, perhaps the most important system of the Empire in terms of its land organization, agricultural economy and taxation during the classical age, was replaced by the *avârız* and *cizye* surveys as a natural result of the disfunctioning of the *timar* system.[43] However, the transformation was not limited to the systems and to the ways they operated. Social order, the agricultural economy and the political structure was also went through some significant changes.

The contemporaries, including Ottoman bureaucrats, reflected on the causes and the nature of the changes, and they conceived and interpreted these changes as signs

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compared to mobile and rapid-fire field artillery of the Europeans. See, ibid., p. 191; also see, Salim Aydüz, "XIV.-XVI. Asırlarda, Avrupa Ateşli Silah Teknolojisinin Osmanlılara Aktarılmasında Rol Oynayan Avrupalı Teknisyenler (Taife-i Efrenciyan)", Belleten, LXII/235, Aralık, 1998, pp. 799-800.

[41] Halil Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", in Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History, London, Variorum Reprints, 1985, V, pp. 288-297; Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 151-155, 270, 345.

[42] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 322-327, 333-334.

[43] About the *avârız* taxes and the *avârız* registers, see, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Avarız", İslam Ansiklopedisi, II., 1949, pp. 13-19; Bruce McGowan, "Osmanlı Avarız-Nüzül Teşekkülü 1600-1830", in VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. II, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1981, 1327-1331; idem, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe; Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 105-110; Oktay Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Demografi ve İskan Tarihi İçin Önemli Bir Kaynak: 'Mufassal' *Avarız Defterleri*", in XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 12-16 Eylül 1994, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999, p. 735-743;

of decline.[44] Early generations of Ottomanists have also interpreted the changes in the same way by reproducing the same arguments of the contemporaries.[45] Only recently that the Ottomanists begun criticising the works of these historians, and re-interpreted the events of the period. The apprehension of the changes in the military and fiscal spheres and of the change in social foundations as a "decline" eventually gave way in historiography to the notion of "transformation".[46] While the concept of the overall decline of the Empire was replaced by the concept of transformation, the Ottoman historiography gradually discovered the complex body of relationships and interaction between economic, social, political events and begun to discuss the matters of nature and multifaceted character of the developments of the period.

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[44] For the comprehension of this period as decline by the contemporaries and for the imaginative conception of perfect "Order" or "Golden Age" resulted from the ancient Near-Eastern State Tradition as the central element of the framework in their decline diagnosis see, Halil Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 283-285; also see, idem, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", in The Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1, The Central Islamic Lands, eds. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis, London, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 342-343; idem, The Ottoman Empire, pp.47-48; idem, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", p. 23; idem, "Periods in Ottoman History", in Essays in Ottoman History, Istanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1998, 15-28; idem, "The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects Upon the *Re'âyâ*", in The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization, and Economy, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, XIII, pp. 346-347; Öz, Osmanlı'da "Çözülme"; Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline", Islamic Studies, I (1962), 71-87; Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, Formation of the Modern State; The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991.

[45] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", p. 284; idem, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", p. 10; idem, The Ottoman Empire, p. 46; Abou-El-Haj, Formation of the Modern State, pp. 22-25. For a study outlining the view of contemporaries and the reproduction of their arguments by Ottomanists see, Douglas A. Howard, The Ottoman *Timar* System and Its Transformation, 1563-1656, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1987, pp. 23-26.

[46] For the development of "Modern Approach" or the "Idea of Transformation" in the Ottoman historiography see, Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", pp. 284-286; Öz, Osmanlı'da "Çözülme". For some of the other studies on the issues of this period which are appropriating and re-assuming transformation see, Özel, "Mufassal' *Avarız Defterleri*", p. 737; Cemal Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe", in Handbook of European History 1400-1600 Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, volume I: Structures and Assertions, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, James D. Tracy, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1994, pp. 614-615; Linda Darling, "Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?", The Journal of European Economic History, 26/1, Spring, 1997, pp. 157-158; and she reviewed comprehensively the literature on decline, see, idem, Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy; Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Otoman Empire 1560-1660, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1996, pp. 1-21; Grant, "Rethinking the Ottoman 'Decline"; Metin Kunt who used the term decline only in the context of a particular institution, the *dirlik* system and asserted that the change in the provincial administration was a process of "modernization", see, Metin Kunt, The Sultan's Servants, The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, *1550-1650*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 98.

In order to explain the developments of this crucial period, Ottomanists produced institutional and local studies based on various primary sources such as the registers of important affairs (*mühimme defterleri*), *sicil* registers, *tahrîr*, *avârız* registers, waqfiyyes and waqf account books, etc. They put forward arguments examining the period from various spheres. However in examining the events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, historians developed different explanations, often with disagreements in their interpretations and methods in their evaluations.[47]

Their arguments are reviewed below in order to give a brief description of the main developments of the period. Thus the period under examination in this study would be better understood and the waqf of Bâyezîd II, the subject of the present study, would be placed in its historical context.

The historical roots of many of the developments of the "transformation period" can be traced back to the sixteenth century. For instance, the process in which the traditional economic centers of Mediterranean fell gradually into insignificance and the long-established international trade routes were replaced as new economic and commercial centers and trade routes began to develop in the sixteenth century. In this context, a direct relation between the economic crisis and the change in main international trade routes at the disadvantage of the Ottoman Empire was argued by some Ottomanists in order to explain the recession in Ottoman economy and finance.

The discovery of a new trade route from Europe to India and the Far East via the cape of Good Hope,[48] and the rediscovery of the route from North Europe to Central

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[47] The terms, old and new school were introduced by Griswold to point out such a difference in the studies see, William J. Griswold, Anadolu'da Büyük İsyan, 1591-1611, trans. Ülkün Tansel, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 93, 2000, pp. 179-184. Some differences in methodological approaches especially in the context of demographic studies will be discussed below.

[48] Mustafa Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi 2 (1453-1559), İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, 1995, p. 135; Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 65-74; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East", Internation Journal of Middle East Studies, 1975, 6, pp. 5-6.

and the Far East via Russia [49] were seen among the main causes for the major commercial losses of the Empire. In addition, some scholars established direct links between the rise of the Atlantic economies and the shift of international trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.[50] These developments brought about the consequent change of the international trade routes away from the Mediterranean and led to the fading of the Eastern Mediterranean economic and trade circle.[51] Thus the revenues of the Empire obtained from the international trade routes under its control, declined. However later studies in the Mediterranean trade and the Venetian economy rejected a sudden collapse of the Mediterranean trade-circle. Despite the discovery of the 'Cape' route, the Mediterranean had still an active trade at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the Ottoman Empire continued to keep the East-West trade via the Near East under control. The Mediterranean trade-circle faded slowly and the negative effect of the South Africa sea-route lagged into the seventeenth century.[52]

In this period, Europe developed an economic and commercial mentality and experienced economic progress and commercial expansion which in turn had negative

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[49] Ibid., pp. 130-131. Akdağ also emphasized negative consequences of the expulsion of the Italians from the Black Sea and their replacement by the Turkish entrepreneur class, see ibid., pp. 130-134.
[50] Ibid., p. 134.
[51] Ibid., pp. 119, 134.
[52] Halil Inalcık, "Notes on a Study of the Turkish Economy during the Establishment and Rise of the Ottoman Empire", in The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Series, vol. 9, Bloomington, 1993, 205-263; Harry Miskimin A., "Agenda for Early Modern Economic History", in Cash, Credit and Crisis in Europe 1300-1600, London, Variorum Reprints, 1989, p. 172; Harry Miskimin A. with R. S. Lopez., "The Economic Depression of the Renaissance", in Cash, Credit and Crisis in Europe 1300-1600, London, Variorum Reprints, 1989, pp. 409-412; Frederic Lane C., "Recent Studies on the Economic History of Venice", in Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History, London, Variorum Reprints, 1987, p. 328; Parry, J. H., "Transport and Trade Routes", in The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, volume IV, Ch. III, eds. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 165, 167. Ottomanist agreed on the vital economic importance of international trade for Ottoman Near East and Anatolia while they disagree on the extent of the negative effect of the change in international trade routes on economy, see, Jack Goldstone A., "East and West in the Seventeenth Century: Political Crises in Stuart England, Ottoman Turkey, and Ming China", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 30/1, 1988, p. 112. Goldstone on the other hand, rejects the suggested link between the Ottoman fiscal crisis and the critical fall in trade with the West in the late 16th or early 17th century.

effects on the Ottoman economy.[53] More advanced commercial and financial techniques emerged in the West to all of which the Ottoman Empire found it difficult to adapt itself and started to lack behind.[54] As a result of these developments European goods began to appear increasingly in Ottoman markets at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[55] Consequently a deficit emerged in the Empire's trade balance. Furthermore, with the rise in the price of raw materials because of the excessive demand of Europeans, the Ottoman manufactural production was reduced, and a recession began in this respect in the middle of the sixteenth century.[56]

Another development that the Ottomanists came upon an agreement is the money scarcity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[57] From the sixteenth century onwards, the rise in the number of waged central army, and the prolonged wars

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[53] According to some scholars, the development of the "world-market system" in Europe, from fifteenth century on and the commercialization of agriculture in the sixteenth century caused to the transformation of Ottoman economy, see, Sunar, "State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire". Sunar claims that the developments in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the result of which came about in the organization of Ottoman agriculture, namely, the dissolution of the *timar* system and the concomitant shift from a production for internal use to a system of production for the world-market; also see, Immanuel Wallerstein, Hale Decdeli and Reşat Kasaba, "The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World-Economy", in The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987, 88-97.

[54] Akdag**,** Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 117-123, 134, 136, 150. Also Akdağ insistently stressed on the lack of Turkish entrepreneur class, the traditional and strict structure of the guild system and state control over it among other reasons of the economic and commercial decline. Inalcık, The Ottoman Empire, p. 51. For Venice whose experience was similar to the Ottoman Empire see, Parry, "Transport and Trade Routes", p. 164; Pounds, N. J. G., An Historical Geography of Europe 1500-1840, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 53.

[55] Akdag**,** Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 136, 300.

[56] Ibid., pp. 150-52, 300; idem, Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası, Celali İsyanları, İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, 1995, p. 34; Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 74-78; Barkan, "The Price Revolution", pp. 5-8; Çizakça's study on Bursa silk industry revealed a significant increase in the price of raw silk in the end of the sixteenth century and during the first half of the seventeenth century. He explained this increase with the developing silk industry of Europe and the technological developments in this industry. According to him increasing demand of Europeans for silk was the major factor behind the increase in raw-silk prices in Bursa. Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial decline, 1550-1650", in The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987, 247-261; also see, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Bursa at the Crossroads: Iranian Silk, European Competition and the Local Economy 1470-1700", in Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands 1480 to 1820, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 1995, pp. 136-138, p.140-141.

[57] Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, pp. 33, 36, 40; Idem, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 137, 277-278; idem, "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, IV/ 6-7, 1966, p. 201. However, Ottomanist disagree on the main reason of money scarcity, compare Akdağ's reasoning with Inalcık who related the flowing of precious metal to the changes in the world market of precious metals see, Inalcık, "Notes on a Study", pp. 222-224, 226-227.

especially against the Habsburgs and Iran increased the need of the central treasury for cash which was already in scarcity. To meet these financial needs, the state applied more regularly the policy of debasement of the *akça*, and consequently the instability and decrease at the value of it had a negative effect in the fiscal sphere and caused a marked rise in prices.[58]

High prices are also the case in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century.[59] The influx of American silver via Europe is generally regarded among scholars as the main factor causing inflation in the Empire.[60] The inflationary process had destructive effects on both the fisc and state officials including the army. As a result of the inflation, state expenses increased and the taxation system was not flexible enough to compensate the loss of the state treasury. In the same manner, officials were not able to compensate for their loss by legal arrangements. Thus, inflation compelled the treasury office and officials to take extraordinary even illegal measures to maintain their revenues.

Another development worsened the picture by increasing the financial need of the state. As a result of the confrontation of the Ottomans with different enemies in

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[58] Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, p. 287; Barkan, "The Price Revolution"; Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914", in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 947-985; idem, "In the Absence of Domestic Currency: Debased European Coinage in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire", Journal of Economic History, vol. 57, number 2, June 1997, 345-366; idem, A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[59] Ibid., pp. 301-303; idem, Celali İsyanları, pp. 42-44. See also, Inalcık, "Notes on a Study", p. 227; idem, "A Case Study of the Village Microeconomy: Villages in the Bursa *Sancak*, 1520-1593", in The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Series, vol. 9, Bloomington, 1993, p. 166; and Michael, A. Cook, Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia 1450-1600, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 7; Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire", pp. 956-966.

[60] Inalcık, "Notes on a Study", pp. 225, 243-244; also Griswold, Anadolu'da Büyük İsyan , p. 9. He mentiones demand-pull inflation, and Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century", pp. 105, 108-109. Goldstone asserted that the rise in prices and the influx of American silver coincided. According to him the influx of silver played a small role in the price risings. He supported his view with a finding that silver coins of Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century were different chemically from the American silver. He explained the rise of the prices with the increased velocity of circulation of money, expansion of credit, debasement of coinage and the inadequacy of agricultural raw materials.

the west, with stronger armies, the Ottoman advance in Europe came to a standstill. According to the battlefield reports of the sixteenth century the *sipâhî* cavalry using conventional weapons was ineffective against the European armed forces. Thus a change in the military system of this period determined by the military requirements of the Empire, resulted in the rise in the number of mercenary troops using fire arms.[61]

This need was met by the recruitment of new mercenaries called *sekbân* or *sarıca* equipped with fire-arms from among the vagrant *levend*s, the uprooted peasants.[62] The provincial governors also began to keep *sekbân*s in their retinues, and the government encouraged this policy.[63] Their pay were met by the provincial governors. To maintain their retinues, provincial governors levied various taxes such as "kapı harcı" and "mübaşiriye".[64] Besides these mercenaries called "kapılı levend",[65] the central government also recruited *levend*s whose pay were met directly from the state treasury.[66]

Consequently, the military requirements brought about changes in the fiscal system of the Empire. With the rise in the number of janissaries and mercenary troops, military expenses in the budget increased. In addition, with the inflation, an imbalance emerged between the state expenditures and the state revenues from taxation. As a result, the treasury fell into a serious crisis. The government was in need of finding additional regular revenue sources to pay salaries.[67] Therefore, the state was compelled to re-organize its financial system. Taxation system changed and

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[61] Howard, The Ottoman *Timar* System, pp. 26-29, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, p. 55.
[62] For the *levend*s, how they appeared, their origin etc. see, Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler.
[63] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 292n21, 292n23, 295.
[64] Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 286-287.
[65] Ibid., pp. 254-278
[66] Ibid., pp. 343-357.
[67] Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 281, 287; Inalcık, The Ottoman Empire, p. 49; idem, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", p. 24.

taxes became more burdensome, the *iltizâm* / *mukâta'a* and, later in the last years of the seventeenth century *mâlikâne* system, which supplied cash revenue to the state, were applied extensively.[68] In this period the amount of avariz taxes increased and became annual.[69]

The inflation and the debasement of the *akça* effected government institutions negatively.[70] The provincial governors, *timar*-holders and other officials to whom an almost fixed amount of income was allotted became impoverished.[71] Thus, the cost of maintaining their retinues increased relatively for the provincial governors, especially during the campaigns. The governors practiced extortion in order to maintain their *sekbân*s. Within the framework of the existing laws and long-established customs, they also imposed new levies on the *re'âyâ*. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, to use coercion on the *re'âyâ* had already become a common practice as a means of increasing personal revenues of the provincial governors, *timar*-holders, and even of qadis.[72]

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[68] Inalcık, "The Ottoman Decline", pp. 341, 349; idem, "Çiftliklerin Doğuşu: Devlet, Toprak Sahipleri ve Kiracılar", in Osmanlı Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım, eds. Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak, İstanbul, Tarih Yurt Vakfı Yayınları 63, Eylül, 1998, pp. 22-24; Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 294, 317; idem, "XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", p. 213. According to Sunar, mukâta'a system emerged to replace the *timar* system. Sunar, "State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire", pp. 69-70; Bruce McGowan, "The Study of Land and Agriculture in the Ottoman Provinces within the Context of an Expanding World Economy in the 17th and 18th Centuries", International Journal of Turkish Studies, 1981, vol. 2, no. 1, 57-63; about *mâlikâne* system also see, Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi", in Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler/Tartışmalar, 8-10 Haziran 1973, ed. Osman Okyar, Ankara, Hacvettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları / C 13, 1975, 231-291.

[69] Inalcık, "The Heyday and Decline", p. 345; Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, p. 295; idem, Celali İsyanları, pp. 54-58, 79-80; Darling, "Ottoman Fiscal Administration", pp. 164, 168-172.

[70] Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 295-299; McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe ", p. 56.

[71] Inalcık, "The Heyday and Decline", p. 344; Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, p. 289; idem, "XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", p. 213; idem, Celali İsyanları, p. 226; Barkan, "The Price Revolution", p. 23.

[72] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 304-305, 306n54; idem, "The Ottoman Decline", p. 340; idem, "Adaletnameler", Belgeler, II, 1965, 49-145; Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 289, 295-299; idem, "XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", pp. 203-204; idem, Celali İsyanları, pp. 59-60, 94-95; M. Çağatay Uluçay, XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri, İstanbul, Manisa Halkevi Yayınlarından Sayı: XI, 1944, pp. 99, 134-135; McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe, p. 58; Karen Barkey, Bandits and Bureaucrats, New York, Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 143-148.

It seems that a considerable increase in population in the sixteenth century accompanied and further complicated the economic conditions. The demographic history of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been examined by several Ottomanists. The studies on the sixteenth century Ottoman demographic history focused on the population pressure hypothesis which is defined as the high level of the population to the level of its resources.[73] Therefore, population pressure which was coupled with worsening economic and financial conditions, is seen by some historians as one of the principal causes for the breakdown of social order.

Local demographic studies reveal a marked increase in the sixteenth century in urban and rural population, and, in some cases, the population growth outweight the expansion of arable land available.[74] Contrary to this trend, Ottomanist discussed a drastic decline in population in the seventeenth century. For instance, Bruce McGowan argued about a demographic crisis in the Balkan lands of the Empire in the seventeenth century.[75] Local demographic studies on Anatolia also noted a population decrease.[76]

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[73] Cook, Population Pressure, p. 9. Earlier studies based on the contraction in wheat exports, rising prices, shortages and famines in the Empire as the main indicators of the population pressure, see Inalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", pp. 29-30.

[74] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, " 'Tarihi Demografi' Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", in Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi; Tetkikler-Makaleler, cilt 2, İstanbul, Türk İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Tarihi Araşturmaları Merkezi Yayın No: 3, 2000, 1402-1427; Cook, Population Pressure, pp. 10, 11; Ronald C. Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum", in Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Woman, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon, Istanbul, The Isis Press, 1999, 677-718; Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire, Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1994, pp. 140-193; Oktay Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anatolia: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642), unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Manchester, Department of Midle Eastern Studies, 1993; Mehmet Ali Ünal, "XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sinop Kazası", in XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 12-16 Eylül 1994, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999, 795-805; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi (1455-1613), Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 598, Kültür Eserleri Dizisi: 42, Aralık, 1985, pp. 97-104.

[75] McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe.

[76] Mehmet Öz, "Bozok Sancağı'nda İskan ve Nüfus (1539-1642)", in XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 12-16 Eylül 1994, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999, 787-

Steady growth of population in excess of the arable land in especially the later sixteenth century brought about fragmentation of *re'âyâ çiftliks*.[77] Thus, the number of landless peasants increased significantly in Anatolia and large part of the population became impoverished. The extra-ordinary taxation of the state in addition to the illegal impositions and abuses of provincial governors contributed to widespread social unrest and eventually gave way to significant population dislocation. Restless rural population sought their livelihood in cities as workers or *medrese* students, or in the retinue of provincial governors as mercenaries. One of the most significant reasons behind the *Celâli* rebellions was these mercenaries composed of *levend*s with firearms. The new military organization of *sekbân*s and *sarıca*s recruited from the vagrant *levend*s provided a new opportunity for landless peasants.[78] On the other hand, after their returning from a campaign, when they were no longer satisfied with the pay, or when they were released from service, these mercenaries left the retinue and formed independent bandit bands and began to plunder Anatolian countryside.[79] The *sipâhî*s with smaller *timar*s were more influenced by the inflation.[80] When they were absentee from expensive campaigns, their *timar* was

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794; idem, XV. Ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Canik Sancağı, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları XXVII. Dizi – Sayı 3, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000; Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns.

[77] According to Cezar, the population growth was among the most important reasons generating vagrant *levend*s, Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 79-86. İslamoğlu-İnan, however, rejected the argument that the population growth brought about the fragmentation of peasant farms in the sixteenth century. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, "State and Peasants in the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Peasant Economy in north-central Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century", in The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987, 101-159; idem, "16. Yüzyıl Anadolusu'nda Köylüler, Ticarileşme ve Devlet İktidarının Meşrulaştırılması", in Osmanlı Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım, eds. Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak, İstanbul, Tarih Yurt Vakfı Yayınları 63, Eylül, 1998, 59-81.

[78] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 292-293; Barkan, "The Price Revolution", p. 27.

[79] Vagrant levends had already been engaged in brigands as organised small bands in Ottoman countryside, see, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları; Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 191-196; *Suhte*s (*medrese* students) who were also involved in such unlawful activities, joined these *levend* bands. Akdağ, Celali İsyanları; Cezar, Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler, pp. 196-210; Uluçay, Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık, pp. 23-30; Barkey, Bandits and Bureaucrats, pp. 156-163.

[80] McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe, p. 57.

confiscated. Then, they joined the ranks of rebels and bandits.[81] These rebels acting as independent small bands or gathered around rebel provincial governors were the reason of collective movements, the so-called *Celâli* uprisings of the turn of the seventeenth century.[82]

The increase in the production of fire-arms, the decrease in their prices and the consequent uncontrolled usage of them were important factors which brought about the *Celâli* bands.[83] This development enabled vagrant peasantry to be equipped with fire-arms. To use infantry peasants armed with firearms was also an inexpensive and effective solution to the Empire's fiscal and military difficulties. Therefore, according to Inalcık, the increasing demand of the Empire for mercenaries is accepted as a "direct and effective factor" for drawing away the peasants from agriculture, and for the consequent widespread *Celâli* risings.[84]

While the *levend*s organized as independent small bands were engaged in banditry, the large *Celâli* armies of this period also attacked villages and even large towns.[85] They terrorized the rural areas, wintered in the villages and towns, imposed their own taxes on the population, exacted money, food, and animals from the vilages and towns. They plundered the villages, burned warehouses, stole the wheat and barley of the peasants.[86] Under these conditions, peasants left the cultivation, escaped

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[81] Inalcık, "The Heyday and Decline", p. 345; idem, The Ottoman Empire, p. 49.
[82] Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 323-37; idem, Celali İsyanları, p. 69.
[83] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 287-288, 293-294, 294n25, 294n27; idem, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Arms in the Middle East", in The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization, and Economy, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, XIV, p. 196-201; Ronald C. Jennings, "Firearms, Bandits, and Gun-Control: Some Evidence on Ottoman Policy Towards Firearms in the Possession of *Reaya*, from Judicial Records of Kayseri, 1600-1627", Archivum Ottomanicum, VI, 1980, 339-358.
[84] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 286-287.
[85] Uluçay, Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık, pp. 144-145.
[86] Ibid., 296; Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, chp. 6 'Celali Fetreti'; Güçer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi, p. 19; Daniel Goffman, Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1990, pp. 25-33; Uluçay, Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık.

from the villages, migrated to the cities or took shelter in fortresses.[87] Thus, between 1603 and 1608 large scale flight, known generally as "Büyük Kaçgun" (the Great Flight) took place. Since the peasants left the land uncultivated and escaped from their villages, and the crop have been damaged or stolen, grain scarcity came about in Anatolia and the food prices constantly rose from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.[88]

Some historians tried to produce explanations for the transformation and the crisis of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from global and comparative perspectives,[89] even based on climatic factors. The impact of climatic changes as an explanatory factor in the crisis was argued by Griswold. He claimed that in the long-term, climatic change may really cause social revolution and insisted on the existence of "certain climatological abnormalities" in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[90]

Finally, one should admit that neither economic crisis and social disorder as well as their results have been identified clearly in historiography. Some historians date the definite collapse of the Mediterranean trade circle to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a claim that contradicts Akdağ's argument. Historiography came to an agreement however, about the negative effect of the change in the

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[87] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 296-297; Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, p. 69; Güçer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi, p. 20; Uluçay, Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık, pp. 140-141.

[88] Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, pp. 35, 74-85; idem, "XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", p. 210; Griswold, Anadolu'da Büyük İsyan, p. 39; Güçer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi, p. 21. Stockbreeding became a large field of economic activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, threatening the grain cultivation in Rumeli and Anadolu, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, pp. 75-76; Güçer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi, pp. 13-14, 16; Suraiya Faroqhi, "A Natural Disaster as an Indicator of Agricultural Change: Flooding in the Edirne Area, 1100/1688-89", in Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete III A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 10-12 January !997, Rethymnon, Crete University Press, 1999, pp. 260-261, and grain smuggle to Europe was among the reason of scarcity, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, p. 85; Parry, J. H., "Transport and Trade Routes", pp. 156, 158.

[89] Goldstone tried to explain the crisis as an appearance of "a worldwide crisis of agrarian absolutist states", see, Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century".

international trade routes on Ottoman commerce and economy, and the consequent losses of the state treasury. However, they do not agree on the extent of this development.[91] There is a general consensus on the money scarcity in the Empire, and the argument of money scarcity have been utilized to explain debasement policy, fiscal crisis and fiscal transformation. On the other hand, the suggested disastrous consequences of the money scarcity and debasement in the Ottoman economy was criticized as a sign of economic decline.[92] The effect of silver influx on the inflationary process and even the reason of inflation is not subject of agreement too.[93]

In the field of demographic studies new sources have been taken into consideration and local studies increased in number. These studies concluded on population growth in the sixteenth century both in urban and rural population. However, whether or not this growth was refering to a population pressure in the sixteenth century, or whether or not the population decrease of the seventeenth century refers to a demographic crisis are controversial questions.[94] There is also an uncertainty about how safely we can generalise the evidence.[95] Barkan was, for

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[90] William Griswold, J., "Climatic Change: A Possible Factor in the Social Unrest of Seventeenth Century Anatolia", in Humanist and Scholar, Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze, eds. Heath, W., Lowry and Donald, Quataert, Istanbul, The Isis Press and the Institute of Turkish Studies, 1993.

[91] Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century", p. 112.

[92] Inalcık, "Notes on a Study", p. 224; Cook, Population Pressure, p. 31.

[93] Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century", pp. 105, 108-109.

[94] Though he claimed an emergent over-population, Cook writes at the end of his study that "the results of the whole investigation are thus somewhat indeterminate", Cook, Population Pressure, p. 44. In spite of the substantial increase of Anatolian population in the sixteeenth century, Faroqhi is doubtful on the emergence of the symptoms of agricutural over-population on a major scale, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699", in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 435, see also Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century", p. 80.

[95] The insufficiency in the number of quantitative local studies, also the limitations and shortcomings of the primary sources are also factors preventing to reach safe conclusions. About this aspect of the demographic studies and drawbacks in the primary sources see, Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns, pp. 18, 32, 144, 145; Kemal Çiçek, Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for History, A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Birmingham for the Degree of Master of Philosophy, July, 1989; Mehmet Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", Vakıflar Dergisi, supplement to the vol. XXII., 1991, 429-439; Idem, Canik Sancağı, pp. 4-6; Heath Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir-Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", in Studies in Defterology, Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Istanbul, The Isıs Press, 1992, 3-18; Rifat Özdemir, "Avarız ve Gerçek-Hane Sayılarının

instance, aware that the growth of the population in a number of the larger towns is not a precise index of the growth of the population as a whole.[96] He however, accepted 'with certain qualifications' that the growth of the urban population was closely related to the growth of the total population.[97] Moreover, the reason of population growth itself is not determined clearly. Therefore, to assert general reasons for population growth for Anatolia and even for a more restricted region is doubtful. Jennings who examined a population increase at the towns of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, and Trabzon, however, stated that "...it is also important to remember that cities grew at different rates under different political circumstances and doubtless different economic and geographical circumstances as well".[98] Historiography has not come to an agreement upon which factor, event or development was the preeminent or dominant of *Celâli* uprisings, or they disagree about the sequence of events.[99]

Being an important part of the social and economic life of Amasya, the waqf of Bâyezîd II in Amasya, which was deriving its revenue predominantly from agricultural assets, was established at the turn of seventeenth century and run in the course of the transformation period. Under such a general economic crisis both in

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Demografik Tahminlerde Kullanılması Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler", X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, 1581-1613; There are some other critical studies on the use of *Tahrîr Defter*s, see, Colin Heywood, "Between Historical Myth and 'Mythohistory': The limits of Ottoman History", Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 12, 1988, 315-345. For the methodological discussion about the utilization of the primary sources and interpretation of the findings compare McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe; and Maria N. Todorova, "Was There a Demographic Crisis in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century?", Etudes Balkaniques, 2, 1988, 55-63; and Maria Todorova and Nikolai Todorov, "The Historical Demography of the Ottoman Empire: Problems and Tasks", in Scholar, Patriot, Mentor: Historical Essays in Honor of Dimitrije Djordjevic, eds. Richard B. Spence and Linda L. Nelson, Boulder, East Eropean Monographs, 1992, 151-172; Bekir Kemal Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th-17th Centuries)", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, XXXV/2, 1992, 187-198; Leyla Erder, "The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to 17th Century", Middle Eastern Studies, XI, 1979, 284-301; and Cook, Population Pressure, pp. 34-35.

[96] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", in Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day, ed. M. A. Cook, London, Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 167.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia", p. 710.

[99] Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", p. 287; Cook, Population Pressure, pp. 31-32.

manufacture and agriculture and widespread social disorder, it would therefore, be interesting to see how an important economic foundation such as the imperial waqf of Bâyezîd II of Amasya with its large agricultural holdings scattered through many sancaqs of north-central Anatolia coped with changing conditions. The transformation in the fiscal system and taxation, the demographic developments of the period or the large peasant migrations all appear to be historical phenomena which made the waqf was extremely vulnerable in terms of its financial administration.

In the light of the historical conditions outlined above, it is imperative at this point to return to the waqf in question in order to have a brief look at its historical development as well as its organizational and administrative structure. Whether contoversial in historiography or not, one should take into consideration the above arguments in analysing the circumstances which surrounded the Bâyezîd II's waqf and its operation during the period under review. Furthermore, studying the economic development of the waqf would provide us with another dimension in appreciating the effect of the transformation and crisis on actual society and economy.

IV. The Waqf

The Bâyezîd II's waqf was constructed between 1481-1486, and was put into operation in 1486.[100] Amasya was one of the important centers of the province of "Rûm" and was also one of the "shahzade sancaq" till the end of sixteenth century,[101] where princes were sent to this sancaq to gain experience in state administration.

[100] Sabih Erken, Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler I, Ankara, 1983, p. 222; Adnan Gürbüz, Toprak Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Ankara, 1993, p. 206; Feridun Akozan, "Türk Külliyeleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1969, 303-309; Yekta Demiralp, Erken Dönem Osmanlı Medreseleri, Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; 2209, 1999, pp. 141-145.
[101] Halil Inalcık, The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600, London, A Phoenix Paperback, 1995, p. 104.

Between 1454 and 1481, Bâyezîd II lived there as governor of Amasya. It can be argued that Bâyezîd's shahzade years in Amasya is certainly the most important reason for the location of his waqf in this city.[102] However it was also a city with a strategic importance on the main trade route.[103] The significance of Amasya and the necessity to develop and strenghten such a strategic city constitute another important reason while founding waqfs were an effective way in financing the economic, cultural and social development of a city.[104]

The Bâyezîd II's waqf was a *vakf-ı hayrî*, which means an endowment of a definitely religious or public nature and whose revenue was to spend directly to the main object.[105] The waqf was founded as *sahîh* (true) *waqf*. In this kind of endowment, the *rakabe* or eminent domain had to be the property of the founder.[106] To this end, Bâyezîd II bought lands and endowed them as his own property.[107]

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[102] During the reign of Mehmed II, in order to create new sources of revenue to be granted to timariots, the villages and farms whose revenues had previously been held as *mülk* or waqf, were converted into state ownership. His financial reform caused widespread discontent among various sectors such as *'ulemâ*, dervish orders, and a large number of families which were directly targeted by this reform. When new ruler Bayezid II came to power, under the influence of these sectors who had political power and consequently whose support was important in his struggle in order to ascend the throne, he ordered the restitution of *mülk*s and waqfs. About the financial reform of Mehmed II, see, Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed II.", İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 7, 1957, p. 533; Oktay Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's 'Land Reform' Revisited", Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, 42, 2, 1999, 224-246. Then, it might also be possible to think that Bayezid II built a large *imâret* complex in Amasya as a favour to some religious sectors in change of their support during his struggle for the throne against Prince Cem.

[103] Ibid., p. 124.

[104] Among the motives behind the foundation of waqf, one can see, personal desires, social and economic necessities, moral and mental structure of the society, tradition and conservatism, imitation, despair of persons, social pressure, material interest such as the concern to guarantee properties, enhancing the economic resources and social influence of families, gaining social prestige. See, Yediyıldız, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri", pp. 35-52; Ruth Roded, "The Waqf and the Social Elite of Aleppo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", Turcica, XX, 1988, p. 91.

[105] There was also waqfs called wakf-ı ahli (family endowments) where the revenue is received by the persons who were determined by the founder and who were generally members of founder's family, and waqfs called semi-familial waqf where the revenue was shared by the founder and his/her family and religious, charity institutions. Heffening, "waqf", Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 1096; Yediyıldız, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 154; idem, "Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri", pp. 26, 28-29.

[106] Ali Himmet Berki, "İslamda Vakıf, Zağanus Paşa ve Zevcesi Nefise Hatun Vakfiyeleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 4, 1958, p. 19; idem, "Vakıfların Tarihi, Mahiyeti, İnkişafı ve Tekamülü, Cemiyet ve Fertlere Sağladığı Faideler", Vakıflar Dergisi, 6, 1965, p. 11; idem, Vakıflar, Istanbul, Aydınlık Basımevi, 1946, pp. 17-18; Şakir Berki, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Devrinde Vakıf Çeşitleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, p. 3; Nazif Öztürk, Elmalılı M. Hamdi Yazır Gözüyle Vakıflar, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995, p. 153; Ahmet Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 131; Ömer

The office who has the inspection authority over the administration of such waqfs, in this case, of the waqf of Bâyezîd II was the *Şeyhülislâm*.[108] When Sultan Bâyezîd II commissioned the *Şeyhülislâm* for the inspection of his waqfs, the "*Şeyhülislâm Nezâreti*" was formed in 1506.[109] In 1586, the "*Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Müfettişliği*" was established which was in charge of the inspection of the imperial waqfs (*selâtin vakıfları*) and the waqfs of the Two Holy Places, Mecca and Medina (*harameyn*).[110] According to the waqfiyye, the inspection of the Bâyezîd II's waqf had been commissioned to the Sultan of the time and the Amasya ruler, and the account records of the waqf had to be sent to the Sultan.

The word "waqf" also denotes the property, both movable and real estate, which was included in the contract that establishes the foundation. In this sense, waqf property can be divided into two categories. One is the *akarât-ı mevkûfe* or *evkâf-ı gayr-ı müstagalle* which was directly utilized by the foundation itself. The other is *müsakkafât* and *müstegallât-ı mevkûfe*, from which income was derived.[111] Mosque, *medrese*, library, hospital, *imâret*, *zâviye*, guesthouse, quay, pond, cemetary, fountain, caravanseray, bridge, well, road, school and other buildings, and from the movables

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Lütfi Barkan, "Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanların Temlik Hakkı", in Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi; Toplu Eserler I, Istanbul, Gözlem Yayınları, 1980, 231-247; idem, "İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak Mülk ve Vakıflarının Hususiyeti", in Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi; Toplu Eserler I, Istanbul, Gözlem Yayınları, 1980, p. 261.

[107] Compare with "gayr-ı sahîh waqf" or "tahsisât kabilinden waqf" or "irsadi waqf" (false waqfs), A. H. Berki, "İslamda Vakıf", p. 23; idem, Vakıflar, p. 18; Ahmet Akgündüz, "Osmanlı Hukunda Tahsisat Kabilinden Vakıflar ve Konuyla İlgili Kanuni'ye Takdim Edilen Bir Risale", Vakıflar Dergisi, 21, 1990, 5-13; idem, "İslam Hukukunda", pp. 131, 423-424, 431-434, 451-452; Nazif Öztürk, Elmalılı M. Hamdi Yazır, pp. 31, 153-157; Ş. Berki, "Vakıf Çeşitleri", p. 4; Barnes, An Introduction to Religious Foundations, pp. 45-46; Ömer Hilmi Efendi, İthafü'l-Ahlaf fi Ahkami'l-Evkaf, Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, (1889), p. 13. And for the terms "tahsis-i sahîh" and "tahsis-i gayr-i sahîh", Yediyıldız, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 157; A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, pp. 18-19; idem, "İslamda Vakıf", p. 24; Akgündüz, "İslam Hukukunda", p. 452.

[108] Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin", p. 22; Selçuk, "Vakıflar", p. 24; Salebci, "Tarih Boyunca Vakıflar", p. 110; Öztürk, "Vakıfların İdaresi", p. 45.

[109] Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 280.

[110] Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asırda Türk Vakıf Teşkilatı", p. 173; Öztürk, "Vakıfların İdaresi", p. 47; Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 281; Yüksel, Vakıfların Rolü, p. 62.

[111] A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, p. 32; Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 213.

cash, book, bridal, weapon were the *akarât-ı mevkûfe*.[112] The immovables are also called *müessesât-ı hayriyye*[113] and items in such buildings like carpet, lamp and set of kitchen utensils are also considered in this category.[114]

Among the *müessesât-ı hayriyye* of the Bâyezîd II's foundation in Amasya was a large *imâret* or soup kitchen. According to the waqfiyye, provisioning of orphans, poor and guests were to be provided according to their degrees and tables were prepared for them. There was also a mosque where a preacher reads the *hutbe*. The mosque was to be large enough for Friday and daily prayers of the community. Another waqf building was the *medrese*. This place was defined in the waqfiyye as the place where *'ulemâ* discuss difficult issues. Waqf buildings also include a school for children and a bridge on the Kızılca Irmak river near the Osmancık fortress.[115] The waqfiyye states that all property used in these institutions and their land were also endowed.[116]

Müsakkafat or *müstegallat-ı mevkûfe* refer to the property such as land, inn, house, workshop, bakery, bath and shop the income of which is utilized.[117] These are

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[112] A. H. Berki, , "İslamda Vakıf", p. 19; Hilmi Efendi, İthaf-ül Ahlaf, p. 15.

[113] A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, p. 32; Öztürk, Elmalılı M. Hamdi Yazır, p. 161; Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 209.

[114] Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu", Vakıflar Dergisi, 18, 1984, p. 6; idem, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 156; Nazif Öztürk, "Vakıflar Arşiv Kayıtlarına Göre Niksar Vakıfları", Vakıflar Dergisi, 22, 1991, pp. 45-46.

[115] It is a big bridge, 250 metres long on Kızılırmak (Kızılca Irmak) known as "Koyunbaba Köprüsü" today. Cevdet Saraçer, Tarihsel Dokusu İçinde Unutulan Bir Kent: Osmancık, Istanbul, Dört Renk Ltd. Şti., n.d.

[116] These waqf buildings show how Bâyezîd II's waqf had an important place in the economic and social life of Amasya and formed a large waqf complex. Waqfs played an important role in the urbanization, new town quarters were usually formed around large waqf buildings such as *imâret*s, and around *imâret* new houses were built where waqf personnel resided. Indeed, there was a quarter around the *imâret* named "mahalle-i imâret-i Sultân Bâyezîd Han", MID 387-II, p. 353, For the waqf külliyyes and their role in urbanization see, Hatipoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Külliyeler", pp. 1646, 1648; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği", supplement of Vakıflar Dergisi, IX; Ercümend Kuran, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Mahiyeti ve Günümüzde Değerlendirilmesi", I. Vakıf Şurası, 3-5 Aralık 1985, Ankara, 1986, p. 10; Halil Inalcık, "The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy", in Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, ed. M. A. Cook, London, Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 208; idem, The Ottoman Empire, p. 141.

[117] Öztürk, "Niksar Vakıfları", p. 45-46, Hatipoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Külliyeler", p. 1647-1648, Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi", p. 16, Nejat Göyünç, "Vakıf Tesisinde Devletin Katkısı (16. Yüzyıl İçinde)", Osmanlı Araştırmaları, 11, 1991, p. 124 , A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, p. 32, idem, "İslamda Vakıf",

also called *asl-ı vakf*.[118] The distinguishing feature of the *asl-ı vakf* is the fact that they were endowed as the source of income for the waqf.[119] The most important sources of revenue in the Ottoman Empire was land and its agricultural production and it was the most important source for the waqf providing regular flow of revenue.[120] The waqf of Bâyezîd II in Amasya also had revenues coming from villages. Certain villages had been endowed with all their *mezra'a*s, pastures and rice plants and the revenue deriving from these holdings was allotted to the expenses of *müessesât-ı hayriyye*.

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p. 19, Akgündüz, İslam Hukukunda, p. 213, Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Türk Kültür Sistemi İçinde Vakfın Yeri", Türk Kültürü, 281, 1986, p..535, idem, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu", p. 6, idem, "vakıf" in İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 156, Yüksel, Vakıfların Rolü, p. 103-120.

[118] Yediyıldız, "vakıf" in İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 156, Göyünç, "Vakıf Tesisinde Devletin Katkısı", p. 124.

[119] A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, p. 32; Yediyıldız, "Türk Kültür Sistemi", p. 535.

[120] Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Tanrıverdi, İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü, 1970, p. XVI; Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu", pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER TWO : THE STRUCTURE OF THE ACCOUNT BOOKS AND SOME METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

I. The Structure of the Account Books (*Vâridât ve İhrâcât Defterleri*)

The account books of the waqf are major sources at our disposal in order to follow the economic development and financial administration of the waqf over time. The figures in the account books for the waqf revenue and expenditure constitute the basis of the examination in this study. Therefore the structure of the waqf account books will first be introduced in detail in order to establish waqf revenue and expense figures.[1] Thus, while presenting these little-known sources to wider audience, we at the same time, will make it easier for the reader to follow our method of analysis and interpretations throughout the thesis.

Table 1 is prepared to this end. As seen from the table, the record of *icâre-i mâl fî' sene-i kâmile ma'a bâkîye-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye* that is "the revenue of the exact year together with the surplus of the previous year" is equal to the *icâre-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye* which refer to "the surplus of the previous year" plus the *'ani'l-mahsûlât ma'a emvâl-i müteferrika* that is "the revenue together with the miscellaneous revenue". The total revenue figure is generally given for a year with an exception of MM 15809 where the total revenue was given for two years. While MM 469 was prepared for about nine months and MM 5776 for sixteen, the revenue figures were still given annually in both. Here we should clarify a point which may misguide the researcher. The dates related to the time span of waqf account was stated at the beginning of the books. By taking into consideration these dates, with an

[1] Compare the structure given here with the structure of the account books provided by Barkan, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti"; idem, "Fatih Cami ve İmareti"; idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki"; idem,

intention of a meaningful comparison or interpretation, attempting at any adjustment by reducing or completing the revenue figure to a year in order to establish the annual revenue figure would be misleading. Irrespective of the period covered by the records the revenue was given annually. We have often seen similar differences in the dates of various sub-titles or entries of the account books. Therefore the time span of each entry is to be taken into consideration separately.

When the figure under the title of *icâre-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye* that is "the surplus of the previous year"[2] in MM 5265 (1596) was considered together with the figure at the entry of *sahîhü'l-bâkî* or "the true surplus"[3] in the former book MM 5265 (1595); these two figures therefore are equal. The same figure is also equal to the sum of the revenue which remained uncollected at the end of the account year that is the arrears and the last *bâkî* (surplus) record which refers to cash surplus, of the book MM 5265 (1595). In other words, uncollected revenues remaining from the former year plus the cash surplus of the former year, which is recorded under the last *bâkî* record at the end of the former year's account book, constitute the entry of "the surplus of the previous year" in the current year account.

Then the figure representing the surplus from the previous year does not mean completely cash and disposable revenue even if it was counted among the current year revenues.[4] It includes uncollected revenues and the waqf may or may not collect these arrears completely or partially in the current year. The cash part of this entry is just equal to the figure expressed in the last *bâkî* entry of the former year.

"Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüb Türbesinin"; idem, "Saray Mutfağının 894-895 (1489-1490) yılına ait Muhasebe Bilançosu", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, 380-398.

[2] This includes both the uncollected revenues and the cash surplus transfered from the previous year.

[3] This also includes the uncollected revenues and the cash surplus of the current year.

Table 1: The Structure of the Account Books

5265 (1595)	**5265** (1596)	**469** (1600)	**5159** (1632)	**5666** (1635)	**5776** (1647)	**15809** (1656)	**2388 & 2382** (1719)	**5065** (1757)

İcâre-i mâl fî' sene-i kâmile ma'a bâkîye-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye (the revenue of the exact year together with the surplus of the previous year)						
1.928.207	1.873.456	2.203.469	933.591	1.059.075	1.089.636[5]	1.586.400
1.181.400	1.448.160					

Equal to

'An icâre-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye (the surplus of the previous year)						
652.207	506.006[6]	785.067	168.736	115.155	n.d.	160.000

Plus

'Ani'l-mahsûlât ma'a emvâl-i müteferrika (the revenue together with the miscellaneous revenue)						
1.276.000	1.367.450	1.418.402	764.855	943.920	n.d.	1.426.400
1.181.400	1.448.160					

'Ani'l-mahsûlât ma'a emvâl-i müteferrika						
1.276.000	1.367.450	1.418.402	n.d.	943.920	n.d	1.426.400
1.181.400	1.448.160					

Equal to

'Ani'l-mukâta'ât (mukâta'a revenues)						
1.274.000	1.345.450	1.416.402	n.d.	939.720	n.d.	1.414.400
1.179.240	1.446.000					

Plus

'An emvâl-i müteferrika (miscellaneous revenue)						
2.000	22.000	2.000	n.d.	4.200	3.600	12.000
2.160	2.160					

Vuzi'a min zâlike (the sum of expenditures from this)						
1.218.201	1.175.713	971.358	536.445	802.728	611.615	1.230.276
739.400[7]	1.004.000[8]					

Equal to

Expenditures to Personnel and Pensioners (*Zevâ'idhorâns*)						
414.240	396.660	160.980	237.500	416.650	420.840	883.440
401.760	417.460					

Plus

İhracat (the expenses)						
803.961	779.053	810.378	298.945	386.078	185.775[9]	357.636[10]
332.480	225.760					

[4] Barkan, "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti", p. 119.

[5] The figure is derived from the account book of the year 1647 (MM 5776). Altough the figure for the total revenue of the current year is missing in the account book of 1647, the figure can be computed by the addition of "vuzi'a min zâlike" and "bâkî". Then, the total revenue is equal to 1.089.636=611.615+478.021

[6] An icâre-ı muhâsebe-ı sene-ı maziyye 506.006 = Sahîh'ül-bâkî 506.006 = Vâcibü'-l mezkûrin 300.605 + Bâkî 205.401.

[7] It is computed 734.240.

[8] It is computed 643.220. If we add 362.440 *akça*s of "harc-ı kilâr-ı imâret", it amounts to 1.005.660 *akça*s.

[9] It is computed 190.775.

İhracat							
803.961	779.053	810.378	298.945	386.078	185.775	357.636	332.480[11]

Equal to

Harc-ı matbah (kitchen expenditures)							
723.980	707.752	702.734	42.869	315.770	111.271	231.323	200.700
362.440							

Plus

İhracaat-ı sâ'ire (the other or miscellaneous expenses)							
76.289	68.436	106.290	256.076	55.431	75.317	90.497	130.740

Plus

Meremmât (repair expenditures)							
3.692	2.865	1354	n.d.	14.877	4.187	25.016	0

Bâkî (the surplus)							
710.006	697.743	1.232.111	n.d.	256.347	478.021	356.124	442.000

Equal to

İcâre-i mâl fî' sene-i kâmile ma'a bâkîye-i muhâsebe-i sene-i mâziyye							
1.928.207	1.873.456	2.203.469	n.d.	1.059.075	1.089.636	1.586.400	1.181.900

Minus

Vuzi'a min zâlike							
1.218.201	1.175.713	971.358	n.d.	802.728	611.615	1.230.276	739.400

Bâkî							
710.006	697.743	1.232.111	n.d.	256.347	478.021	356.124	442.000

Minus

Miscellaneous Expenses							
204.000	160.952	17.434	n.d.	156.591	189.600	376.000	442.000

Equal to

Sahîh'ül-bâkî (the real surplus)							
506.006	536.791	1.214.677	n.d.	99.756	288.421	-19.876	0

Sahîh'ül-bâkî					
506.006	536.791	1.214.677	n.d.	99.756	288.421

Minus

Be-cihet-i vâcibü'-l mezkûrin (uncollected revenues)					
300.605	114.044	1.210.096	n.d.	50.299	323.213

Equal to

[10] It is computed 346.836.
[11] It is computed 331.440.

Bâkî					
205.401	422.747	4.581	n.d.	49.457	-34.792

The term *mahsûlât* means revenue and it in this case refers to the *mukâta'a* revenue, and the term *emvâl-ı müteferrika* or miscellaneous revenue refers to the revenue derived from sources other than the village *mukâta'a*s such as the rent revenue from the *imâret* garden and mill. Thus the entry *'ani'l-mahsûlât ma'a emvâl-ı müteferrika* expresses the sum of *mukâta'a* revenues and miscellaneous revenues.

The *mukâta'a* revenues deriving from the agricultural production in a number of villages and *mezra'a*s were the main financial source of the Bâyezîd II's waqf. The method of collecting the revenues by the waqf administration was not stated in the waqfiyye. However, the waqf employed the revenue collectors (*câbî*s) in collecting the waqf revenues.[12] It is understood from the account records that the waqf also

[12] In 1496, the waqf employed 13 revenue collectors or *câbî*s. The number of revenue collectors amounted to 20 in the years 1595, 1596 and 1600 including four mounted collectors. It further increased to 22 collectors in 1632. Revenue collectors were one of the waqf's *cema'at* as they were

applied *iltizam* system or tax-farming in the process of revenue collection.[13] According to this system, the waqf administration farmed out waqf villages as revenue units called *mukâta'a* by a contract covering a certain period which was three years in general.[14] Revenue farming procedure included a bidding process.[15] The tax-farmer (*mültezim*) who bids for the higher amount undertakes the *mukâta'a*, by which procedure the revenue level and term were set in the contract and collection rights were awarded. The subject of such a *mukâta'a* contract could be the revenue from a single village or the revenue coming from a group of villages. Thus, the term *mukâta'a* was also used to refer to a village or a group of villages as a unit of taxation.[16] A tax-farming might involve sub-contracts and the initial contractor can farm out the revenue to a third party. It was possible that the mukâta'a would be farmed out by the waqf administration to another bidder who offers a larger amount

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permanent employee of the waqf. They were in charge of collecting waqf revenues from villages. When the *iltizam* system was applied in the revenue collection they were still on duty. This meant that they sometimes collected the waqf revenue from the tax-farmers. In addition to their regular salary, they received a travel allowance as understood from the account books. About *câbî* see, Mehmet İpşirli, "câbî", in İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 6, İstanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992, pp. 529-530.

[13] For detailed information about *iltizam* system, its application procedure, bidding process, multiple tax-farming, etc. see, Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal", pp. 327-333 ; Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 231-247; Darling, Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy, pp. 119-160; Mehmet Genç, "iltizam", İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 22, İstanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992, pp. 154-158. There was also the *mukâta'a* method applied in the operation of waqfs' land see, Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu", p. 21; idem, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 158; Ali Himmet Berki, "Vakıflar ve Vakıfların Maruz Kaldığı Tecavüz ve İhmaller", Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, p. 338; idem, Vakıflar, pp. 33, 136-145; Ş. Berki, "Vakıf Çeşitleri", p. 6; Hilmi Efendi, İthaf-ül Ahlaf, pp. 17, 81-83; Öztürk, Türk Yenileşme Tarihi, pp. 256-257; idem, Vakıflar, pp. 106-108; Akgündüz, "İslam Hukukunda", pp. 150, 391-393; for the other methods, "icâre-ı vâhide", "icâre-ı sahîha", "icâreteyn", and "gedik", see, A. H. Berki, Vakıflar, pp. 33-37, 136-145; idem, "Tecavüz ve İhmaller", p. 339; Hilmi Efendi, İthaf-ül Ahlaf, p.17; Akgündüz, "İslam Hukukunda", pp. 304, 354, 367-368; Yediyıldız, "XVIII. Asır Türk Vakıflarının İktisadi Boyutu", pp. 20-21; idem, "vakıf", İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. 158; Ş. Berki, "Vakıf Çeşitleri", pp. 6-7. In the Ottoman application of the *mukâta'a* method, usually an initial payment called *muaccele*, a large sum of cash was paid to the waqf. In addition a periodic rent was paid at the end of every year which is called *mukâta'a* or *icâre-i zemin*.

[14] However, contracts for other lengths could also be drawn. See, Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 238.

[15] The bidding realised at the presence of local qadi and a contract was established which was also registered by the qadi. Unfortunately, we cannot find any record of such a *mukâta'a* contract in the first twelve court registers of Amasya.

[16] For instance, the waqf's revenue from the village Boğa was tax-farmed as a unit and it was recorded in the account books as "mukâta'a-i karye-i Boğa". The waqf villages located in the Samsun and Canik regions were grouped and tax-farmed as one unit; in such situations the revenue from such *mukâta'a*s

before the term for the first contract expires. In this case, the old tax-farmer's term would end and his liability would be prorated for the shorter time period.[17] The revenue obtained from *mukâta'a*s were recorded at the beginning of the account books under the heading of the *mukâta'a* revenues (*ani'l-mukâta'ât*). It is given below a sample entry from the *mukâta'a* records of MM 5265 (1595/96).

'An mahsûl-i
mukâta'a-i karye-i Boğa tâbî'-i kazâ'-i Amasya der uhde-i
Müslü Çelebi mültezim-i mukâta'a-i mezbûre ani't-tarîhi'l-mezkûr
an kıst-i sene-i evveli

fî sene
12.000 [akças]

kadîm	*ziyâde şod*
11.000 [akças]	*1.000 [akças]*

Fi'l-asl-ı
İltizâm-ı mukâta'a-i mezbûre ber-mûceb-i hüccet-i mevlâna Hamza nâ'ib-i
kâdı-i Amasya
Fî' selâse sinîn
36.000 [akças]

ORIGINAL RECORD

was recorded as " 'an mahsûl-i mukâta'a-i cibâyet-i Samsun ve Canik" (from the revenue of the tax-farm of revenue collection of Samsun and Canik).

[17] Akdağ, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 242-247; Darling, Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy, pp. 119-160; Genç, "iltizam", p. 155.

From the revenue of the tax-farm of the village Boğa belonging to the town of Amasya, which is under the responsibility of Müslü Çelebi who is the tax-farmer of the mentioned tax-farm during the date mentioned, as the instalment of the first year

annually
12.000 [*akça*s]

previous	increase
11.000 [*akça*s]	1.000 [*akça*s]

From the real amount of
tax-farming of the mentioned tax-farm in accordance with the certificate issued by the deputy qadi of Amasya
For three years
36.000 [*akça*s]

As seen from the sample, the specified annual amount of revenue from a *mukâta'a* was recorded in each entry. The figure which is given as the annual revenue from a *mukâta'a* does not refer to realised but expected revenue, in other words, it refers to the revenue determined in the *mukâta'a* contract. It can be observed in the account books that besides the annual revenue, the total amount of revenue for three years was also recorded in some account books which points to the fact that the contract in question was made for three years. If the amount of the revenue determined in the *mukâta'a* contract increased from former year to current year, the revenue of the former year was stated under the term "previous" (*kadîm*) and the increase was stated under the term "increase" (*ziyâde*). Thus, the revenue which is expected to be obtained from the *mukâta'a* in the current year is given with the term "annually" (*fi sene*).

After the *mukâta'a* revenues are given, the payments to the *cemâ'ats* a term refering to the personnel performing various duties for the waqf, are recorded in the account books. At the end of each entry in this section, the total number of personnel

belonging to a certain *cemâ'ât* and the total amount of their daily and annual pays are recorded. After the personnel expenses are recorded, the other waqf expenses under the headings of "the salaries" (*el-vezâ'if*), "kitchen expenditures" (*be cihet-i harc-ı matbah*), repair expenses (*el-meremmât*), and "the other expenses" (*ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire*) are given. Finally, the remaining expenditure items of the waqf are recorded and the account is closed. At the end of some account books, a separate account for the kitchen is given and foodstuffs remaining in the storehouse for the next year are listed.

The first part of the expenses spent from these revenues was refered to as *vuzi'a min zâlike*. This entry is the sum of two main expense items, the first one is the personnel salaries and the payments to the pensioners (*zevâ'idhorân*s) and the second is "the expenses" (*ihracat*). The term "the expenses" is the sum of three items, kitchen expenditures, repair expenditures and the last one is "the others" which is expressed with the term *ihracat-ı sâ'ire*.

After the whole expenses composing *vuzi'a min zâlike* is subtracted from the total revenue of the current year, the book gives a surplus figure or a *bâkî*. When some other expenses such as debt payment, outstanding debts or loans, and a certain sum of gold sent to the "Medine-i Münevvere", which is a condition of the founder stated in the waqfiyye, were subtracted from the *bâkî*, we obtain another entry *sahîhü'l-bâkî*. As it was explained above, *sahîhü'l-bâkî* is equal to the sum of uncollected revenues and the cash surplus or the cash remaining in the waqf's reserve, and it is also equal to the total surplus which will be transfered into the next year.

The explanations given above expose the basic structure of the account books. The structure of the account books belong to the period from 1594 to 1719 almost completely fit into the structure given above. However, as mentioned before, some

differences can be observed. For instance, the personnel of each *cemâ'at* was given in detail to such an extent that they were recorded with their names and daily pays in MM 5265, 5159, and 5776. However, the same records were given in abbreviated form in MM 5666 and 15809, and in EV-HMH 2382 and 2388. Still, the basic structure, the arrangement of main revenue and expense items and the accounting system remained unchanged in all the books. The remaining account books EV-HMH 5065, 6701, 6757, 6992 which belong to a later date and were not included in Table 1 except for EV-HMH 5065, also have the same basic structure but no detail was given under the main revenue and expense entries in these account books.

II. Establishing an Index

In order to follow the economic development of the waqf over time, one should first determine the real change in the waqf revenues and expenses. So that we need the inflation figure for the period and the region in question. Only thus one can compare the inflation with changes in revenue and expenses in order to reach real figures. However due to the fact that the documents are insufficient to produce a reliable inflation figure, here we have proposed another method. It is possible to derive the prices of various animal and agricultural products from the records related to the expenses of waqf kitchen. It is also possible to follow the prices over time by using these records in the account books. Through this method, the price of any product for each measurement unit such as *dirhem*, *nügi*, *kıyye*, *kile* or *men* can be established.[18]

[18] These are measurement units which varied from region to region and date to date. About these measures see, Halil İnalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology", in Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History, London, Variorum Reprints, 1985, X, 311-348. However, it is not necessary to determine their content, but to know the change rates between them is important for our purpose. According to the information derived from the account records of Bâyezîd II's waqf, a *men* equals to 6 *kıyye* or 12 *nügi*, and a *nügi* equals to 200 *dirhem*, and a *kile* equals to 4 *şinik* at the end of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century in Amasya.

However, successive account books do not always provide us these figures. We therefore, took into consideration only the products whose price changes can be followed over time. These products are honey (*'asel*), almond (*bâdem*), flour (*dakik*), rice (*erz*), broad bean (*fûl*), pepper (*fülfül*), meat (*gûşt*), firewood (*hîme*), wheat (*hınta*), red grape (*meviz-i surh*), salt (*nemek*), starch (*nişasta*), chickpea (*nohud*), grape molasses (*pekmez*), seed oil (*revgân-ı bezir*), cotton oil (*revgân-ı penbe*), clarified butter (*revgân-ı sade*), barley (*şa'îr*) and saffron (*za'ferân*). All the figures showing the product prices and the index of the change in these prices; as well as the percentage change in the price figure according to the former is given in Appendix B.[19]

For seventeen of these products namely honey, almond, flour, rice, broad bean, pepper, meat, wheat, red grape, salt, starch, chickpea, grape molasses, cotton oil, butter, barley and saffron, the unit prices are available for the years of 1595, 1596 and 1600. These figures are used in order to produce a price index for the period of 1595-1600 (see Figure 1). It is only possible to follow the changes for a longer period in the unit prices of eight products namely honey, flour, rice, red grape, salt, starch, chickpea and butter. Thus we obtain another price index for these eight products between 1595 and 1647 (see Figure 2). However when it is dealt with the period between 1595 and 1719, the price index could be produced only for honey, clarified butter, flour and rice (see Figure 3). Certainly, the figures are obtained merely from the years on which the sources belong to, for this reason, each product could be followed with only seven figures for the period in question.

[19] It is necessary to determine the rate between guruş, para (or pare) and akça in order to form these figures. We determined these rates as following: 1 guruş = 40 para = 120 akças from the information found in account books. See also, Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire"; idem, A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the changes in the silver content of the *akça* are not important for this analysis. Therefore, the silver content of the *akça* was not taken into consideration

It appears that, although each figure includes the period of 1595-1600, index values at each one is different for this period. This is the natural result of the difference in basket of goods.[20] However, we need an index and a reliable criterion for the indexation in order to make the changes in waqf income and expense meaningful. Instead of using these three indices, we have prefered to use another index composed of flour, rice and wheat.[21] These items provide us with an index based on six figures for the period of 1595-1647 (see Figure 4). None of these indices gives us inflation. The index in Figure 1 represents an index of agricultural products to a limited extent. However, if there was at least a comprehensive inflation index, one then, would establish the real change in waqf income and expense. On the other hand, the index that we propose is not totally useless at all. On the contrary, this index is convenient for our intention. As mentioned above, the index is composed of wheat, flour and rice. It should be remembered that, waqf's revenues were all derived from agriculture, mainly from wheat and rice at the very important scale.[22] We assume that the same crop pattern remained unchanged during the period under examination. And these three formed the main expense items of the waqf kitchen. Therefore, we prefer to make use of this index, but, of course, with some caution. In this respect, some points should be kept in mind: Although, these product have an important place in the kitchen expenses, they do not have the same significance in the total expense.[23] When

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during the preparation of the indices or the indices giving the value of the products as grams-silver were not prepared.

[20] In the preparation of the indices the weighted values namely the relative importance of each product in the waqf revenue or expense is not taken into consideration. However, when it necessitates this point was considered in the interpretations.

[21] From now on it is called the FRW index.

[22] The survey registers of the late sixteenth century reveal that wheat and rice were the main crops cultivated in the waqf villages.

[23] The total kitchen expenditures were 723.980 *akça*s in 1595. 201.143 *akça*s were spent for flour, 49.345 *akça*s were spent for wheat and 89.495 *akça*s were spent for rice. Thus, these three items formed about 47 % of the total kitchen expenditures in 1595. In 1596, they were formed about 45 % of the kitchen expenditures. When the sum of money spent for these three items is compared to *vuzi'a min zâlike* (the sum of personnel expenses and the payments to the pensioners, kitchen and repair

one compares the revenue and expense figures of the waqf with this index, it is still expected that when the index show an increase, the revenue of the waqf should *ceteris paribus* rise and the rise should be over the rise in expense and *vice versa*. If so, it is reasonable to use this index in analysing the change in waqf revenue and expense. It is the only meaningful index that we could produce in the limitation of this thesis; a matter of fact, there is no study producing inflation figures for the period and region under examination.

The first index given in Figure 1 shows serious price increases in a short period of time. The reason is the high increase at the prices of almond, red grape, salt, broad bean and pepper between 1595-96. However, none of these product has an important share neither in revenue nor in the expense of the waqf. Clarified butter, almond, pepper and barley, on the other hand, show high price increase between 1596 and 1600 which also have a small share except for clarified butter in waqf account.[24] Even though the second index given in Figure 2 shows a small decrease from 1595 to 1596, it verifies the increase from 1596 to 1600. This increase resulted from the rise especially at the prices of flour, rice and and starch. This rise in the index continues until the year of 1632. From this date on it decreases up until 1647. It seems that this fall in the index resulted from the decrease especially in the prices of red grape, starch and salt whose prices were extremely high in 1632. Again none of these product has a remarkable share in the waqf account. The third index also follows the same progress in a more moderate manner.

However, the FRW index in Figure 4, on which our interpretations throughout the thesis is based does not fully follow the same progress. The products which are

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expenditures and miscellaneous expenses), it is about 28 % of *vuzi'a min zâlike* in 1595 and about 27 % of *vuzi'a min zâlike* in 1596.

[24] The waqf spent 52.779 *akça*s for clarified butter in 1596. It spent only 2.892 *akça*s for almond, pepper and red grape in 1596.

considered essential for FRW index are flour, rice and wheat, and these items have a relatively larger share in the waqf account. As mentioned before, the revenue of the waqf based largely on wheat and rice and moreover, these two have a significant share in kitchen expenses.

Indeed, wheat and rice were the main agricultural product which were cultivated in the waqf villages according to the survey registers. That is to say, these product were the main source of tax-farmers' income and thus, the waqf derived its revenue indirectly from these agricultural crops.

This index reveals a serious rise between 1595 and 1607 which is followed by a fall. If so, while other things being equal one also expects the same change in the waqf revenues. If the waqf revenues followed a different line, the difference therefore, should be explained by taking into consideration other factors.

FIGURE 1: Price Index (1595-1600) (Almond, Barley, Broad Bean, Chickpea, Clarified Butter, Cotton Oil, Flour, Grape Molasses, Honey, Meat, Pepper, Red Grape, Rice, Salt, Saffron, Starch, Wheat)

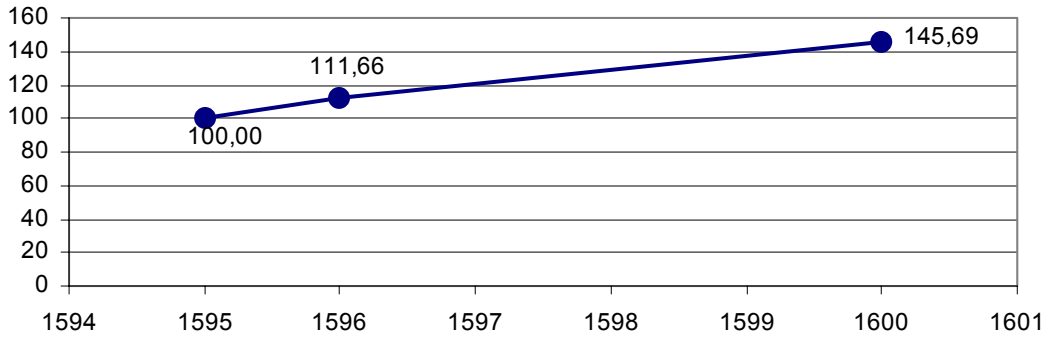
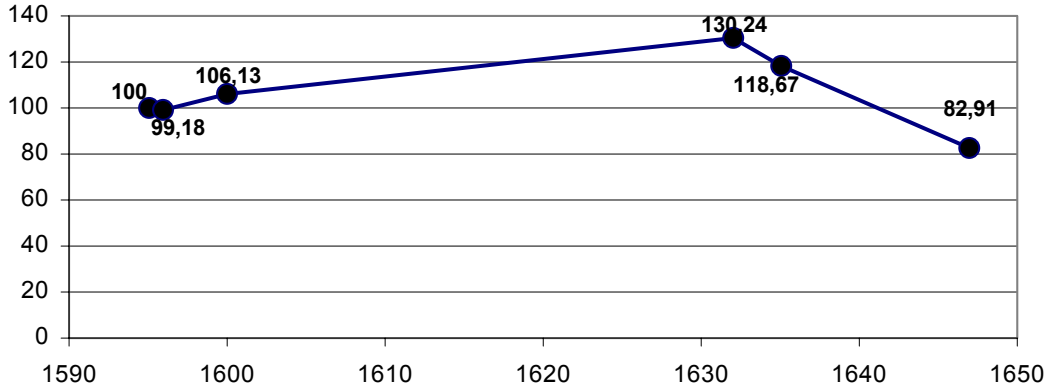


FIGURE 2: Price Index (1595-1647) (Chickpea, Clarified Butter, Flour, Honey, Red Grape, Rice, Salt, Starch)



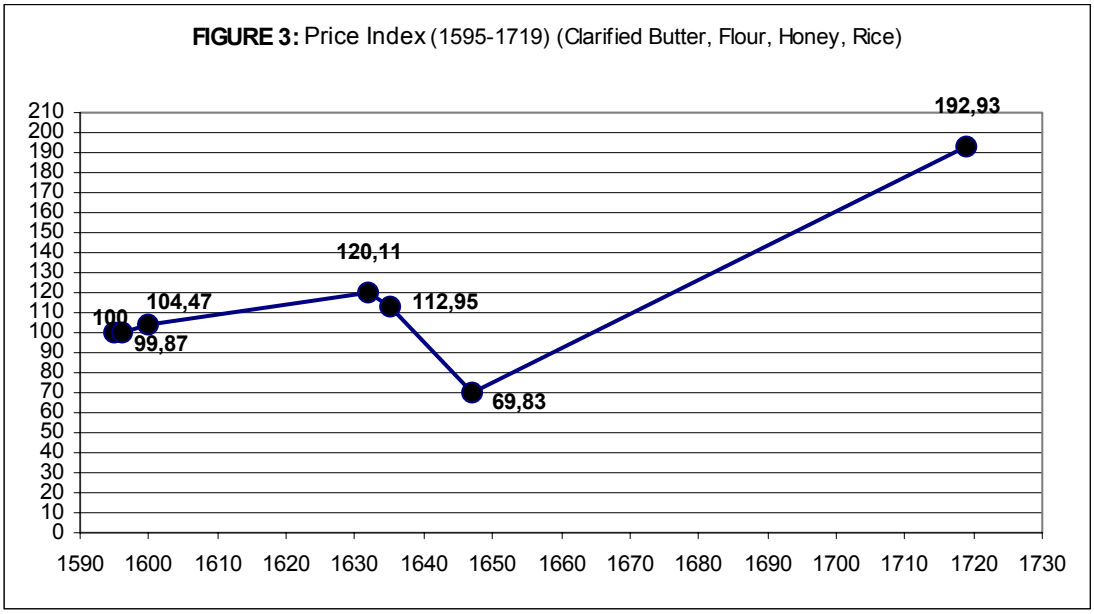


FIGURE 3: Price Index (1595-1719) (Clarified Butter, Flour, Honey, Rice)
210
200
190
180
170
160
150
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
1670
1680
1690
1700
1710
1720
1730
100
99,87
104,47
120,11
112,95
69,83
192,93

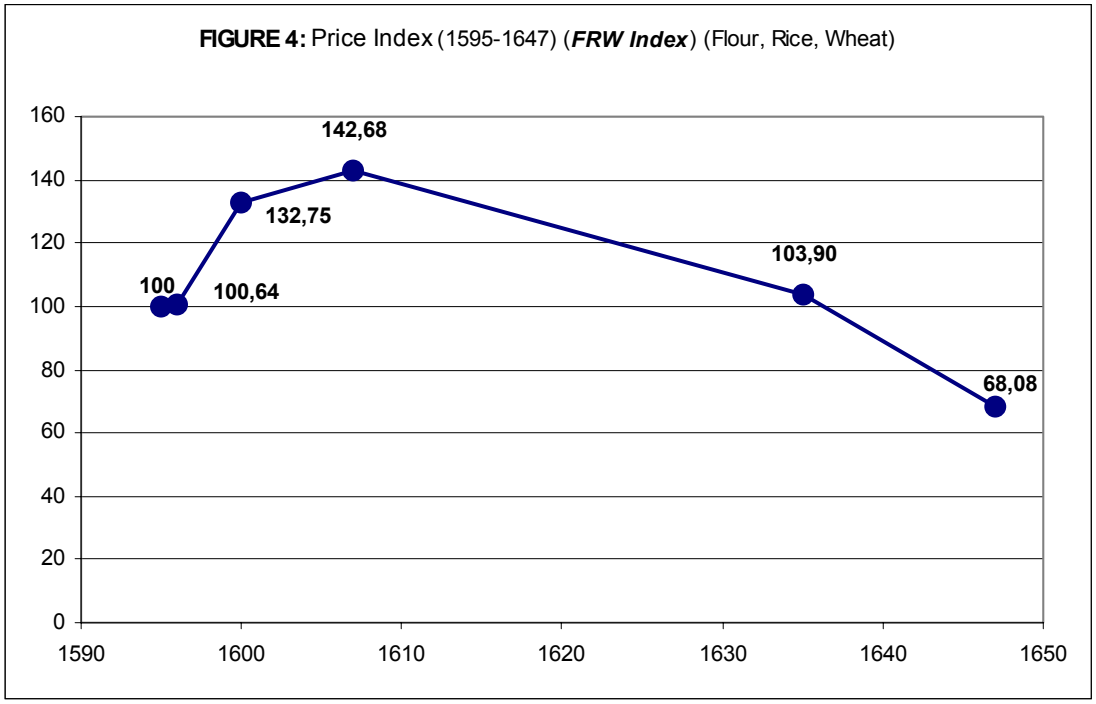


FIGURE 4: Price Index (1595-1647) (FRW Index) (Flour, Rice, Wheat)
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
100
100,64
132,75
142,68
103,90
68,08

CHAPTER THREE : ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

I. Revenues

The waqf depended mainly on a single revenue source; agricultural production. A portion of revenue, the rent of garden and mill however, is very insignificant in the total revenue figure.[1] The revenue deriving from agricultural products are recorded in the account books under the term *mukâta'a* revenues. Table 2 below shows the villages and *mezra'a*s which provided the revenue of the waqf. Administrative regions are mentioned as given in the waqfiyye. The villages which are mentioned in ED 583 or MID registers or in both, but which were added and not found in the waqfiyye are marked in italics.

In this chapter, total revenue and *mukâta'a* revenues with some of their components will be examined. To this end, some figures showing the total and *mukâta'a* revenue figures over time are prepared. In order to show the changes in the total revenue of the waqf during the period under review, I have prepared a number of figures. Figure 5 reveals the total revenue of the waqf at various dates. Figure 6 shows only the *mukâta'a* revenue of the waqf over time. In the Appendix C, three figures each with an index for *mukâta'a* revenues are given for the periods 1594-1757, 1594-1656 and 1594-1600 successively. In addition, the change in percentage in the *mukâta'a* revenue according to its former value is also given in these figures.

[1] See, *'Ani'l-mukâta'ât* (*mukâta'a* revenues) and *'An emvâl-i müteferrika* (miscellaneous revenue) in Table 1.

Table 2: The Waqf Villages

LIVA	KAZÂ'	NAHIYE	VILLAGES and/or MEZRA'AS	Mâlikâne	Dîvânî
Amasya	Amasya	Geldigelenabad	Boğa	1	1
Çorum	Çorum	İskilib	Şabhane	1	1
Ankara	Ankara	*Murtazabad*	Ahurcuk, Aydıncık, *Bilviran*, Erkeksu, İstanos, Karkın, Kazan, Otac, Saruayaklu, Virancık, Yassıviran, Yenice, Yeregiren	1	1
Ankara	Ayaş		Balçıcak, Baş Ayaş, Çakmacuk, Demirci village with Mağra mezra'a, Güdül, Hacılar, *Kamanlu*, Karacakaya, *Keçilü*, Kesanus, Körpeviran, Sapanlu villages, Yeregömi village with Kabil, Ayazini and Kızılöz mezra'as	1	1
Ankara			Kayalar, Uluayaş	1	1
Bolu	Mudurnu	Mudurnu	Dere, Güllüviran, Pelidözü	1	1
Sonisa and Niksar	Sonisa	Sonisa	Ayatekli	3/4	1
Kastamonu	Küre	İnebolu	Ablados, Acidnos, Arulya, Avare, Başköy, Bataryos, Boyran, Çerçili, Digos, Erküstas, Fikre, Harfi, Itır, İskir, Karaca, Mumra, Şeyh Ömer, Varpa, Yilye, Yoğunca Pelid villages and Ahi Mihal, *Cerrah* mezra'as	1	1
Kastamonu	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	Beysaray, Geymene, Kuşkara, Ömersin	1	1
Kastamonu	Sinob		Ağaçeri, Akdoğan, Altıparmak, Avlakseku, Çanlu/Çanlı, Çengi, Çiftlik, Demürci, *Demürciler*, Hazinedar, İstavros, Karrım, *Kederi*, Koğalı, Köprü, Ordu, *Sekücük*, Şihabü'd-din, *Tekfur*, Zeytunlu	1	1

Canik	Bafra		*Azay*, *Suçayı*	1	0
Canik	Samsun		Afanlu, Ağırnos village with Kümce mezra'a, Ahmetli, *Alanos*, , Ayapetri, Balaç, Balcılu, Bozumlu, Dere, Elmacık, Engis, Eşekcili, Evtmuşlu, Göleayan, Holab, Kadıköy, Kamados, Karakovuk, Kılıçoğlu, Kızılkıran, Kul Hasanlu, Kumcuğaz, *Meğde*, Nâ'ib Ahmetli, Narlık, *Nur Melik*, Oyumca, Öseklü village with Karis mezra'a, Saru Mehmetli, Seyrencik, Tencuk, Virük, Yazlık and Karaağaç mezra'a of Çatal Armud village	1	1
			Akçakafir and *Saru Kafir* villages, mezra'a of Kaloyoros belongs to Oyumca village	0	1
Canik	Erim	Canit-i Göl	Güdedi, Güman/Köman, Karabahçe, Ramazan	1	1
Kangırı	Kalacık	Kalacık	Çöte, Çukur, Edris, Keşurkayası, Mart	1	1
Kangırı	Karıbazarı	Karıbazarı	Basdak, *Kaç* villages	1	1
Kangırı	Kangırı	Kangırı	Aktaş, Çöki village with Tuzkırı mezra'a, *Gölas*, Karkın, *Ovacık*, *Öyüklü*, Şabanözü, *Tuht*	1	1
Hüdavendigar	*Sivrihisar*		*İmalı*	1	1

The waqf villages are also tabled in alphabetical order together with the *defter*s where they were recorded, in the Appendix A.

As seen from the Figure 5, the total revenue of the waqf rises from 1595 to 1600 but, it starts to fall dramatically from 1600 until 1656. From this date on, it begins to rise again until 1757 but it does not reach the level which it had at the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, it is clear that, the economic situation of the waqf can not be interpreted by this figure. Even if this figure is interpreted together with the price index, it may still lead us to unreliable conclusions. As mentioned earlier, the total revenue figure also includes uncollected *mukâta'a* revenues and this is the reason why one can not simply develop interpretations over the total revenue figures.

Table 3 which gives the total revenue and its components in detail is prepared in the hope that it would be useful in following our analysis. The surplus transfered from the former year, *mukâta'a* revenues of the current year and the miscellaneous revenues are included in Table 3, the sum of which formed the total revenue of the current year.

Altough there does not exist an account book for the year 1594, one can figure out the *mukâta'a* revenue of this year interpreting the figures given in the account book for the year 1595. In this book, after the revenue from each *mukâta'a* is given, this sum in some entries is divided into two entries: "previous" (*kadîm*) and "increase" (*ziyâde*). We can explain the importance of this separation on a sample. The first *mukâta'a* record of the year 1595 belongs to the village Boğa. The revenue from this village at the current year is 12.000 *akça*s which is recorded under the term "annually" (*fî sene*). The record of "previous" which is 11.000 *akça*s means that this village was tax-farmed a year ago at this value. The record of "increase" which is 1.000 *akça*s on the other hand, refers to an addition to "previous" at the current year. Thus, we obtain the sum of 12.000 *akça*s recorded under the term "annually". The village Boğa therefore, was tax-farmed at this value at the current year. It is seen from

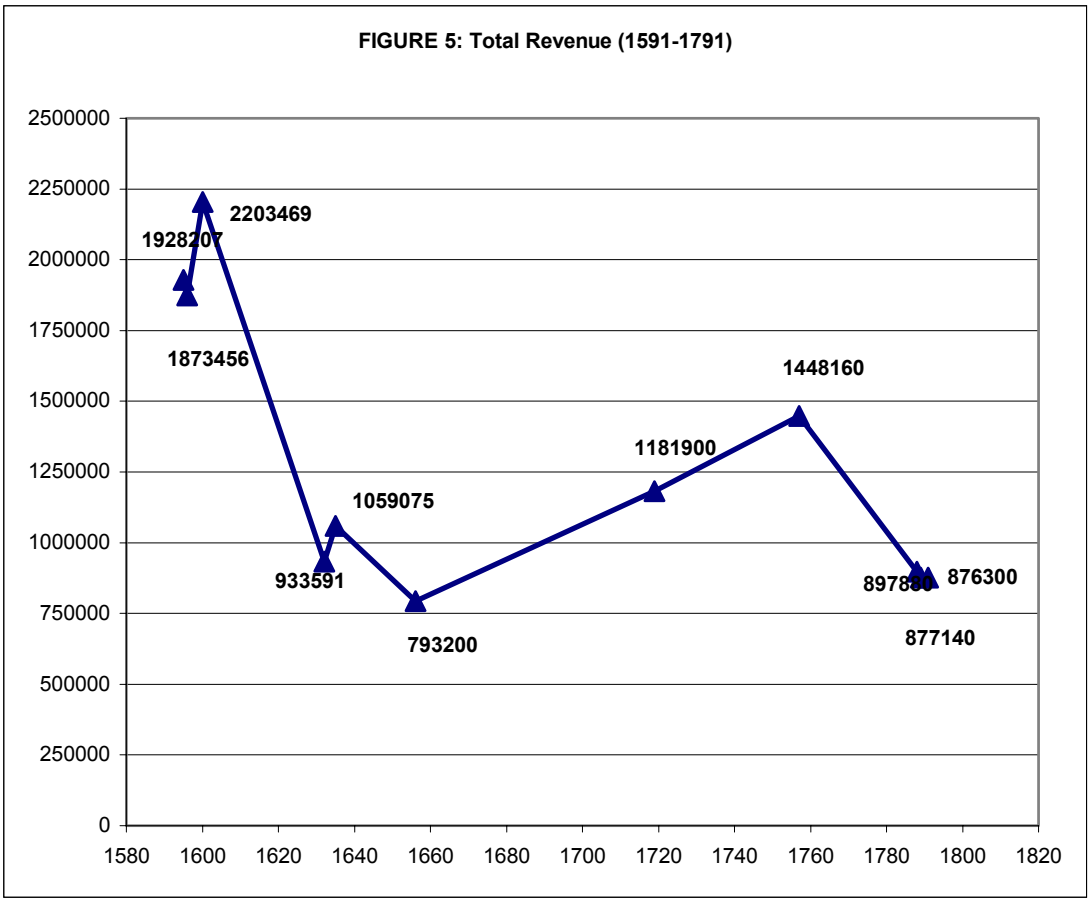


FIGURE 5: Total Revenue (1591-1791)
2500000
2250000
2000000
1750000
1500000
1250000
1000000
750000
500000
250000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
1800
1820
2203469
1928207
1873456
933591
1059075
793200
1181900
1448160
897880
876300
877140

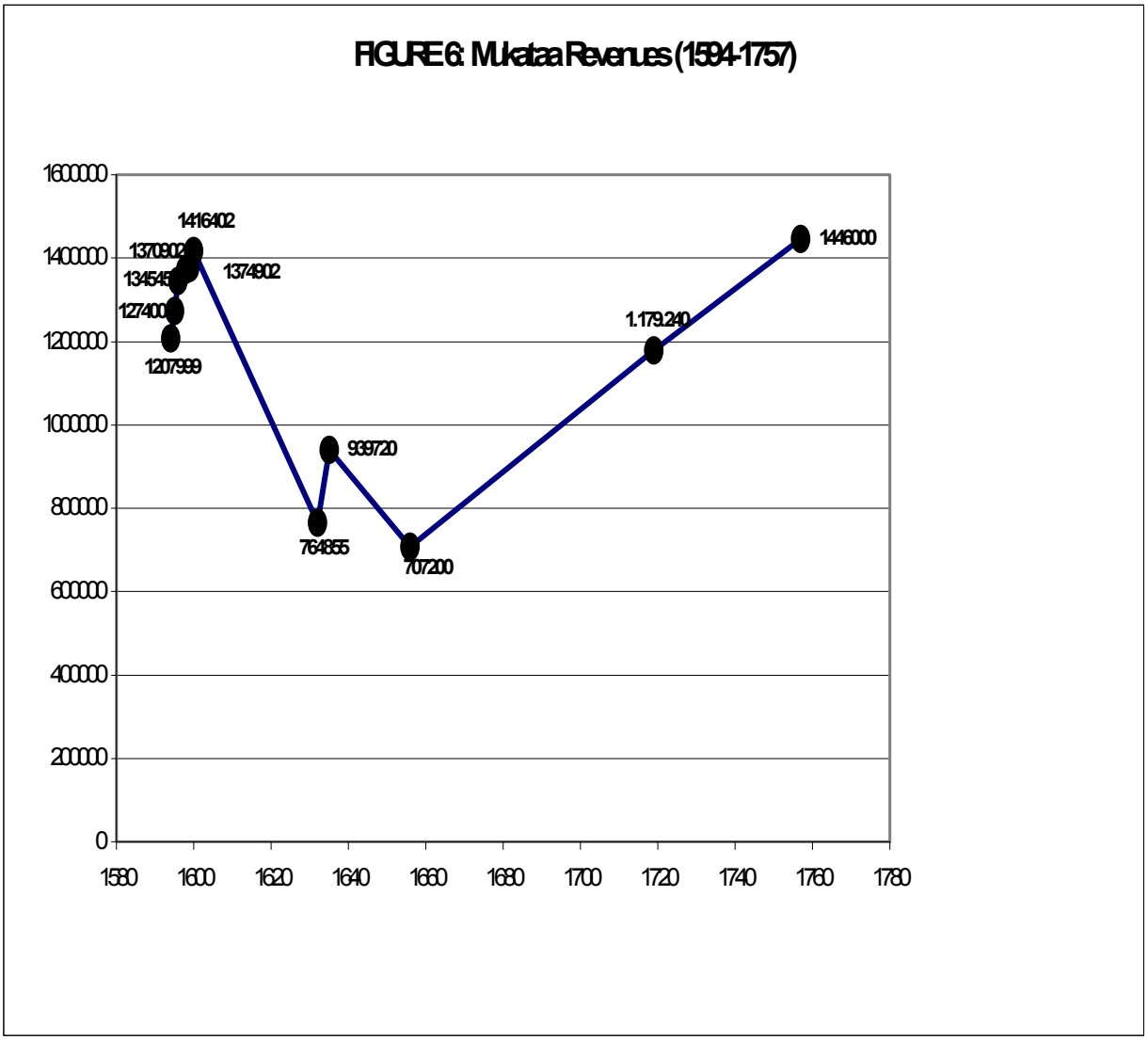


FIGURE 6: Mukataa Revenues (1594-1757)
1600000
1400000
1200000
1000000
800000
600000
400000
200000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
1416402
1370902
134545
127400
1207999
1374902
764855
939720
707200
1.179.240
1446000

Table 3: Waqf Revenue and Its Components (in *akça*)

Account Book	**Surplus transfered from the former year**	***Mukâta'a* Revenues**	**Miscellaneous Revenue**	**Total Revenue**
1002-03 / 1594	n.d.	1.207.999	n.d.	n.d.
MM 5265 1003-04 / 1595-96	652.207	1.274.000	2.000	1.928.207
MM 5265 1004-05 / 1596-97	506.006	1.345.450	22.000	1.873.456
1006-07 / 1598	n.d.	1.370.902	n.d.	n.d.
1007-08 / 1599	n.d.	1.374.902	n.d.	n.d.
MM 469 1008-09 / 1600	785.067	1.416.402	2.000	2.203.469
MM 5159 1041 / 1632	168.736	761.555	3.300	933.591
MM 5666 1044-45 / 1635	115.155	939.720	4.200	1.059.075
MM 5776 1056 / 1647	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	1.089.636
MM 15809 1066-67 / 1656-57	160.000 annual 80.000	1.414.400 annual 707.200	12.000 annual 6.000	1.586.400 annual 793.200
EV-HMH 2388 and 2382 1131-32 / 1719	0	1.179.240	2.160	1.181.400
EV-HMH 5065 1170-71 / 1757	0	1.446.000	2.160	1.448.160
EV-HMH 6701 1202 / 1788	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	897.880
EV-HMH 6757 1203 / 1789	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	877.140
EV-HMH 6992 1206 / 1791	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	876.300

the same entry that the value of this *mukâta'a* is 36.000 *akça*s for three successive years 1595, 1596 and 1597.

Thus, if one counts the total amount of all the "increase" records in the book and reduce them from the total *mukâta'a* revenue of the current year, the total *mukâta'a* revenue of the former year that is of 1594 can be obtained. In this way, the total *mukâta'a* revenue of the year 1594 is computed 1.207.999 *akça*s (see Table 3). A year later, *mukâta'a* revenues rose to 1.274.000 *akça*s with an addition of 66.001 *akça*s, the "increase". This means about 5.46 % increase in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf from 1594 to 1595.

In 1596 however, the total revenue is below that of 1595. *Mukâta'a* revenue in fact increased 71.450 *akça*s from 1595 to 1596, an increase of 5.61 % amounting to 1.345.450 *akça*s. However, since the amount of surplus revenue transfered from the former year declined in 1596 compared to 1595, the total revenue figure declined in 1596. According to the account book of the year 1600, the total revenue of the waqf appears to have increased by 17.62 % compared to its level in 1596 and it amounted to 2.203.469 *akça*s. Compared to the year 1596, both the surplus transfered from the previous year and the *mukâta'a* revenues seem to have increased in 1600. Total *mukâta'a* revenues of the current year is 1.416.402 *akça*s in 1600. This means about % 5.27 increase compared to 1596.

In the book of the year 1600, once more, we see the "previous" and "increase" records. This time however, it seems that, this account book gives the *mukâta'a* revenues of last three years. Thus, in addition to the current year, one can determine the *mukâta'a* revenues of the previous two years. If this is right, one can, then, find the total amount of *mukâta'a* revenues for the years 1597-98 (1006-07) and 1598-99 (1007-08). Total *mukâta'a* revenue is computed 1.370.902 *akça*s in the year 1597-98.

With an addition of 4.000 *akça*s, the total *mukâta'a* revenues amounted to 1.374.902 *akça*s in 1598-99. In the year 1600, with an addition of 41.500 *akça*s it rose to the total of 1.416.402 *akça*s.

Thus, it appears that, the waqf increased its *mukâta'a* revenues each year between 1594 and 1600. However, as seen from Figure 7 where the *mukâta'a* index and FRW index are given together, this increase appears to be lower than the increase in the FRW index. This means that the waqf revenue did not increase sufficiently or at the level one expects. It seems that, the waqf was incapable of fully adapting its revenue level to the price rise. Still, the steady increase in *mukâta'a* revenues is a wondering result. Brigands and bandits had long been active in the Anatolian countryside in the sixteenth century.[2] However, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the frequency of great *Celâlî* rebellions increased giving way to widespread turbulence in Anatolia. Large scale *Celâlî* movements and the conflict between the state forces and the rebels resulted in the destruction of rural structure in the first decade of the century.[3] Even under such conditions, the waqf seems to have managed to increase its revenue at the end of the seventeenth century. However, one should look at the other components of the waqf revenues. According to the figures for the proportion of uncollected revenues (see the following paragraph), the waqf seems to begin experiencing the negative effects of these events and disorder in Anatolia.

We know that, the record of "the surplus of the previous year" in the book of 1595 which amounts to 652.207 *akça*s, is equal to the sum of uncollected revenues of the year 1594 plus the cash remained in the waqf's reserve in 1594. Unfortunately, since there does not exist the account book for 1594, one can not determine to what

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Akdağ tried to prove that the *Celâlî* movements started as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. See, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları.

[3] For a detailed analysis of these movements see, Ibid.

extent the surplus transfered from the year 1594 to 1595 came from uncollected revenues of 1594 or from the waqf's reserve in 1594. Moreover, this surplus may include uncollected revenues residual of the years before 1594, but, it is impossible to clarify this.

While about the half of the total revenue derives from the surplus of the former year in 1595, the surplus from the previous year decreased to about one third of the total revenue in 1596. The cash transfer from 1595 to 1596 was 205.401 *akça*s; there was an additional 300.605 *akça*s as uncollected revenue which was transfered from 1595 to 1596. 168.778 *akça*s of this uncollected revenue is residual from the former years. The remaining 131.827 *akça*s therefore, originated from the uncollected revenues in the current year that is 1595. This means that, about 10.35 % of the current year's *mukâta'a* revenue in 1595 remained uncollected.

In 1596, the receivables of the waqf from the former years amounted to 114.044 *akça*s. However, there was no arrears from 1595 and 1596. That is to say the waqf collected all its revenues from the year 1595 together with all *mukâta'a* revenues of the current year. Thus, the waqf transfered to the next year a total surplus of 536.791 *akça*s. Only 114.044 *akça*s of this sum was uncollected revenue and 422.747 *akça*s was the cash surplus. This last figure is about the 31.42 % of the *mukâta'a* revenues. The same ratio is 16.12 % for the former year. Although the proportion of the uncollected revenues to the *mukâta'a* revenues is high, and the proportion of the cash surplus accomplished at the end of the year, to the *mukâta'a* revenues is low in 1595 compared to the year 1596. The waqf still appears to be strong financially in the year 1595 and is able to increase its *mukâta'a* revenue, producing a considerable cash surplus in these years.

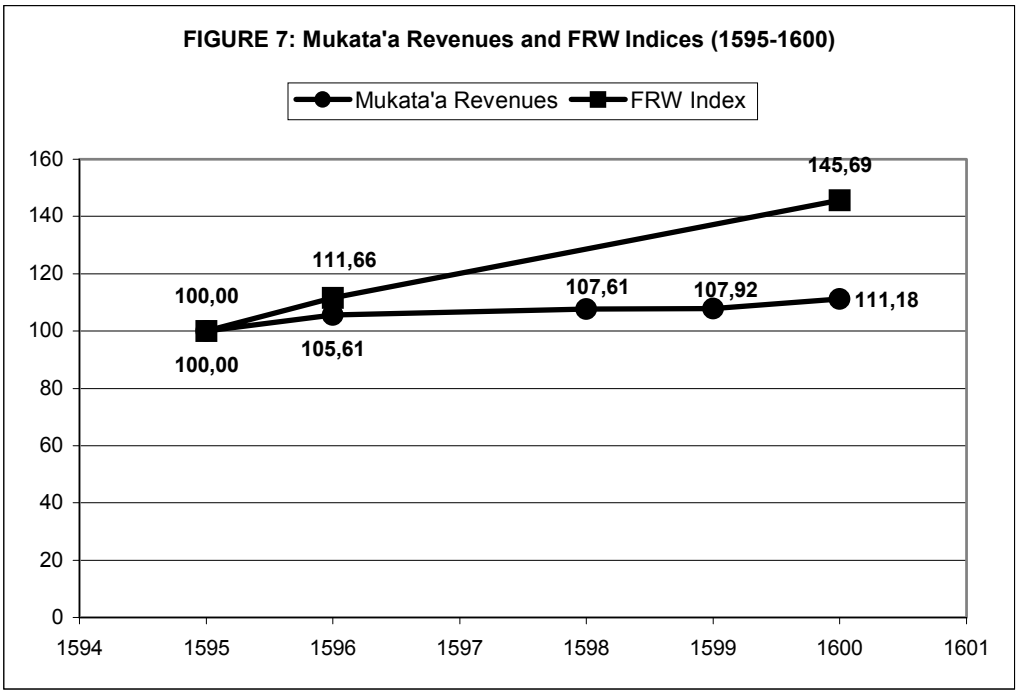
FIGURE 7: Mukata'a Revenues and FRW Indices (1595-1600)
Mukata'a Revenues
FRW Index
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
100,00
100,00
111,66
105,61
107,61
107,92
145,69
111,18

In the year 1600, 785.067 *akça*s of the total revenue comes from the surplus of the previous year. Considering the surplus figure, there was about % 55.15 rise from 1596 to 1600. Once more, since we do not have the account book of the year 1599, one can not determine how much of this surplus coming from uncollected revenues or from the cash surplus of the previous year. If the proportion of cash surplus is higher in this sum, this implies that the waqf ended the previous year, that is the year 1599, with a remarkable financial success. On the other hand, if the proportion of the uncollected revenues of the waqf is higher, this means that the waqf was in financial difficulty in 1599. Although, one cannot determine the actual situation of the waqf in the year 1599, the figures refer to a serious financial difficulty for the waqf in 1600. In this year, 1.210.096 *akça*s of the *mukâta'a* revenues remained uncollected and this sum together with the added 4.581 *akça*s of the cash surplus was transfered into the next year. Thus, one can conclude that the waqf collected only 342.375 *akças* or about 24.17 % of its total *mukâta'a* revenue of the current year, and the waqf managed the year probably by collecting only its former claims and by spending the cash part, if any, of the former year's surplus. Thus, it appears that, the waqf was in a worse situation in terms of revenue collection in the year 1600. If this is so, one should seek for an event or a chain of events that worsened the financial situation of the waqf to the extent that the waqf, which increased *mukâta'a* revenues, regularly collected revenue sources despite some delay, and produced a considerable cash surplus each year between 1594 and 1598, now fell into a financial crisis.

The register MM 15480 which covers the years 1592-1601, appears to have prepared only to follow waqf's receivables. It was begun to keep just after the account

book of the year 1600, when the new mutawalli Yahya Bey came to office.[4] According to the information found in MM 15480, by the time of mutawalli Yahya Bey, the dues which left from the time of mutawalli Perviz was being registered. For example, the first record in this register belongs to the *mukâta'a* of Samsun and Canik. According to this record, the waqf has a claim of 7.778 *akça*s from the year 1599 and 160.000 *akça*s from the year 1600. The amount of the uncollected revenue from this *mukâta'a* is 167.778 *akça*s and according to the register, 130.000 *akça*s of waqf's total receivable from this *mukâta'a* were collected.

According to the register MM 15480, an important amount of the waqf's receivables, largest part of which is the residual revenue from the year 1600, seems to have been collected in 1601. This is a positive indicator for the financial situation of the waqf. However, the account book for the year 1601 is not at our disposal and the register MM 15480, does not permit us to talk about a financial recovery in 1601 after the financial crisis of the year 1600. The fact that if the waqf could not collect a large part of its *mukâta'a* revenues in the year 1601 the financial difficulty of the waqf may have continued as in 1600. One can even claim a financial difficulty during the three successive years 1599, 1600, and 1601.

The next account book at our disposal is MM 5159 (1632). It has somewhat different structure. The receivables of the waqf from *mültezim*s which are counted and added to the total revenue of the current year, is followed item by item at the beginning of the book. The uncollected revenues of the current year was also stated under each *mukâta'a* entry instead of giving them at the end of the book separately.

The total revenue of the waqf according to the register fell to 933.591 *akça*s in 1632. In terms of total revenue there was a decrease of over 50 % compared to the

[4] In the waqf system, each mutawalli was responsible for the account of his period, Akgündüz, "İslam

total revenue figures of 1595, 1596 and 1600. The waqf was still unable to collect its revenue completely. 536.445 *akça*s of the total revenue was collected while 397.146 *akça*s remaining uncollected in 1632. The revenue transfered from the former year amounting to 168.736 *akça*s also originated completely from uncollected revenue of the former year; this means that there was no cash transfered from the previous year. Moreover, only 94.295 *akça*s of this sum was collected thus, 74.441 *akça*s remaining uncollected at the end of the current year. *Mukâta'a* revenues also show a serious decline in 1632. The sum of *mukâta'a* and miscellaneous revenues was 764.855 *akça*s for the current year; this means about 43.15 % decrease compared to 1596, and about 46 % decrease from 1600 to 1632.[5] This data, when taken alone, apparently refer to a financial crisis.

However, the FRW index in the Figure 4 also falls between 1600 and 1632. This meant a decline in the amount of *mukâta'a* bids and consequently in the *mukâta'a* revenue of the waqf. However, the FRW index still progresses over the index of *mukâta'a* revenues as seen from the Figure 8. Furthermore, the index value in 1632 is higher than that of 1595 or 1596. Then, such a dramatic decline in the *mukâta'a* revenues in 1632 compared to 1595 or 1596 cannot be explained completely by the price falls.

In addition to the decline in revenue, the waqf was able to collect only 442.150 *akça*s of its *mukâta'a* revenues, thus, a considerable sum of 322.705 *akça*s revenue remained uncollected at the end of the year. Then, when considering the serious decline in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf and the high proportion of uncollected dues which although present to a lesser degree they became acute by the end of the sixteenth century, we can conclude a financial difficulty for the waqf in 1632 and

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Hukukunda", p. 251.

even in 1631 when the waqf was not able to transfer to next year anything but a large sum of uncollected revenue.

The next account book is from 1635. The uncollected revenue of the previous year is recorded at the beginning of the book once again, but, only the *mukâta'a*s from where revenue collected in the current year are given in detail. The uncollected revenue of the current year is recorded under "receipt" (*makbûz*) and "residual" (*bâkî*) in the section where *mukâta'a* revenues followed. The revenue remained uncollected at the end of the year is repeated at the end of the book.

In 1635, total revenue of the current year is recorded as 1.059.075 *akça*s; from this sum 1.008.776 *akça*s was collected, and only 50.299 *akça*s remained uncollected. Total revenue is about 43.47 % and 51.94 % lower than its level in the years 1596 and 1600 successively. However, it is about 13.44 % higher from 1632. In this year, the *mukâta'a* revenues were 939.720 *akça*s. This means a fall about 30.16 % compared to 1596 and about 33.65 % compared to 1600. However, it reflects a rise about 22.86 % compared to 1632. In addition, 929.506 *akça*s of the *mukâta'a* revenues were collected; this refers to a very high ratio. One cannot determine the amount of cash, if any, transfered from the former year but, the amount of uncollected revenues in the former year, 115.155 *akça*s, is recorded at the beginning of the account book. This figure however, is not a large sum, therefore, one can suppose that the waqf was able to collect successfully its *mukâta'a* revenues in the previous year, 1634. It may thus be supposed a financial recovery at least partially in 1635 compared to the financial situation of the waqf in 1632. At the present state of the study, the analysis of the waqf revenue alone cannot tell us whether there was a recovery or not. The development of the waqf expenses should also be taken into consideration. Thus, one may find an answer to the crucial question of the financial crisis of the waqf in

[5] The decline in the *mukâta'a* revenues obtained from the certain waqf villages can be followed in the Appendix D.

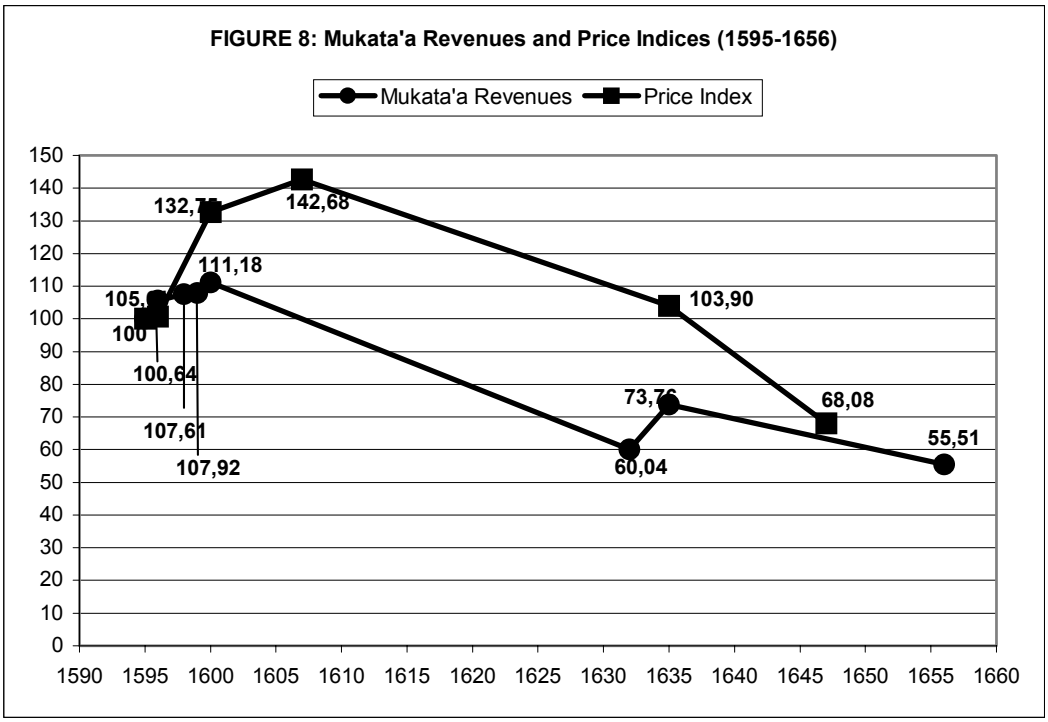
FIGURE 8: Mukata'a Revenues and Price Indices (1595-1656)
Mukata'a Revenues
Price Index
150
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1590
1595
1600
1605
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
1640
1645
1650
1655
1660
132,7
142,68
111,18
105,
100
100,64
107,61
107,92
103,90
73,76
68,08
60,04
55,51

the year 1632, and the question whether it was an exceptional experience or a part of a long-term financial crisis.

Here we can look at the price movements which provide us with an additional information in interpreting the financial situation of the waqf in 1635. The indices in Figures 2 and 3 show a rise up until 1632, where it begins to fall again entering the year 1635 with a decline. The FRW index in Figure 4, on the other hand, begins to decline after 1607 and this trend continued until 1635. Due to the lack of relevant data, one can not determine the exact date of the beginning of the decline and, also cannot determine whether or not this was an uninterrupted trend.[6] However, it is the fact that not only the prices of wheat, rice and flour but, the prices of other product also fell in 1635. The most important finding may be that the agricultural economy was not in an inflationary process in this period, on the contrary the prices were on the decrease. However, we can not interpret the fall in the total revenue and the *mukâta'a* revenues in the year 1635 merely as an expected result of the fall in the prices of flour and rice. The lack of cash surplus both in 1632, 1634 and in 1635, and the high ratio of uncollected revenues to the *mukâta'a* revenues in 1632 refers to another phenomenon which led the waqf into the financial difficulty.

Though the records related to the total revenue and the total *mukâta'a* revenue are absent, and most of the *mukâta'a* records are missing, one can still calculate the total revenue as 1.089.636 *akça*s in 1647.[7] An important part of this revenue amounting to 323.213 *akça*s could not be collected in the current year. Moreover, the

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[6] Yediyıldız determined a serious rise in the prices of wheat, barley and maize in the "Ordu" district from 1547 to 1613. Yediyıldız, Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi, pp. 118-119. prices of wheat and barley were also in increase towards the end of the sixteenth century in Konya, see, Suraiya Faroqhi, Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia; Trade, crafts and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 206-210. Increasing number of local studies can provide us with more complete series of food prices, thus, making it possible for us to construct price movements in Anatolia. The waqf account books are important in that they supply us market prices.

[7] The calculation was explained in footnote 5 in Chapter II.

waqf had a deficit of 34.792 *akça*s at the end of the year. The next account book MM 15809 was prepared for the years 1656 and 1657 and the revenues were also given for two years. Therefore, we divide the figures simply into two to find an average annual revenue. Annual revenue is 793.200 *akça*s for 1656 and 1657, and the revenue transfered from the former year is only 80.000 *akça*s. So, the total revenue decreased about 64 % compared to 1600, about 25.11 % compared to 1635 and about 27.21 % compared to 1647. *Mukâta'a* revenues of the current year is 707.200 *akça*s. This means a fall about 50.07 % compared to 1600, and about 24.74 % compared to 1635.

As a conclusion, the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf declined between 1632 and 1656 compared to the end of the sixteenth century. However, the food prices were also in decline in the same period. Therefore, the decline in the *mukâta'a* revenues is an expected result. When the price of wheat and rice declined, the total value of the crop obtained from a *mukâta'a* also declined. So did the amount of tax-farmers bid for the *mukâta'a*s. Indeed, when each *mukâta'a*s is taken into consideration separately, it becomes apparent that the revenue from most of the *mukâta'a*s declined between 1632 and 1656. For the decline in food prices, the argument about a dramatic fall in the population may provide a possible explanation. Indeed, as a result of a dramatic decline in population, the demand for food might be expected to have decreased, and this may well have caused a decline in food prices. As the local demographic studies on central Anatolia also suggest a dramatic decline in population,[8] the decline in the prices of some agricultural products revealed by this study in the seventeenth century appears to be an expected result. The decline in food prices, particularly in the prices of wheat and rice brought about a decline also in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, the decline in *mukâta'a* revenues

[8] Öz, "Bozok Sancağı'nda İskan ve Nüfus"; Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns.

alone does not necessarily cause the financial difficulty for the waqf. While the revenues declined, one might expect a parallel fall in waqf's expenditures in the same period.

The analysis of the figures in the account books of the waqf bring to fore another dimension of the financial crisis of the waqf: difficulties in revenue collection.[9] Defects in the revenue collection manifested itself to the extent that the sum of the uncollected revenue was about 76 % of the *mukâta'a* revenues of 1600 and it amounted to almost half of the total *mukâta'a* revenues in 1632. Since the waqf could not fully collect its revenue, it could not produce cash surplus at the end of the year, sometimes closing the year with a deficit as was the case in 1647. This also meant that the revenue transfered to the following year contained no cash surplus but only the amount of the uncollected revenue of the current year.

The waqf's capacity of revenue collection seems to have been directly related to the tax-farmers' financial capacity to fulfil their obligations. Therefore, one should also look at the reasons which caused serious difficulties for the tax-collectors, in this case, the *mültezim*s. From this view point, one should search for the factors effecting the process of agricultural production during the period in question. To this end we may presume of the existence of some natural calamities such as locust invasion or drought coupling with the widespread *Celâlî* movements. When the geographical distribution of the villages of Bâyezîd II's waqf in question is considered, *Celâlî*s who roamed, plundered and terrorized Anatolian countryside, appear perhaps as the most significant factor which can cause a serious agricultural crisis, effecting negatively the agricultural structure of waqf villages. Large scale *Celâlî* movements with their

[9] See Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 given in Appendix E. These Tables show the *mukâta'a*s from where the waqf could not collect revenue partially or completely. Though we determine these *mukâta'a*s, further analysis of the data by locating the waqf villages geographically on the map is beyond the limitation of

capacity of destroying the rural structure in Anatolia during this period, can then be expected to cause serious damage to the crop pattern, often resulting in harvest failure. All this naturally meant that tax-farmers found it extremely difficult or next to impossible to collect the expected revenue from their villages, falling to fulfil their obligations clearly stated in their contracts. This, in turn, meant a serious financial difficulty for the waqf itself.

A crisis in agricultural economy in the seventeenth century is a commonly accepted phenomenon among Ottomanists. While some studies focused on the crisis, some others examined the recovery of the agricultural economy from this crisis. In our case, one might also look at this aspect, the recovery of the Bâyezîd II's waqf from the financial crisis in the later parts of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. When the waqf's economic development is examined for a longer period, from the sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century, it is seen that, the revenue from the villages increased towards the end of the sixteenth century.[10] This trend was followed from the turn of the seventeenth century on, by an opposite development: a marked decrease in waqf's revenues. In 1719, however, the total revenue increased once more to 1.181.900 *akça*s and the *mukâta'a* revenues to 1.179.240 *akça*s. The *mukâta'a* revenues continued to rise afterward and amounted to 1.446.000 *akça*s in 1757. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, it decreased again to 875.960 *akça*s in 1788 and 854.040 *akça*s in 1791. Thus, even if one may talk of a partial recovery in the waqf's financial situation during the eighteenth century when compared to the situation in mid-seventeenth century, although the figures do not necessarily imply such a recovery, the waqf revenues declined again by the end of the eighteenth

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this thesis. It might prove useful to study the reasons behind the fluctuations in the revenue collection from these *mukâta'as* by considering the geographical location of villages.

century. Although later developments are beyond the scope of this study, it seems that even a cursory look at the figures of the account books of these periods reveals the need for further study in constructing the long-term developments in the financial administration of institutions such as the Bâyezîd II's waqf in question.

II. Expenditures

a) Personnel Expenses and Payments to Pensioners (*Zevâ'idhorâns*)

As mentioned earlier, the term *vuzi'a min zâlike* which means "spent from this", expresses only a part of the expenses in the current year. This part is the sum of personnel expenses and payments to the pensioners and the expenses (*ihrâcât*). Personnel expenses and the payments to the pensioners are among the most important **regular expenditures of the waqf. In Tables 4 and 5 below, breakdown of the** personnel to be employed in the administration of the waqf, in accordance with the constitution, is given. The personnel was divided into four categories according to their duties in the waqf as administrative, educational, religious and as personnel of maintenance. The total number of personnel is 114; if we add to this 15 students who also receive regular payment from the waqf, waqf's personnel amounts to 129.[11] In addition, there are orphans taken care of by the waqf through regular payments but the amount spent on them is insignificant. Total personnel salaries at the time of waqf's establishment was 444 *akça*s daily and 159.840 *akça*s annually according to the waqfiyye.

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[10] The information derived from *mufassal* registers and from *muhâsebe-icmâl* registers about the revenue of some villages is given in a series of Figures in Appendix D, where the increase in revenue can be followed.

[11] When compared to Bâyezîd II's waqf in Edirne where the number of personnel was 155 in 1487 and 165 in 1490, Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya is smaller. Also, personnel expenses of the waqf in Edirne is

Table 4: The Waqf Personnel according to the Waqfiyye in 1496 [12]

Administrative staff			
Duty	***Salary***	***Duty***	***Salary***
Chief Administrator, Trustee (*Mütevelli*)	The half of the one tenth of the revenue in cash and in kind of each year	Steward (*Vekilharç*)	5 *dirhem/yevm*
Overseer (*Nâzır*)	15 *dirhem/yevm*	Shaykh (*Şeyh-i İmâret*)	10 *dirhem/yevm*
Educational Staff			
Duty	***Salary***	***Duty***	***Salary***
Instructor (*Müderris*)	50 *dirhem/yevm*	Instructor (*Halife-i Mekteb*)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Assistant of *Müderris* (*Muid-i Ders*)	15 *dirhem/yevm*	Librarian (*Hafız-ı Kütüb*)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Instructor (*Mu'allim*)	7 *dirhem/yevm*	Student (*Talebe*) (15)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Religious staff			
Duty	***Salary***	***Duty***	***Salary***
Preacher (*Hatîb*)	8 *dirhem/yevm*	Reciters of prayer (*Na'athân*)	3 *dirhem/yevm*
Prayer Leader (*İmâm*)	8 *dirhem/yevm*	(Master of ceremonies) *Muarrif*	3 *dirhem/yevm*
Timekeeper (*Muvakkit*)	6 *dirhem/yevm*	One who has memorized the Quran (*Hafiz*) (20)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Chief of *devirhân*s (*Sermahfil*)	5 *dirhem/yevm*	Reciters of prayer *Kelime-i Tevhidhan* (7)	2 *dirhem/yevm*[13]
One who calls muslims to prayer (*Mü'ezzin*) (4)	4 *dirhem/yevm*	Reciters of prayer *Salavâtiyân* (7)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Reciters of prayer (*Devirhân*) (9)	3 *dirhem/yevm*	Reciters of prayer *Enamhân* (6)	2 *dirhem/yevm*
Maintenance staff			
Duty	***Salary***	***Duty***	***Salary***
Scribe (*Kâtib*)	10 *dirhem/yevm*	Gatekeeper (*Bevvâb*) (2)	3/2 *dirhem/yevm*
Overseer of the bridge (*Nâzır-ı Cisr*)	6 *dirhem/yevm*	Cleaner (*Ferrâş*) (3)	3/3/2 *dirhem/yevm*

244.698 akças in 1490 compared to 159.840 akças personnel expenses of the waqf in Amasya, see Fatih Müderrisoğlu, "Edirne II. Bayezid Külliyesi", Vakıflar Dergisi, 22, 1991, p. 154.

[12] The information about these waqf officials can be found in, Yediyıldız, "Vakıf Istılahları Lügatçesi", Vakıflar Dergisi, supplement to volume XVII, Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1983; Berki A. H., Vakfa dair yazılan eserlerde Vakfiye ve benzeri vesikalarda geçen Istılah ve Tabirler, Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, 1966.

[13] It is 3 *dirhem/yevm* for the chief.

Butler (*Kilârdâr*)	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Repairer (*Meremmetci*) (2)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Assistant of Shaykh (*Nakîb*) (2)	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Caretaker of a mosque (*Kayyım*) (2)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Repairer of the bridge (*Meremmetci*)	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Dishwasher (Kase Şuyan) (2)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Storekeeper (*Anbarî*)	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Meat porter (*Nakîb-i Gûşt*)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Baker (*Habbâzîn*) (4)	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Sweeper (*Kennas*)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Cook (*Tabbâhîn*) (4)	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Warden of stable (*Ahûrcu*)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Wheat-washer (*Nekkad-ı Gendüm*)	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Water-drawer (*Abkeş*)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Candle lighter (*Sirâcî*) (2)	3/2 *dirhem*/*yevm*	One who cleans rice (*Nekkad-ı Erz*)	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*

Post	***Duty***	***Salary***	***Post***	***Duty***	***Salary***
	Accountant (*Kâtib*)	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*			
Ankara	Revenue Collector (*Câbî*) (4)	4/4/4/3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Mudurnu	Revenue Collector	2 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Samsun	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Küre İnebolu	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Engis	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Kastamonu	Revenue Collector	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Canit-ı Göl	Revenue Collector	3 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Sinop	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*
Geldigelenâbâd İskilip Sonisa	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*	Çankırı Kalecik Karıbazarı	Revenue Collector	4 *dirhem*/*yevm*

Orphan (*Yetim*) (10)	150 *dirhem*/year

Table 5: The Number of Waqf Personnel and Their Wages

staff	***number of personnel***	***payment***	***personnel/total personnel***	***personnel payment / total personnel payment***
Religious	58	155	58/129 %45	155/444 %34.9
Maintenance	48	153	48/129 %37	153/444 %34.5
Educational	20	106	20/129 %15.5	106/444 %23.9
Administrative	3	30	3/129 %2.3	30/444 %6.6

Total Personnel Expenses	***Total Number of Personnel***
444 *dirhem* / *yevm* except shaykh's salary in kind and orphans	129 (including 15 students, excluding 10 orphans)

Table 6 gives the change in the number of personnel during the period under review, and Table 7 shows the change in the payment to the personnel on daily and annual basis. As seen from Table 6, the number of personnel rose from 129 to 175 between 1496 and 1596. It further rose to 203 in 1647. We are able to follow to some extent the number of which *cema'ats* in the personnel increased after 1595 (see Table 8 below).

Table 6: The Change in the Number of Personnel

Year	**1496**	**1595-96**	**1596-97**	**1600**	**1632**	**1635**	**1647**
Salaried Personnel	129	175	175	176	198	199	203

In the Table 8 and in the account books of 1595 and 1596, the first record is of the personnel of the waqf's *medrese* (*cema'at-ı medrese-i münevvere*). According to these records, the instructor of the medrese (*müderris*) was paid daily 80 *akça*s, his assistant (*muid*) was paid 5 *akça*s, and each one of 15 students was paid 2 *akça*s, a gatekeeper (*bevvâb*) and a cleaner (*ferrâş*) both paid 2 *akça*s. Thus all together, totaly 19 people were paid 119 *akça*s daily and 42.840 *akça*s annually. The change in the total amount of payment of this cema'at from 1595 on can be followed from Table 8.

The total amount of salaries on the daily basis rose from 444 *akça*s to 657 *akça*s between 1496 and 1595 and from 159.840 *akça*s to 236.520 *akça*s annually. In addition, the waqf distributed a total of 177.720 *akça*s to the pensioners. Thus, the total expense for the personnel and pensioners in the account book of 1595 is 414.240 *akça*s. A year later, salaries did not change however 160.140 *akça*s were paid to the pensioners in 1596. Thus, the total expense fell to 396.660 *akça*s.

From 1596 to 1600, the level of salaries did not change however, a repairman (*neccâr*) was employed with a wage of 5 *akça*s daily. Thus, total personnel expense

increased to 662 *akça*s daily and 241.470 *akça*s annually. The personnel expenses was kept for eight months in the book of 1600. As stated before, the waqf was probably in financial difficulty in this year and did not operate for a certain period. Personnel salaries therefore, were paid only for eight months and the waqf did not allot "surplus" (*zevâ'id*) to the pensioners (*zevâ'idhorân*s) in this year. Since the salaries were not paid for a period, the account gives 160.980 *akças* for annual personnel salaries and there is no "surplus" record.

It is stated in the previous chapter that the waqf probably have fallen into financial difficulty between 1599 and 1601. The analysis of the personnel expenditures and payments to the pensioners which constitute a large part of the waqf expenses, provide us with further prove. The ratio of personnel payments to the *mukâta'a* revenues for the years 1595, 1596 and 1600 are 18.27 %, 17.58 %, and 11.37 % respectively. The ratio is low in the year 1600 compared to 1595 and 1596 which originated partially from the rise in *mukâta'a* revenues in this year and partially from the fall in personnel expenditures. Since the waqf could not collect quite a large amount of its revenue in the same year, it was not able to pay personnel salaries regularly and to distribute revenue to the pensioners at all. Thus, these findings give us the actual effect of a financial crisis on the waqf's operation.

Table 7: Personnel Salaries (in *akça*)

Year	1496	1595-96	1596-97	1600	1632
Daily Annually	444 159.840	657 236.520	657 236.520	662 238.320	n.d. 308.880
Year	1635	1647	1656-57	1719	1757
Daily Annually	862 315.850	914 329.040	917 330.120	1116 401.760	1161 417.460
Year	1788	1789	1791		
Daily Annually	1126 405360	1126 405360	1126 405360		

Table 8: Waqf *Cema'ats* [14]

Date ***Cema'at***	1595-96	1596-97	1600	1632	1635	1647	1656-57
Cema'ât-i Medrese-i Müteferrika	19/119 42.840	19/119 42.840	19/119 42.840	19/139 50.040	19/139 50.040	19/159 57.240	[19]/159 57.240
Müderris	1/80	1/80	1/50	1/100	1/100	1/120	
Talebe	15/2	15/2	15/2	15/2	15/2	15/2	
Bevvâb	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	
Ferrâş	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	
Cema'at-i Müteferrika-i Cami-i Şerif	19/91 32.760	19/91 32.760	19/91 32.760	19/96 34.560	19/96 34.560	20//100 36.000	
Cema'at-i Mü'ezzinân ve Salahanân	10/36 12.960	10/36 12.960	10/36 12.960	11/42 15120	11/42 15120	11/44 15.840	[11]/44 15.840
Cema'at-i Devr hanân	10/12 4.320	10/12 4.320	10/12 4.320	10/22 7.920	10/22 7.920	10/22 7.920	[10]/22 7.920
Cema'at-i Eczahanân fi vakt-i suh	31/63 22.680	31/63 22.680	31/63 22.680	30/63 22.680	30/63 22.680	30/63 22.680	[30]/63 22.680
Enamhanân	5/13 4.680	5/13 4.680	5/13 4.680	8/32 11520	7/30 10.800	8/32 11520	[8]/32 11520
Müstecibîn	14/29 10.440	14/29 10.440	14/29 10.440	14/29 10.440	14/29 10.440	14/29 10.440	[14]/29 10.440
Cema'at-i Mu'allimhane der cami-i şerif	2/9 3.240	2/9 3.240	2/9 3.240	2/9 3.240	2/9 3.240	2/9 3.240	?/10 3.600
Cema'at-i Kayyımân-ı ve Siracıyân-ı cami-i şerif	4/11 3.960	4/11 3.960	4/11 3.960	4/10 3.600	4/11 3.960	4/11 3.960	?/12 4.320
Cema'at-i Müteferrika-i imâret	19/120 43.200	19/120 43.200	19/120 43.200	21/172 61.920	24/184 66.240	24/186 66.960	?/187 67.320
Cema'at-i Kaseşuyan	2/4 1.440	2/4 1.440	2/4 1.440	2/4 1.440	2/4 1.440	2/4 1.440	
Cema'at-i Tabbahîn der matbah	4/14 5.040	4/14 5.040	4/14 5.040	4/14 5.040	4/14 5.040	4/14 5.040	[4]/14 5.040

[14] The number of personnel in each *cema'at* and their daily pays can be compared with some other waqfs, see, Müderrisoğlu, "Edirne II. Bayezid Külliyesi", pp. 155, 157, 160, 166; Yılmaz Kurt, "Ramazanoğulları'nın Vakıfları", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, 1013-1034; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, "Kanuni Sultan Süleymen'ın Annesi Hafsa Sultan'ın Vakfiyyesi ve Manisa'daki Hayır Eserleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, 47-56; Yediyıldız, "Hızır Paşa Oğlu Mehmed Paşa Vakfının Mahiyeti", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, 1625-1633; İsmet Kayaoğlu, "Candaroğlu İsmail Bey Vakfiyesi", in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi , 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. III, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, p. 1046.

Cema'at-i Habbâzîn der furun-ı imâret	4/12 4.320	4/12 4.320	4/12 4.320	4/12 4.320	4/12 4.320	4/16 5.760	?/17 6.120
Cema'at-i Ferrâşân	8/18 6.480	8/18 6.480	8/18 6.480	11/29 10.440	12/23 8.280	10/23 8.280	?/22 7.920
Cema'at-i Neccârân	4/9 3.240	4/9 3.240	5/14 5.040	6/14 5.040	5/13 4.680	6/17 6.120	[6]/17 6.120
Cema'at-i Câbîyân	20/97 34.920	20/97 34.920	20/97 34.920	22/137 49.320	21/137 49.320	21/149 53.640	?/153 55.080
Cema'at-i Musalliyân				4/20 7.200	4/20 7.200	4/20 7.200	[4]/20 7.200
Cema'at-i Türbeharân				7/14 5.040	7/14 5.040	7/16 5.760	[7]/16 5.760

In the above table the first number represents the number of employees, the second their daily allowances and the third their yearly allowances.

In 1632 the number of personnel rose to 198 with the employment of some new staff. Salaries amounted to 858 *akça*s daily. However, records of personnel salaries were not regularly kept in the account book. The salaries were paid mostly for six months. But there are some *cema'ats* whose salaries were paid for four, nine or ten months. We believe that the waqf was closed again for a certain period. We found further records in the court registers of Amasya which provide us with additional information about the closure of the waqf for a period of time. According to these records, the salaries were not paid for few years before the year 1624 and in 1624.[15] Another record dated 1627 was also found in the same court register repeating the same situation.[16] These records in the register are the copy of the imperial orders issued as reply to complaints of the waqf personnel. The waqf personnel accused the administrator (mutawalli) for their unpaid salaries and for the closure of the waqf's *imâret*. This may provide us with a sample of mutawalli's abuse and consequent closure of the waqf. One can still see these records as the sign of a financial difficulty for the waqf.

[15] SS 1, p. 158b.
[16] SS 1, p. 104b.

Total payment for the personnel and pensioners amounted to 237.500 akças in 1632. In this year, the waqf paid 219.140 *akça*s for the salaries and distributed 18.360 *akça*s "surplus" to the pensioners according to the records. The proportion of personnel payments to the *mukâta'a* revenues rose to 26.28 % for this year since the *mukâta'a* revenues fell considerably.

Three years later, in 1635, the total number of personnel rose to 199 and their salaries increased to 862 *akça*s daily and 315.850 *akça*s annually. The waqf paid 100.800 *akça*s to the pensioners thus, the total amount of expenses amounting to 416.650 *akça*s in 1635. Considering that the salaries were paid for a year and the waqf made a payment to the pensioners, one may speak of a recovery in the financial situation of the waqf. Indeed, the analysis of the revenue suggests a partial financial recovery for the year 1635. The development of personnel expenses is a further proof for this. However even if there is a recovery, this is rather limited. The waqf in fact is still in a poor financial situation compared to the end of the sixteenth century.

In 1647, the total number of personnel increased to 203 and the total expense for the waqf personnel rose to 914 *akça*s daily and 329.040 *akça*s annually. The waqf paid 91.800 *akça*s to the pensioners in this year which means a total expense amounting to 420.840 *akça*s.

The account book of the year 1647 was kept for sixteen months. All the expenses including *meremmât*, *ihrâcât* and *ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire* other than personnel were given also for sixteen months. However, personnel expenses were recorded annually. We believe that, though the waqf paid salaries and even distributed "surplus", it was still in a financial difficulty when the revenue analysis for this year is considered. Faroqhi also observed a similar situation in her analysis of the waqf of Mahmud Pasha in Istanbul. Although the waqf was not able to produce surplus in 1546, the

waqf still retained pensioners and also some new offices had been created.[17] In 1656, personnel salaries continued to rise, daily personnel expenses rose to 917 *akça*s and it became 330.120 *akça*s annually. In addition, 111.600 *akça*s were paid to the pensioners in 1656. It is possible to suggest that, during the middle of the seventeenth century, the waqf maintains itself at the edge of a financial crisis. The waqf managed to keep its personnel and pay their salaries. However, the *mukâta'a* revenues declined, and the waqf could not produce a cash surplus because of the chronic problems in the revenue collection.

In 1719, personnel expenses rose to 1116 *akça*s daily and 401.760 *akça*s annually in 1719. The waqf did not distribute a surplus in this year. After that, the personnel expenses almost remained constant throughout the eighteenth century despite some fluctuations. It rose to 1161 *akça*s daily and 417.460 *akça*s annually in 1757. Personnel expenses fell to 1126 *akça*s on the daily basis and became 405.360 *akça*s annually in the years 1788, 1789 and 1791.

As a conclusion, the number of personnel and the total personnel expenses increased moderately over time. However, when the salary of each personnel was considered, one can see a stability over time rather than a rise (see Table 8). During the years of financial crisis, the waqf retained the number of its personnel even though it was not able to pay salaries regularly in these years. The amount of salaries also remained unchanged during the crisis and was not adapted to the food prices. Lastly, it should be mentioned that, from the analysis of the personnel expenses, the actual effect of the financial difficulty on the waqf's personnel expenditures as it appeared clearly in the personnel record of the years 1600 and 1632 is apparent.

[17] Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties", pp. 117-118.

b) Kitchen Expenditures

The term "expenses" (*ihrâcât*) covers the kitchen expenditures, repair expenses and "the others" (*ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire*). Among them, kitchen expenditures reach larger sum. Below a sample entry for the records of kitchen expenditures which was taken from the first record of the kitchen expenditures in the book of 1595 is given.

Baha-ı
guşt fi 359 yevmen
beher yevm fi 17 men
6103 men
be-esmân-ı muhtelife
188.880

The cost of
meat for 359 days
each day 17 *men*
[total] 6103 *men*
at varied prices
188.880

According to the record given above the meat was purchased for the waqf kitchen for 359 days. Each day 17 *men* of meat was purchased. Thus, a total of 6.103 *men* of meat entered the kitchen. Though the term *be-esmân-ı muhtelife* meant that the meat was purchased from different price rates at different times, the record given above is not detailed. The waqf paid 188.880 *akça*s for 6.103 *men* of meat. So, if it is necessary to calculate the price of meat for each *men* we simply make a division. Then, we obtain an average price for meat which indeed was purchased at different prices during the year. The average price was sometimes given by the account books themselves, even some of the books recorded how much and at what price the meat was purchased.

According to the book of 1595, the kitchen expenses was 723.980 *akça*s, and it became 707.752 *akça*s a year later in 1596. Despite the high ratio of uncollected revenues, the kitchen expense was 702.734 *akça*s in 1600, more or less the same as the previous level. On the other hand, the kitchen expenses covered about seven and a half months in the book of 1600 since the *imâret* did not operate for a certain period. The decline in the amount of food purchased for the kitchen can be seen in Table 9. Although, the amount of food purchased for the kitchen declined, the total amount of payment for the kitchen expenses did not fall since the food prices increased in the year 1600. As explained in the previous chapter, a large sum of *mukâta'a* revenues could not be collected in 1600. Thus, the amount of disposable revenue for the annual expenditures of the waqf kitchen decreased. Increasing food prices further reduced this sum, therefore, the waqf could not keep the waqf *imâret* open throughout a year.

The kitchen expenses dramatically fell to 42.869 *akça*s in 1632. A fall to this extent apparently demonstrate that the waqf *imâret* was closed for most part of the year if not the entire year. The kitchen expenditure for the food of the students (*sûhtegân* and *dânişmendân*) amounting to 21.300 *akça*s was recorded separately under the entry of miscellaneous expenses. However, this amount was spent in seven months according to the same records. It was stated earlier that, the personnel salaries were also paid for six months in the same year. These findings clearly show how the waqf fell into a deep financial crisis in 1632.

In 1635, the kitchen expenditures amounted to 315.770 *akça*s. This figure for kitchen expenditures in 1635 seem low when compared to the level of kitchen expenditures at the end of the sixteenth century. However, this fall in the amount of kitchen expenditures can partly be explained by the disappearance of some foods in this year which were usually purchased for the kitchen, and it is partly resulted from

Table 9: The Amount of Product Purchased for the Waqf

m.: *men*, n.: *nügi*, d.: *dirhem*, k.: *kile* ş.: *şinik*
1 *men* = 12 *nügi* = 2.400 *dirhem*, 1 *kile* = 4 *şinik*

Product	**1595-96**	**1596-97**	**1600**	**1635**	**1646-47**
Honey	471 m. 6 n. 150 d.	308 m. 6 n. 100 d.	189 m. 8 n. 150 d.	238 m. 10 n.	122 m. 6.5 n.
Meat	6103 m.	6120 m.	3859 m.		
Flour	16963 m. 6 n.	16313 m. 1 n.	11068 m. 9 n.	15511 m.	5870 m. 2 n.
Wheat	1015 k.	220 k.	535 k. 3 ş.	719 k.	
Rice	2128 m. 8 n. 100 d.	2574 m. 7 n.	1711 m. 11 n.	704 m. 10 n.	461 m.
Clarified Butter	368 m. 8 n. 150 d.	452 m. 11 n.	456 m. 1 n. 50 d.	273 m. 3 n.	170 m. 5 n.
Salt	766 m. 1 n.	542 m. 5 n. 100 d.	880 m. 1 n.	272 m.	237 m.
Saffron	534 d.	632 d.	421 d.		92 d.
Pepper	1 m.	19 n. 132 d.	2 m. 393 d.		
Almond	1 m. 8 n.	2 m. 10 n. 50 d.	1 m. 50 d.		
Red Grape	20 m. 8 n. 100 d.	25 m.	20 m. 11 n. 150 d.	10 m.	
Chickpea	111 k.	66 k. 2 ş.	53 k. 1 ş.	39 k.	
Starch	7 m. 7.5 n.	5 m. 4 n.	9 m. 1 n.	8 m.	
Cotton Oil	64 m. 1 n. 50 d.	21 m. 9 n. 60 d.	29 m. 9.5 n.		
Barley	1010.5 k.	660 k. 3 ş.	244 k.		

the decline in food prices. This is still considerably a higher figure when compared to the kitchen expenditures in the year 1632. As discussed before, the waqf seems to have experienced a certain degree of recovery in 1635, which indeed, could have started in 1634.

In the years 1646-47, the kitchen expenses are recorded for sixteen months, and it fell to 111.271 *akça*s. Food purchased for the kitchen at various amounts and prices in a period of sixteen months is recorded in this book. Below is a sample of such records from this book;[18]

Baha-ı

[18] The flour price fluctuate between 5 to 6.5 *akça* per *men* of flour. The wheat price between 28-34 *akça* per *men*, 55-95 *akça* per *men* of honey, and 60-120 *akça* per *men* of poppy oil.

dakik

men nügi
5.870 2
be-esmân-ı mezkûrîn
37.007 [akças]

[fî 6 akças] [19]
men nügi
1.217 5
kıymet
7.307[akças]

fî 5 [akças]
men nügi
152 2
kıymet
761 [akças]

men fî nügi
425 5.5 [akças] 3
kıymet
2.339 [akças]

men fî
4.075 6.5 [akças]
kıymet
26.600 [akças]

The cost of

[19] It is computed as 6 *akça*s.

flour

men	*nügi*
5870	2

from the prices mentioned
37.007 [*akça*s]

[by 6 *akça*s]

men	*nügi*
1217	5

total
7307 [*akça*s]

by 5 [*akça*s]

men	*nügi*
152	2

total
761 [*akça*s]

men	by	*nügi*
425	5.5 [*akça*s]	3

total
2339 [*akça*s]

men	by
4075	6.5 [*akça*s]

total
26.600 [*akça*s]

The kitchen expenses were given for two years as 159.463 *akça*s in the book of 1656. However, according to our calculations it amounted to 171.350 *akça*s. This meant an annual the kitchen expenditure of 85.675 *akça*s. However, the expenditures for the students, guests and personnel were recorded separately as 71.860 *akça*s for two years. When this sum is added, then annual kitchen expenditure amounts to 121.605 *akça*s. Kitchen expenditures amounted to 200.700 *akça*s in the year 1719 and to 362.440 *akça*s in the year 1757. As seen from this picture, the kitchen expenditure was well below the level of the late sixteenth century.[20]

[20] According to what is stated on the waqfiyye, every day 17 *batman*s (or *men*) of fresh meat had to be bought for the waqf kitchen. Each person will be rationed of 50 *dirhem*s (roughly equivalent to 160 grams) of meat per meal, which is served twice a day. Keeping in mind that, 1 *batman* equals to 2400 *dirhem*s and each person receives a daily ration of 100 *dirhem*s, we may conclude that 17 *batman*s of meat is approximately equal to daily ration of 408 people. The waqf personnel during its foundation in 1496 amounted to 139 people when we take orphans and students into consideration. This means that approximately 269 people benefited from *imâret* services whether as guests or poor even though the portion of each is unclear. However, most probably the amount of guest were very little at any given time. A century later, the daily purchased amount of meat was still 17 *batman*s as the records in 1595 and 1596 clearly indicate however, the number of waqf personnel increased to 175 which can only be explained by a reduction in daily ration or a decrease in number of poor benefiting from *imâret* services. The number of people benefiting from the waqf *imâret* may be calculated from the information derived from the book of 1656. Since, the amount of expenditures for the waqf *imâret* and the expenditures for the students, personnel and guests were recorded separately, we can determine how the total kitchen expenditures were shared by the people benefiting from the *imâret* and others in the year 1656. Moreover, we can find an approximate figure for the number of the people benefiting from the *imâret* with a rough calculation. However, this requires some suppositions too. The total number of personnel is 203 to whom 914 *akça*s were paid daily in 1647. We do not know the exact

c) The Other Expenses (*İhrâcât-ı Sâ'ire*) and Repair (*Meremmât*) Expenses

Another important element of the expenses which are also covered under the term of "the expenses" (*ihrâcât*) is "the others" (*ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire*). This entry includes a broad range of items. The illumination expenses of the waqf such as the cost for candle, fuse of oil-lamp, the pay of the personnel in charge of lighting the candles were all recorded under this category. In addition the expenses for fine sieve (*gırbâl*) and sack (*çuval*) for the kitchen and storehouse, cotton material (*kirbâs*) for dishwashers, broom (*çârûb*) for cleaners and all other expenses for the maintenance of the waqf such as towel (*fûta*), baker's peel (*kürek-i fırın*), nail (*mismâr*), copper bucket (*bakraç*), paper (*kâgaz*), bowl (*kâse*), lime (*kireç*), wage of binder (*ücret-i mücellid*), syrup of opium (*berş*), the tining cost of the cooking utentils, the cost of feasts for the guests, the maintenance of graves in the field of mosque and *imâret* were also recorded under this heading.

İhrâcât-ı sâ'ire was 76.289 *akça*s in 1595, and 68.436 *akça*s in 1596. It increased to 106.290 *akça*s in 1600. The figure for *ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire* was 256.076 *akça*s in the year 1632. However, the entry *ihrâcât-ı sâ'ire* in this account book also includes miscellaneous expenses. It is possible to follow further the development of these expenses in Table 10. It can be seen that these expenses follow the same line as personnel and kitchen expenses.

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number of personnel for 1656, however, the waqf paid them 917 *akça*s daily. If we suppose that, the additional three akças was resulted from the employment of a new employee, then, the number of total personnel amounts to 204 in 1656. Then, if we removes 10.560 *akças* spent for the guests, from the total amount of expenditure for the food of guests and waqf personnel then, 30.650 akças are left for the waqf personnel in a year. Comparing this figure with 35.930 *akça*s spent for the *imâret* in a year, we may suggest that approximately 240 person in a day or 86.400 person in a year benefited from the *imâret*.

Meremmât (repair) expenses for the maintenance and the renovation of the waqf buildings and properties, is not a considerable sum but has a priority among the expenses. According to the waqfiyye, and the sharia law, revenues must be used primarily for the maintenance and repair of the waqf buildings.[21] Thus, the waqf administration is responsible firstly for the maintenance of the waqf's property. *Meremmât* expenses include the repair cost of woodshed, toilet, kitchen furnace etc. Since these expenses do not reach a larger sum, it was not a burden for the the waqf. Extraordinary repair expenditure came about some years. Therefore the sum of the money spent for repair increased. But it never reached a significant sum.

Waqf has also other expense items though they are not covered under the term "the expenses" in the books. Such expenses are 204.000 *akça*s in the year 1595 and 160.952 *akça*s in 1596. This sum includes the gold which is sent to the "hüddam-i ravza-i mutahhara" and "kurrâ-i Medine münevvere" (the servant of the grave of Prophet Mohammed and the master reciters of Quran) according to the conditions set by the founder. In the years 1595 and 1596, 400 pieces of gold was sent to the master reciters of Quran and 300 pieces of gold to the servants thus, making a total of 84.000 *akça*s. An outstanding debt for meat left over from the former period amounting to 20.000 *akças*, and a surplus of 100.000 *akça*s sent to the central treasury are recorded under this entry in the account book of 1595. In the year 1626, 10.000 *akça*s of total 20.000 "gulamiye akçası" were sent to the imperial army upon the order of Sultan.[22] Such an expenditure was probably recorded under this entry in the account book of the year 1626.

When these miscellaneous expenses are considered, it appears that, the waqf sent 700 pieces of gold to the servants of Mohammed's grave and to the reciters in

[21] Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği", p. 17, Heffening, "waqf" in E.I., p. 1097.

1595 and in 1596, thus fulfilling the condition of the founder. However, other than the 17.434 *akça*s sent to the central treasury, the waqf was not able to fulfill these conditions in the year 1600. Though the waqf was in financial difficulty, 84.000 *akça*s were sent to Medina in 1632. In the year 1635, 100.000 *akça*s were sent to Medina and a sum of miscellaneous expenses amounted to 156.591 *akça*s. In 1647, although the waqf had a deficit of 34.792 *akça*s, 65.600 *akça*s were sent to the central treasury and 84.000 *akça*s to Medina. The total amount of the miscellaneous expenses amounted to 189.600 *akça*s in 1647. Miscellaneous expenses were recorded as 376.000 *akça*s for two years in the account book of 1656-57, and it rose to 442.000 *akça*s in 1719. Since the content of the miscellaneous expenses changes from an account book to another, it may be misleading to further attempt interpreting the changes in the amount of this category. Therefore, we are restricted to providing a general information about the composition of these expenses and giving some general figures from the account books.

Lastly, we will focus on the records given at the end of some account books. After all the accounts were closed, the food which is purchased during the current year and the food transfered from the surplus of the former year are recorded in the books of 1595 and 1596. This is followed by the amount of the food consumed during the current year. Finally the amount of food remaining in the storehouse after the consumption of the currrent year is given. It is seen from these records that both the amount of food which was transfered from the former year and the amount of food in the storehouse at the end of the year, declined in 1600. For instance, in 1595, 16.988 *men* of flour was purchased in addition to 3.945 *men* of flour already existed in the storehouse. 17.950 *men* of flour was consumed during the current year,

therefore 2.969 *men* of flour remained in the storehouse at the end of the year. A year later, in 1596, 16.313 *men* of flour was purchased in addition to 2.969 *men* transfered from the previous year. About 18.015 *men* of flour were consumed in the current year and 1267 *men* remained in the storehouse at the end of the year. When these figures derived from the additional record for waqf's storehouse in 1595 and 1596 are compared to the records of the year 1600, it appears that the waqf's storehouse also shows the sign of a crisis. In the year 1600, only 11.350 *men* of flour entered the waqf kitchen. There is no surplus transfered from the previous year. All the flour in the storehouse was consumed in the current year and no surplus of flour was left at the end of the year. A record from the court register of Amasya shows us how the storehouse was in a poor condition in the year 1634.[23] Because of the change of the mutawalli of the waqf in this year, the existing food in the storehouse was recorded under the supervision of qadi. According to this record, there was no surplus of wheat, flour and rice in the storehouse at the beginning of 1634. Waqf managed, however, to produce a surplus of 584 *men* by the end of the year and transfered this to the folowing year, 1635. In the year 1635, 15.511 *men* of flour was purchased and at the end of the year there were 1583 *men* of flour in stock. The storehouse records therefore provide us with the evidence of a possible recovery in the financial situation of the waqf in this year. In 1647, we are not able to follow the records for the storehouse in detail. However, we still find in this account book the record of 5.870 *men* of flour which was purchased to the waqf kitchen in the current year. Moreover, there is no surplus transfered from the previous year except for saffron. Finally the records of the waqf storehouse were not included in the remaining account books.

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[22] SS 1, p. 129c.

Table 10: The Waqf Expenses (in *akça*)

5265 1595/96	**5265 1596/97**	**469 1600**	**15168 1607**	**5159 1632**	**5666 1635**	**5776 1647**	**15809 1656/67**	**2388 1719**	**5065 1757**
Vuzi'a min zâlike									
1.218.201	1.175.713	971.358		536.445	802.728	611.615	1.230.276	739.400	1.004
Personel Expenses and Payments to the Pensioners									
414.240	396.660	160.980		237.500	416.650	420.840	883. 440	401.760	417.4
İhrâcât = Harc-ı Matbah + İhrâcât-i Sâ'ire + Meremmât									
803.961	779.053	810.378	840.912[24]	298.945	386.078	185.775[25]	357.636[26]	332.480	225.7
Harc-ı Matbah									
723.980	707.752	702.734		42.869	315.770	111.271	231.323	200.700	362.4
İhrâcât-ı Sâ'ire									
76.289	68.436	106.290		256.076[27]	55.431	75.317	90.497	130.740	
Meremmât									
3.692	2.865	1354			14.877	4.187	25.016		
Miscellaneous Expenses									
204.000	160.952	17.434			156.591	189.600	376.000	442.000	

[23] SS 2, p. 85c.

[24] We have a "rûznâmçe" dated hidjri 1016 Şa'bân / 1607 November-December. From this register, we obtain the figures for the waqf expenses for a monthly period. At the first day of the month, firewood and cotton for candles was purchased and flour, wheat, butter and salt were spent for the waqf kitchen according to the register. Also, seed oil was spent for the candles and rice, honey, oil, pepper and saffron were spent for the feast for guests. Next day, in addition to daily kitchen expense, seed oil and firewood were purchased from the market. There is no a record for feast in this day. Other days are recorded in the same manner. At the end of the register, under the record of "'ani'l-mübâya'ât" 70.076 *akça*s were given for the purchases during the month. Then, total amount of *ihrâcât* can be calculated about 840.912 *akça*s annually.

[25] It should be corrected as 190.775.

[26] It should be corrected as 346.836.

[27] The figure includes "meremmât" and miscellaneous expenses.

CHAPTER FOUR : A HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

In the previous chapters, the economic development and financial administration of Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya was examined through the revenue and expense records provided by the account books of the waqf. In doing that, first the total revenue and expense figures were established and, then, the method of decomposing them into their components was employed in order to develop an analysis in detail. Thus, *mukâta'a* revenues, the cash surplus and the uncollected revenues transfered from the previous year and etc., which formed the waqf revenues, were analysed separately. Personnel expenses, kitchen expenditures, repair expenditures and miscellaneous expenses which form together the waqf expenses, were also examined in the same manner.

In this chapter, the findings of the whole analysis will be put together and reevaluated in order to obtain the general picture of the financial administration of the waqf during the period under examination. We will, then, try to interpret the changes in the financial situation of the waqf by relating them to the historical developments of the period, in order to place the waqf into the general economic conditions of the period.

To start with the sixteenth century on the basis of information provided by *mufassal* and *muhâsebe-icmâl* registers of the period, one will see that, the amount of the revenues obtained from the waqf villages shows a steady increase throughout the century. Having only this information, however, one may not speak of an economic development, a real increase in the revenue. Although the revenues increased, historians suggest an

inflationary process in the Ottoman economy particularly in the second half of the sixteenth century.[1]

When the information regarding the number of personnel and the total personnel expenditures found in the waqfiyye and in the account book of 1595, which is the first account book at our disposal, is compared, it appears that, both the number of personnel and the total personnel expenditures of the waqf increased between 1496 and 1595. The increase in the amount of total personnel expenditures did not result from the increase in salaries, but, it results rather from the increase in the number of personnel. The waqf was able to adapt its revenue level to the rapid price increases of the sixteenth century. In an inflationary period, the total value of the agricultural production from each waqf village reveals an increase. Thus, the waqf administration farmed out the revenues of these villages to the bidders whose bids met the increasing expectations of the former. Thanks to this method in the revenue collection, that the waqf perhaps managed to keep its budget in balance. Consequently, it was not that difficulty for the waqf to find the sources to meet its standards whose total cost increased during the inflationary period. However, it was not possible to make a change in the wages which were set at a fixed-rate right at the beginning in the waqfiyye. The waqf however, was able to use the surplus revenue originated from the constancy in such an important item of expenditure, for the employment of new staffs. When approached this way, the increase in the number of personnel does not necessarily indicate a development in waqf's finance.

The sources at our disposal from the year 1595 onwards provide us with more detailed information regarding the economic development and financial administration of

[1] Akdag, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 301-303; idem, Celali İsyanları, pp. 42-44; Goldstone, "East and West in the Seventeenth Century", pp. 108-109; McGowan, Economic Life in the Ottoman

the waqf. In the following pages, we will try to analyse the general economic and financial development of the waqf from the end of the sixteenth century until the late seventeenth.

From the year 1594 on, the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf seem to have been in continuous increase. The food prices, more importantly the price of wheat and rice also increased between 1595 and 1600. When the increase in the *mukâta'a* revenues is compared to the increase in the prices of seventeen agricultural products (see Figure 1), the increase in *mukâta'a* revenue may be seen insufficient. Therefore, one may suggest that the waqf was not able to adapt its *mukâta'a* revenues to the price movements. However, when the main crops cultivated in the waqf villages, that is the wheat, is taken into consideration alone, it appears that the *mukâta'a* revenues closely followed the changes in the price of wheat. Further analysis of the waqf revenues prove a financial success of the waqf at the turn of the seventeenth century. The waqf accomplished a considerable sum of cash surplus at the end of each year. The proportion of the uncollected revenues in the total *mukâta'a* revenues was low in 1595 and in 1596. Therefore, as far as the revenues are concerned, the waqf seems to have been financially well-off.

During the same short period, the total number of waqf personnel shows a slight increase and the wages remained unchanged. However, the personnel salaries were paid regularly. In addition, the waqf distributed a significant sum of surplus to the pensioners. The kitchen expenditures were large enough to keep the waqf *imâret* open throughout the year and it served according to the conditions set by the waqf's founder. The waqf was able also to fulfil another condition set by the founder. It regularly sent 700 pieces of gold

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Europe; pp. 56-57.

to the servant of the grave of Prophet Mohammed and the master reciters of Quran in these years. Lastly, there remains a significant amount of foodstuffs in the storehouse at the end of the each year.

However, in the closing years of the sixteenth century, in the year 1599, 1600 and in 1601, the financial situation of the waqf seems to have changed. In 1600, both the total revenue and the *mukâta'a* revenues increased compared to the previous year. The increase in the total revenue figure, however, resulted rather from the increase in the surplus transfered from the former year. Moreover, although the *mukâta'a* revenues seem to have risen in the account book, the waqf was not able to collect larger part of its *mukâta'a* revenue proportion of which amounted nearly to 76 %. It therefore fell into financial difficulty. The financial difficulty is also clear from the fact that the waqf's *imâret* was closed for a certain period of time and the personnel salaries were paid only for eight months. Furthermore, the waqf did not distribute surplus to pensioners in this year. As mentioned earlier, an imperial order recorded in the court register of Amasya which was in fact sent as a reply to the complaints of the waqf personnel in 1624, proves that temporary closure of the waqf was not unusual.[2] According to the record, personnel salaries were not paid and the kitchen was closed for few years. Waqf personnel also complain about mutawalli's misuse and abuse of authority. Another record in the same register repeats the same complaints in 1627.[3] Although, the complainants stated that waqf's mutawalli did not pay the salaries while the waqf's financial situation was firm, therefore, was in a position to pay salaries, we see the waqf facing financial difficulty again four years later, in the years 1631 and 1632.

[2] SS1, p. 158b.
[3] SS1, p. 104b.

Coming back to the end of the sixteenth century, one may suggest that the financial difficulty of the waqf started from the year 1599 by referring to the large sum of surplus figure in 1600 which is transfered from the year 1599. The point here is that the largest part of this surplus probably originated from the uncollected revenues as the uncollected revenues formed the largest part of the surplus at the end of the year 1600. Without any cash surplus obtained from the previous year, the year 1601 may also be seen as a difficult year for the waqf. However, it appears that the waqf was quick enough to collect most of these arrears remained from 1600 and from the years before 1600.[4]

The next account book of the waqf from the 1632 reveals once more a picture of financial difficulty. We observe a significant fall in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf and the proportion of uncollected revenues in the total *mukâta'a* revenues was remarkably high. Furthermore, the waqf obtained no cash transfer from the former year. As a consequence of financial difficulty, the waqf was once more closed and the salaries were paid only irregularly, mostly for six months during the year. The payment from the surplus to pensioners also fell. The kitchen expenditures fell to 42.869 *akça*s in the same year, during which the waqf *imâret* did not operate regularly. For the year 1634, we found a court record which gives us a clue about the financial situation of the waqf. Since the mutawalli changed this year, the food remained in the waqf's foodstore which will be transfered by the new mutawalli Ahmed Pasha, was inspected and recorded.[5] We see from this record that the foodstore is in a poor situation compared to the foodstore records of the 1590s.

[4] See, MM 15480.
[5] SS2, p. 85c.

A year later in 1635, the waqf seems to have recovered itself considerably. The *mukâta'a* revenues increased about 22.86 % compared to 1632. Moreover, a very high proportion of the *mukâta'a* revenues could be collected and the waqf even managed to transfer a significant sum to pensioners let alone the regular payment of personnel salaries. Although there was a drop in kitchen expenses, the general food prices in this year was also in decline. This situation of temporary recovery however changed, and waqf appears to have fallen once more into financial difficulty in the year 1647. In this year, the proportion of uncollected revenue in total *mukâta'a* revenues increased again and the waqf ended the year with a deficit. In 1656, the *mukâta'a* revenues further decreased when compared to its level in 1635. The amount of total personnel expenses increased, however the waqf managed to pay personnel salaries completely. However, the kitchen expenses appear to have dropped considerably. This can be explained partly by the decrease in food prices and partly by the curtailment in kitchen expenses.[6] On the other hand, the kitchen might well have been closed again for a certain period.

As one expects, any increase in FRW index meant an increase in *mukâta'a* bids too; this in turn meant an increase in the *mukâta'a* revenues of the waqf. When the index decreased *mukâta'a* bids also decreased or remained constant in general. Without an index, indeed, *mukâta'a* bids themselves do not imply anything about the financial situation of the waqf or about the agricultural condition. Therefore, one should keep in mind the fact that the fall in *mukâta'a* bids does not always mean a financial crisis for the waqf or a harvest failure. On the other hand, along with kitchen and personnel expenses, the proportion of uncollected revenues to the total *mukâta'a* revenue of the current year is among the most significant indicators of financial situation and agricultural conditions.

[6] See Table 9.

Among other indicators, one can also mention the amount of the cash surplus transfered from the previous year, waqf's claims which go back to the previous years, and the amount of food remained in the foodstore at the end of the account year. As stated earlier, while the proportion of uncollected revenues increased, the waqf naturally lost its capability to pay salaries regularly and to operate waqf kitchen.

The first question to be asked here is, why the proportion of uncollected revenue increased so frequently in the period in question. In other words, why the tax-farmers were not able to fulfil their contracted obligations? In some cases, it is simply because of the malpractices by tax-farmers or of commercial disagreements between the waqf and tax-farmer. For example, the *mukâta'a* of the revenue collection of Mudurnu was undertaken by certain Hacı Osman in hidjri 1040. He paid 18.000 *akça*s to the waqf in this year according to MM 5159 (1632). In the hidjri year 1041, the *mukâta'a* in question changed hand and undertaken by certain Hacı İbrahim. However, the specified amount of 32.000 *akça*s could not be collected by the waqf.[7] In the hidjri year 1042, it was undertaken by certain *sipahi* Osman who was from the Bozahane quarter of the city of Amasya (probably the same person, Hacı Osman) on condition that he should pay 44.000 *akça*s annual instalment.[8] He paid 27.000 *akça*s of this sum by the time of mutawalli Derviş Ağa.[9] New mutawalli Ahmed Pasha requested the remaining 17.000 *akça*s through the court in the hidjri year 1043.[10] In the record of court register, we cannot see Osman's defence, a reason or an excuse for the unpaid amount. However, according to

[7] See, MM 5159.
[8] See, SS 2, p. 93c.
[9] See, SS. 2, p. 85c and p. 93c.
[10] See, SS. 2, p. 93c.

MM 5666 (1635) the same *mukâta'a* was undertaken again by Osman, this time together with Ahmed by 38.000 *akça*s annual instalment and this amount was paid to the waqf.

This is the only record concerning the non-payment without any excuse of *mukata'a* revenues by tax-farmers. It is difficult from this record to conclude whether the tax-farmers in question *did not* or *could not* pay the specified amont of revenue. In another document [11] we see what procedure was applied in case the tax-farmer failed to deliver the specified amount of money to the waqf. According to this document, the revenue of the hidjri years 65-66 (probably 1065-66) from the village Kargun was tax-farmed by Halil Bey who later delegated his authority to his *voyvoda*. As understood from the document the said *voyvoda* declared a loss (*zarar*) (the reason of which is not mentioned, but most probably due to harvest failure) and this was confirmed by Halil Bey. The mutawalli of the waqf therefore requested an imperial decree to be sent to the qadis of the region ordering the inspection (*teftîş*) and investigation (*tahkîk*) of the actual situation, village by village (*kurâ be kurâ*). The result of the investigation is unfortunately not known.

Another record found in the Amasya court register provides us a case of commercial disagreement. According to the record, the rights of the revenue collection from the *mukâta'a* of Samsun and village Demürci were farmed out by the mutawalli Selim Ağa at the amount of 750 *riyali guruş* in the hidjri year 1050. However, as understood from the record, the tax-farmer paid the amount of 750 *guruş* with *esedi guruş*. Thus, the difference of 7.500 *akça*s was claimed by the mutawalli through the court in the hidjri year 1053.[12]

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[11] BOA, Cevdet Evkâf, no: 1514.
[12] See SS. 4, p. 24b.

One should however, look at other possible factors which might have directly affected agricultural production, transportation of production, and its sale in the markets where tax-farmers converted the commodities into cash.[13] Some natural events such as flood, drought even earthquake and disasters such as epidemics can serve an alternative or additional explanation in this respect. Nevertheless, when the geographical distribution of the waqf villages which did not produce revenue is taken into consideration, the effect of flood can easily be ruled out. Similarly, there is no record of a drought lasted for a long time in the region, although there may have been occasional droughts in certain years. Moreover, there are only two major earthquakes known to us, one in 1590/91[14] and the other in 1668 throughout the period under consideration. Yet, we found information in the court register of Amasya about one more major earthquake for the region which probably took place in June 1635.[15] The earthquake damaged the minaret and the cupola of the waqf's mosque. The waqf spent 7.637 *akça*s for the repair according to the MM 5666 (1635). It can be thought that, the bad wheather, or plague may have also prevented temporarily the collection of amounts specified in the account books by revenue collectors (*câbî*s) or delivery of it by tax-farmers. Consequently, the natural disasters can cause a decline in tax-farmer's financial capability, however, they alone may not explain the financial difficulties the waqf appear to have frequently faced during the period.[16]

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[13] About brigandage causing the closure of periodic markets see, Ömer Şen, Osmanlı Panayırları (18.-19. Yüzyıl), İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1996, pp. 100-106.
[14] Hüsayin Hüsameddin, Amasya Tarihi, vol. 3, İstanbul, 1927, p. 336.
[15] SS 3, p. 74c.
[16] In his evaluation the effects of these factors on population and agriculture, Özel concluded that, "natural disasters, epidemic diseases and plague seem to have been not infrequent occurrences in Anatolia during the years between 1576 and 1642", see, Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns, pp. 171-175.

Population growth in the sixteenth century,[17] grain smuggle to Europe,[18] and the decrease in the size of arable land due to the developing stockbreeding,[19] and the *Celâlî* uprisings[20] might explain the scarcity of grain and the rise in food prices at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.[21] Similarly, an opposite trend in population, an apparent fall, may then be considered as a factor for decreasing prices for the next period, i.e. the first half of the seventeenth century.[22] Indeed, fall in food prices is expected to cause serious decrease in *mukâta'a* revenue. Especially, when the principle consumption goods, whose demand elasticity should be expected to be below one, namely wheat, flour and rice are taken into consideration, a decrease in the prices of these products, may well mean a decrease in tax-farmers' total revenue. This may, in turn, explain the financial difficulty which the tax-farmers and the waqf fell into. In the inflationary period of the late sixteenth century, the increase in the prices of the same products could enable tax-farmers to fully realise their obligations to the waqf by increasing their total revenue. However, the waqf seem to have been in financial

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[17] About the rise in the population, see, Barkan, " 'Tarihi Demografi' Araştırmaları", pp. 1422-1423; idem, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys"; Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia"; Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns; Yediyıldız, Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi; Öz, "Bozok Sancağı'nda İskan ve Nüfus"; Idem, Canik Sancağı, pp. 41-78; İslamoğlu-İnan, "A Study of Peasant Economy"; Ünal, "XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sinop Kazası"; Heath W. Lowry, Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi 1461-1583, İstanbul, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 1998. In these studies a serious rise in both rural and urban population was determined in various central Anatolian districts in the sixteenth century. Also see, Cook, Population Pressure.

[18] Akdağ, Celali İsyanları; Parry, "Transport and Trade Routes", pp. 156, 158.

[19] About developing stockbreeding, see, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları; Güçer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi; Faroqhi, "A Natural Disaster".

[20] For the *Celâlî* events in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları; idem, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi; idem, "XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi"; Inalcık, "Military and Fiscal"; Griswold, Anadolu'da Büyük İsyan.

[21] About the price movements of the sixteenth century see, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, pp. 42-44; idem, Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi, pp. 301-303; Barkan, "The Price Revolution".

[22] About the studies on the population decline in central Anatolia during the first half of the seventeenth century, see, Özel, Changes in Settlement Patterns; Öz, "Bozok Sancağı'nda İskan ve Nüfus". In both studies, among the various factors elaborated in these studies, the *Celâlî* events of the seventeenth century in central Anatolia was especially stressed by the authors, and a significant role were attached to the *Celâlî*s

difficulty in 1600 while the prices were in rise and in 1632 while the prices were in decrease. How, then, can this be explained? At this point, one should search for another and more immediate reason which coincides with population decline. The financial difficulty of the waqf and of tax-farmers can perhaps be explained by a crisis in agriculture resulting directly from widespread *Celâlî* movements. Indeed, Central Anatolia witnessed intensive and large scale rebellious activities in the first half of the seventeenth century. These *Celâlî*s roamed and plundered the country in search of self-subsistence. Thus, it can be said that they were the main source of unstability seriously shaking the existing rural structure and threatening peasants to the extent that they were eventually forced to leave their lands migrating to more secure areas. Destructive effects of widespread rebellions manifested itself mainly on defenceless villages and arable lands. Most possible explanation for the financial difficulty of the tax-farmer and consequently of the waqf, therefore, appears to have been the *Celâlî* disorder which seriously damaged the crop and harvest and hinder the transportation of the goods to the market, thus, bringing about a decline in agricultural supply and decrease the harvest in the countryside which was going through a serious depopulation.

The results of our examination about the financial situation of the Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show considerable similarities with the results of Faroqhi's studies. The waqfs of central Anatolia which were examined by her seem to have experienced a parallel development with the Bâyezîd II's waqf in terms of their financial situation. *Zâviye* of Sadreddin-i Konevi and Mevlana Celaleddin both located in Konya and the *zâviye* of Seyyid Gazi near Eskişehir were also in financial

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in the explanation of the depopulation, decline in agricultural production and the breakdown of the rural structure.

difficulty in the first half of the seventeenth century when compared to their financial situation in the sixteenth century. This was also the case for the Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya. Faroqhi's explaination for the financial difficulty which these waqfs fell into in the seventeenth century also focuses on a general agricultural crisis in Anatolia. She connected the agricultural crisis and consequently the financial difficulty of these waqfs to the *Celâlî* rebellions which caused a drastic drop in the revenue sources of the waqfs.[23]

We know that the big Celâlî movements in some parts of Anatolia started around 1595-96 and thereof spread quickly all over the peninsula. Financial stability of Bâyezîd II's waqf in Amasya during the years 1594-96 may perhaps be partly explained by the fact that, the villages endowed for the waqf of Bâyezîd II were so scattered in various sancaqs of Anatolia. What this means is that, it is possible that these scattered villages did not face with the *Celâlî*s at the same time, most of them were able to stay away from destructive effects of the *Celâlî* movements in these early years. The *zâviye* of Sadreddin-i Konevi and of Mevlana Celaleddin were also stable financially at the end of the sixteenth century,[24] and according to Faroqhi, this was probably because of the fact that *Celâlî*s' impact was not so widespread in Anatolia at this date.[25]

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[23] Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties"; idem, "Seyyid Gazi Revisited"; idem, "Vakıf Administration".

[24] Idem, "Seyyid Gazi Revisited". See also Yediyıldız's work where he determined a rise in the production of wheat, barley and maize from 1547 to 1613 in the "Ordu" district, see, Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi, pp. 118-120, 132-133; and İslamoğlu-İnan, "A Study of Peasant Economy", who determined an increase in wheat and barley production during the sixteenth century in various districts of the province of Rûm, and Faroqhi determined increase in wheat and barley prices towards the end of the sixteenth century in Konya region, see, Faroqhi, Towns and Townsmen, pp. 206-210; also see Akdağ who determined significant price increases in various product including wheat, Akdağ, Celali İsyanları, p. 463; Barkan also determined significant increases of food prices from late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries, see, Barkan, "The Price Revolution", pp. 9-11.

[25] Idem., "A Great Foundation in Difficulties", pp. 119-120. She does not refuse the role of *Celâlî*s in agricultural crisis. Her approach can be best seen in her words; "it is possible, and indeed probable, that the rebellions played a role in starting the crisis. But their impact seems to have been localized...". Ibid, p. 120.

A general decline in population and large-scale displacements of peasants in the first half of the seventeenth century may have deepened the financial difficulty of the waqf in two ways. Firstly, the fall in the number of peasants of the waqf villages may have resulted in decline in agricultural production. Secondly, the fall in prices as a result of serious decline in population may well have caused a parallel decline in the total amount of revenue obtained from agricultural production.

CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSION

In this study, the changes in the financial situation of the imperial waqf of Bâyezîd II in Amasya with its revenue sources deriving from agricultural production are studied as the main indicator of agricultural conditions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The analysis of the account books of the waqf which cover the period between 1594 and 1657, reveals that one can speak of a direct relationship between the waqf's financial situation and the current agricultural conditions.

At the present state of this study, the findings about the financial situation of the waqf appear to support the argument about the agricultural crisis in the seventeenth century. It seems that the widespread *Celâlî* uprisings and terror in Anatolian countryside was the most fundamental reason for such a crisis. When examined together with the other sources of the period, the waqf's account books reveal an apparent financial deterioration which went worse in the first half of the seventeenth century. Considering the geographical distribution of villages whose revenues were endowed to Bâyezîd II's waqf, the most possible explanation for this seems to be the destructive effects of the *Celâlî* terror, which coincided with the worsening financial situation of the waqf. Since

the *Celâlî*s destroyed arable lands, plundered the villages, causing mass flights of peasants, it should not be surprising to see a decline in agricultural production. The *Celâlî* terror accompanied by a drop in active rural population in the seventeenth century might have caused further decline in agricultural production; and the decreased demand as a result of declining population in the seventeenth century might, in turn, have caused a decrease in food prices. This could also have contributed the financial crisis of the waqf.

The first and foremost manifestation of this phenomenon was perhaps the financial difficulty of the tax-farmers who were trying to collect the amount of agricultural revenues specified in their contracts with the waqf. As mentioned earlier in this study, they often failed in fulfilling their obligations to the waqf mainly because of the *Celâlî* destruction and the consequent depopulation or temporary desertion of the villages from which they were supposed to collect revenues for the waqf. Uncollected revenues recorded in the account books should be interpreted as a result of the difficulty at the very first stage of the revenue collection process of the waqf.

Besides the *Celâlî*s and the demographic crisis, other developments of the seventeenth century such as the abuse of local governors and continuing wars against Iran were shaking the long-established rural structure in Anatolia. In addition, there was no technological improvement in agriculture which could increase the agricultural production during this period. Under such conditions, tax-farmers are not naturally expected to go for higher bids. Therefore, one may suggest that unless the rural structure regaining stability and the order was re-established in Anatolia, there would not be expected more from the tax-farmers. What this meant for the waqf was the reproduction and deepening of financial crisis.

Irregularities in revenue collection appear to have harmed the waqf's operation considerably. The waqf's first response to the crisis was to reduce expenditure. It appears that the financial difficulty was so severe in some years that the waqf was not able to allocate revenue to the pensioners and not even able to keep the waqf *imâret* open, let alone the unpaid personnel salaries, which was not infrequent during the period. On the other hand, the waqf personnel seem to have kept their positions even under such circumstances and their wage level remained nominally unchanged; but it is also apparent that the wages were still far away from keeping up with the changes in prices.

The detailed examination of the account books of the waqf for the period covered by this study reveals that the financial crisis of the waqf and irregularities in revenue collection were the phenomenon of the years especially after 1596; the financial situation of the waqf in 1595 and 1596 seems to be firm. Despite some delay in the revenue collection from some of the *mukâta'a*s, serious irregularity in revenue collection was not observed in these years. Available waqf account books for the turn of the seventeenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, refer to a financial crisis for the waqf and the records found in court registers also confirm such a financial difficulty.

Under the limitation of available sources, one cannot assume a continuous financial crisis for the waqf throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Nonavailability of some other account books of the same waqf from the same period unfortunately makes it impossible for us to follow the changes for certain years. Furthermore, court registers of other regions where the waqf villages located are missing for the period under examination except for Ankara. These registers might also offer useful information which enables us to further clarify the financial administration of the waqf.

In order to be able to produce a more coherent picture of such a financial crisis for the waqf, one should also employ some other sources in a systematic way. Among these, one can mention the *mühimme* collection, *ahkâm defterleri* and *cizye* registers as well as the original of the waqfiyye of the waqf in question. The decrees in varied contents in the *mühimme* and *ahkâm* registers might include valuable information on the waqf's financial matters which had been petitioned to the Porte. Through *cizye* registers, one may follow the demographic development of the waqf villages which might be interpreted in order to clarify the financial situation of the waqf.

Even under the limitations in terms of primary sources, it is hoped that this study will serve as a starting point for further studies which will use waqf account books in conjunction with other sources in order to examine such institutions and local developments. I also hope that the detailed figures and tables prepared in order to follow the economic development of the waqf and price movements would be of use for researchers in examining the early seventeenth century developments in a wider framework. Doubtlessly, such case studies of the waqfs of varied regions provide us with significant information about the economic conditions of the period, thus allowing us to produce insights into both the extent and administration of the seventeenth century crisis in the Ottoman Empire. Studying the waqfs of different regions would also make it possible detailed comparisons between regional differences as well as parallels in socio-economic conditions of the period.

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	Place Code	Date	Type
1.	MM 5265	(1003-04 / 1595-96)	Account Book
2.	MM 5265	(1004-05 / 1596-97)	Account Book
3.	MM 469	(1008-09 / 1600)	Account Book
4.	MM 15480	(1009 / 1601)	Account Book
5.	MM 15168	(1016 / 1607)	Ruznamçe
6.	MM 5159	(1041 / 1632)	Account Book
7.	MM 5666	(1044-45 / 1635)	Account Book
8.	MM 5776	(1056 / 1646-47)	Account Book
9.	MM 15809	(1066-67 / 1656-57)	Account Book

"Nezaret Öncesi Evkaf" (EV-HMH) Section

	Place Code	Date	Type
1.	EV-HMH 2382	(1131-32 / 1719)	Account Book
2.	EV-HMH 2388	(1131-32/1719)	Account Book
3.	EV-HMH 5065	(1170-71/1757)	Account Book
4.	EV-HMH 6701	(1202/1787-88)	Account Book
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2.	TD 33	Defter-i Livâ-i Mufassal-ı Canik	(984 / 1576-77)
3.	TD 38	Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Çorum	(984 / 1576-77)

Registers of Pious Foundations (*Evkâf Defterleri*)

	Place Code	Name	Date
1.	ED 558	Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Ankara	(979 / 1571)
2.	ED 547	Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Bolu	(Selim II)
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2.	SS. 2	(1042-43 / 1632-34)
3.	SS. 3	(1044 / 1634-35)
4.	SS. 4	(1052-54 / 1642-46)
5.	SS. 5	(1053-54 / 1643-45)
6.	SS. 6	(1054-56 / 1644-47)
7.	SS. 7	(1058-1059 / 1648-49)
8.	SS. 8	(1059 / 1649-50)
9.	SS. 9	(1062 / 1651-52)
10 .	SS. 10	(1062-63 / 1651-53)
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Waqf Villages (in Alphabetical Order)

Village/Mezra'a	Waqfiyye	Survey Registers	MID 387-II	MID 438-I	MID 438-II
Ablados	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Afanlu	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129a TD 33 p. 22b	p. 663		
Ağaçeri	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 91b			p. 692
Ağırnos	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129b TD 33 p. 27b	p. 663		
Ahi Mihal	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Ahmetli	Waqfiyye				
Ahurcuk	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 102a		p. 378	
Akçakafir		TD 33 p. 4b	p. 664		
Akdoğan	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 88a			p. 692
Aktaş	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 4b			p. 709
Alnus		ED 583 p. 128b	p. 664		
Altıparmak	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 89a			p. 692
Acidnos	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Arulya	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Avare	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Avlakseku	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 98b			p. 692
Ayatekli	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 66a	p. 540		
Ayapetri	Waqfiyye				
Ayazini	Waqfiyye				
Aydıncık	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 103b		p. 378	
Azay		ED 583 p. 142a	p. 677		
Balaç	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 9a	p. 663		
Balcılu	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 5b	p. 665		
Balçıcak	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 121a		p. 395	
Basdak	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 88b			p. 750
Baş Ayaş	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 127a		p. 395	
Başköy	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Bataryos	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Beysaray	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 1b			p. 598
Bilviran		ED 558 p. 102a		p. 378	
Boğa	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 84b TD 26 p. 108a	p. 358		
Boyran	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Bozumlu	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 7b	p. 664		
Cerrah					p. 638
Çakmacuk	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 126b		p. 395	
Çanlu/Çanli	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 96b			p. 692

Çengi	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 90b			p. 692
Çerçili	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Çiftlik	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 91a			p. 692
Çöki	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 6a			p. 709
Çöte	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 60a			p. 745
Çukur	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 58b			p. 745
Demirci	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 131a		p. 395	
Demürci	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 100a			p. 692
Demürciler		ED 554 p. 92a			p. 692
Dere	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 6b	p. 664		
Dere	Waqfiyye	ED 547 p. 259b			p. 559
Digos	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Edris	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 59b			p. 745
Elmacık	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 6b	p. 664		
Engis	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 130a TD 33 p. 29a	p. 665		
Erkeksu	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 96b		p. 377	
Erküstas	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Eşekcili	Waqfiyye				
Evtmuşlu	Waqfiyye				
Fikre	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Geymene	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 5a			p. 598
Gölas	Waqfiyye				p. 709
Göleayan	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 130a TD 33 p. 28b	p. 665		
Güdedi	Waqfiyye		p. 656		
Güdül	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 129a		p. 395	
Güllüviran	Waqfiyye	ED 547 p. 235a			p. 559
Güman / Köman	Waqfiyye				
Hacılar	Waqfiyye			p. 395	
Harfi	Waqfiyye				
Hazinedar	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 89b			p. 692
Holab	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 8b	p. 665		
Itır	Waqfiyye				p. 638
İmalı			p. 125[1]		
İskir	Waqfiyye				p. 638
İstanos	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 97b		p. 377	
İstavros	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 93b			p. 692
Kabil	waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 126a		p. 395	

[1] This village was found in MID 166.

	(mezra'a)			(village)	
Kaç					p. 750
Kadıköy	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129a TD 33 p. 19b	p. 663		
Kaloyoros	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 127b TD 33 p. 5a	p. 664		
Kamados	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129b TD 33 p. 25a	p. 664		
Kamanlu				p. 395	
Karaağaç	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 89a	p. 661		
Karabahçe	Waqfiyye		p. 656		
Karaca	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Karakaya	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 121b		p. 395	
Karakovuk	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 6a	p. 665		
Kargun	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 7b			p. 709
Karis	Waqfiyye	TD 33 p. 32b			
Karkın	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 103a		p. 378	
Karrim	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 95a			p. 692
Kayalar	Waqfiyye				
Kazan	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 99a		p. 377	
Keçilü		ED 558 p. 121a		p. 395	
Kederi		ED 554 p. 89b			p. 692
Kesanus	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 128a		p. 395	
Keşurkayası	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 62b			p. 745
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Kızılkıran	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128b TD 33 p. 11b	p. 665		
Kızılöz	Waqfiyye				
Koğalı	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 87b			p. 692
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Körpeviran	Waqfiyye			p. 395	
Kul Hasanlu	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 127b TD 33 p. 5a	p. 665		
Kumcuğaz	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129b TD 33 p. 25a	p. 665		
Kuşkara	Waqfiyye				p. 598
Kümce	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 130a TD 33 p. 28a	p. 663		
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Mağra	Waqfiyye				
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Mumra	Waqfiyye				p. 638
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Narlık	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129b TD 33 p. 26b	p. 665		
Nur Melik		TD 33 p. 8a			
Ordu	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 88b			p. 692
Otac	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 104a		p. 378	
Ovacık		ED 578 p. 5b			p. 709
Oyumca	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 127b TD 33 p. 4b	p. 664		
Ömersin	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 3b			p. 598
Öseklü	Waqfiyye		p. 662		
Öyüklü	Waqfiyye				p. 709
Pelidözü	Waqfiyye				p. 559
Ramazan	Waqfiyye				
Sapanlu	Waqfiyye			p. 395	
Saruayaklu	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 100a		p. 378	
Saru Kafir		ED 583 p. 129a			
Saru Mehmetli	Waqfiyye				
Sekücük		ED 554 p. 100a.			p. 692
Seyrencik	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 128a TD 33 p. 7b	p. 664		
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Şabanözü	Waqfiyye	ED 578 p. 10a			p. 709
Şabhane	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 120b TD 38 p. 208b	p. 408		
Şeyh Ömer	Waqfiyye				p. 638
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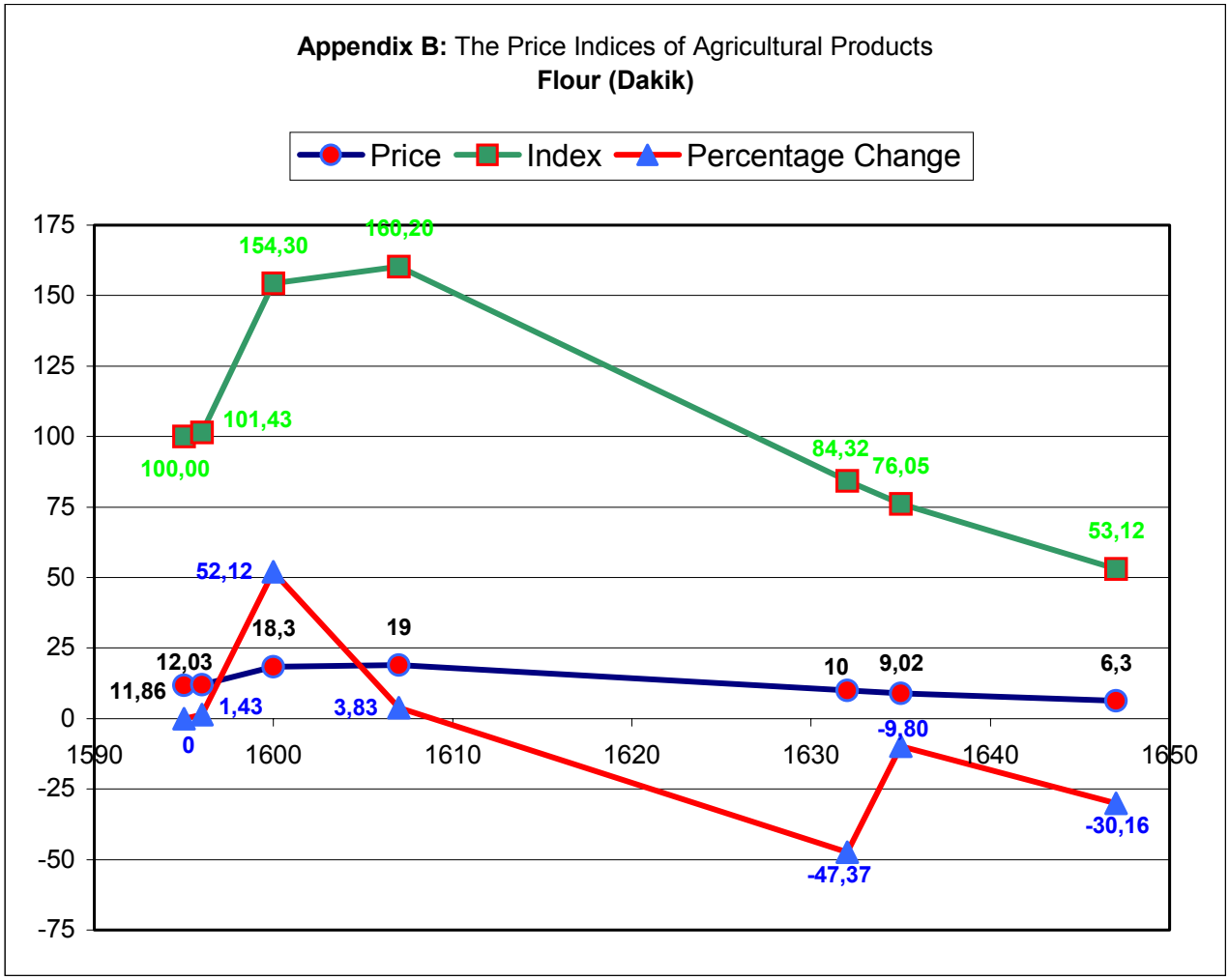
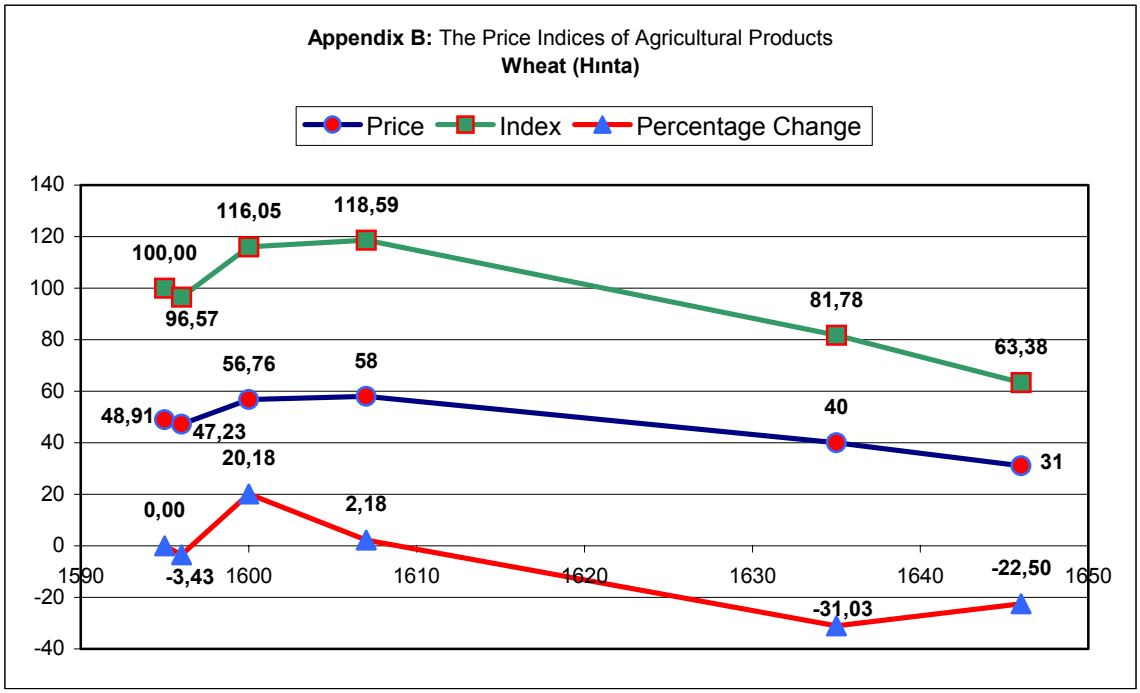
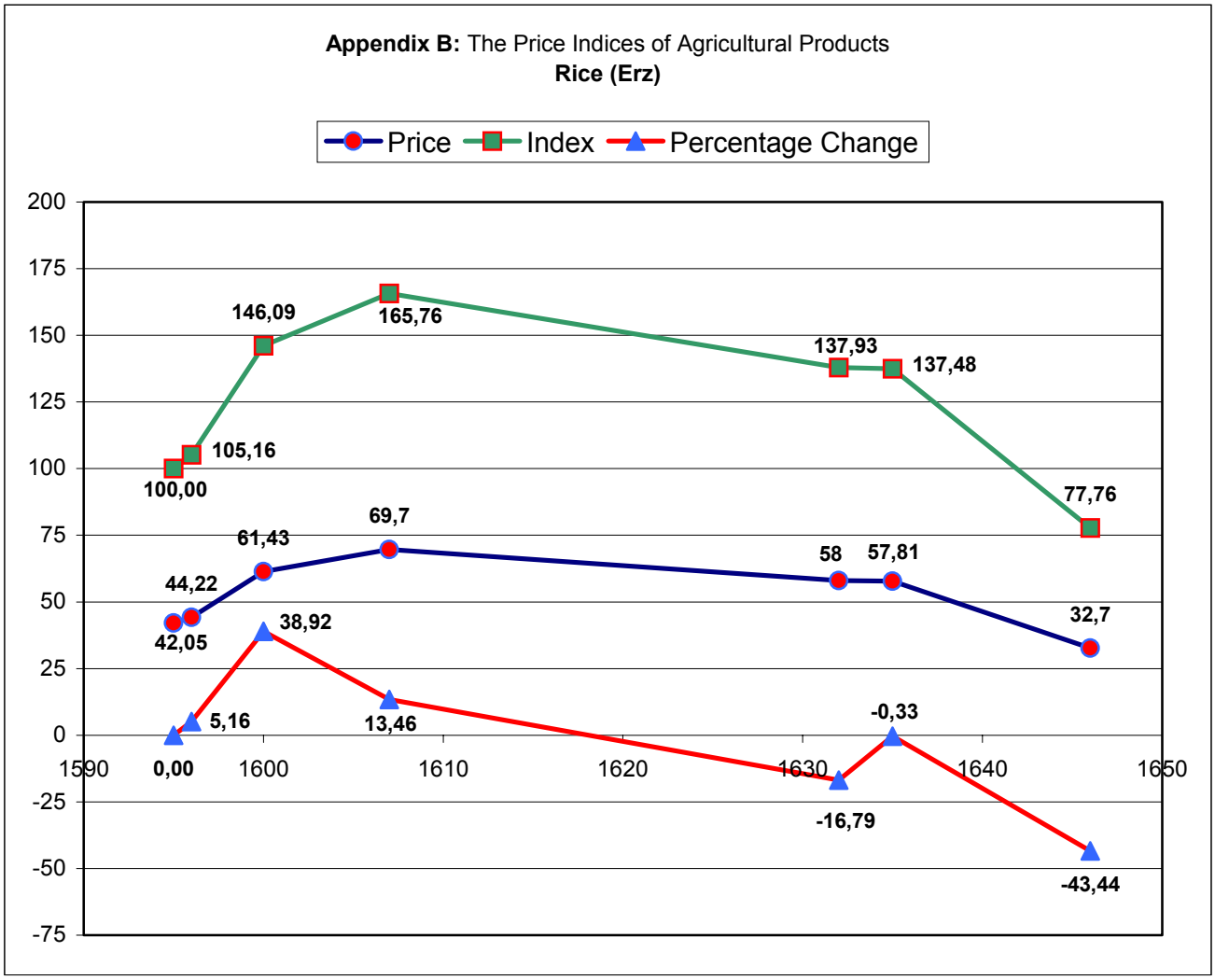
Uluayaş	Waqfiyye				
Varpa	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Virancık	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 100a		p. 378	
Virük	Waqfiyye	ED 583 p. 129a TD 33 p. 22a	p. 663		
Yassıviran	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 99b		p. 378	
Yazlık	Waqfiyye				
Yenice	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 100a		p. 378	
Yeregiren	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 102b		p. 378	
Yeregömi	Waqfiyye	ED 558 p. 123a		p. 395	
Yilye	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Yoğunca Pelid	Waqfiyye				p. 638
Zeytunlu	Waqfiyye	ED 554 p. 94b			p. 692

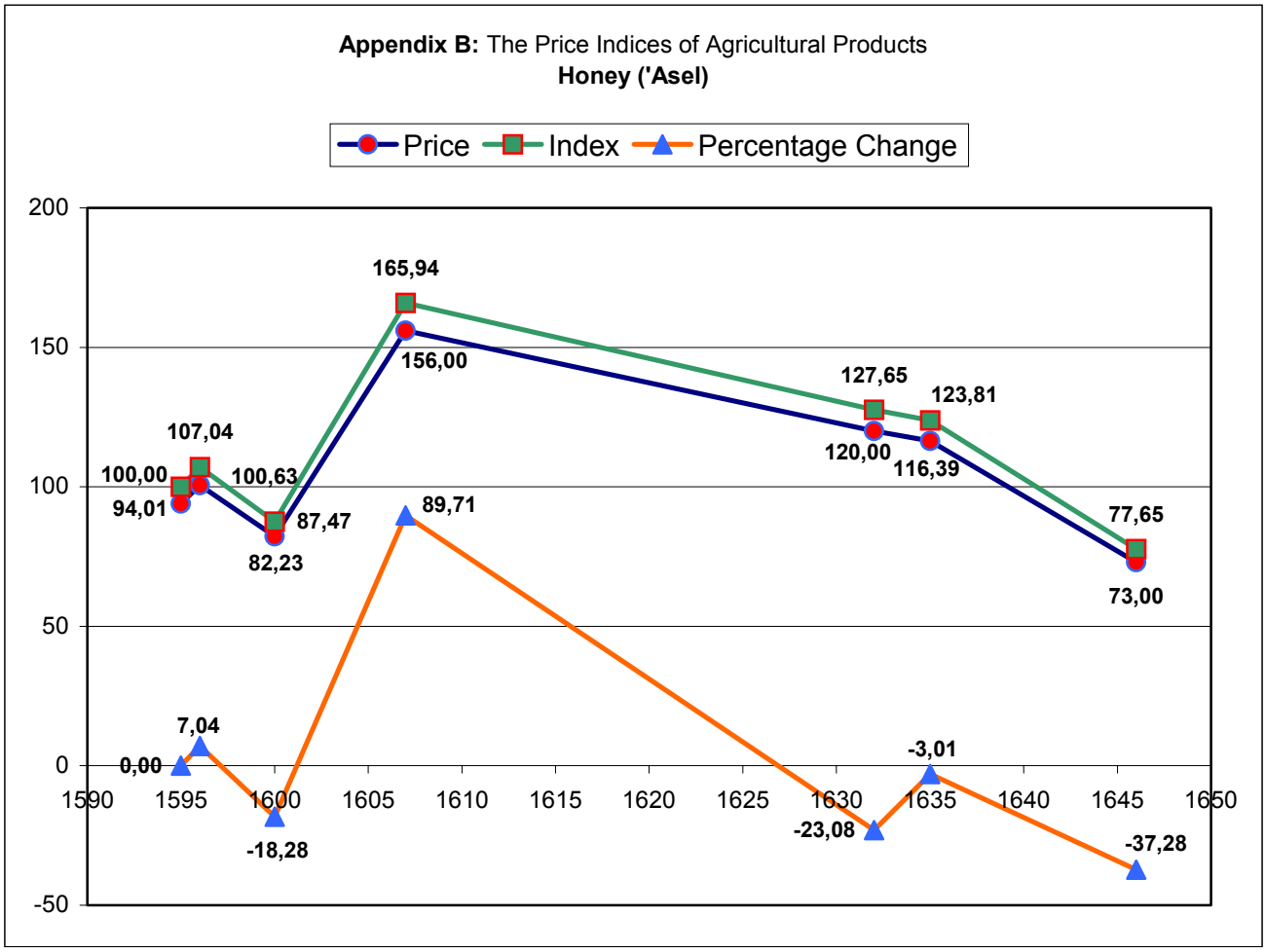
Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products

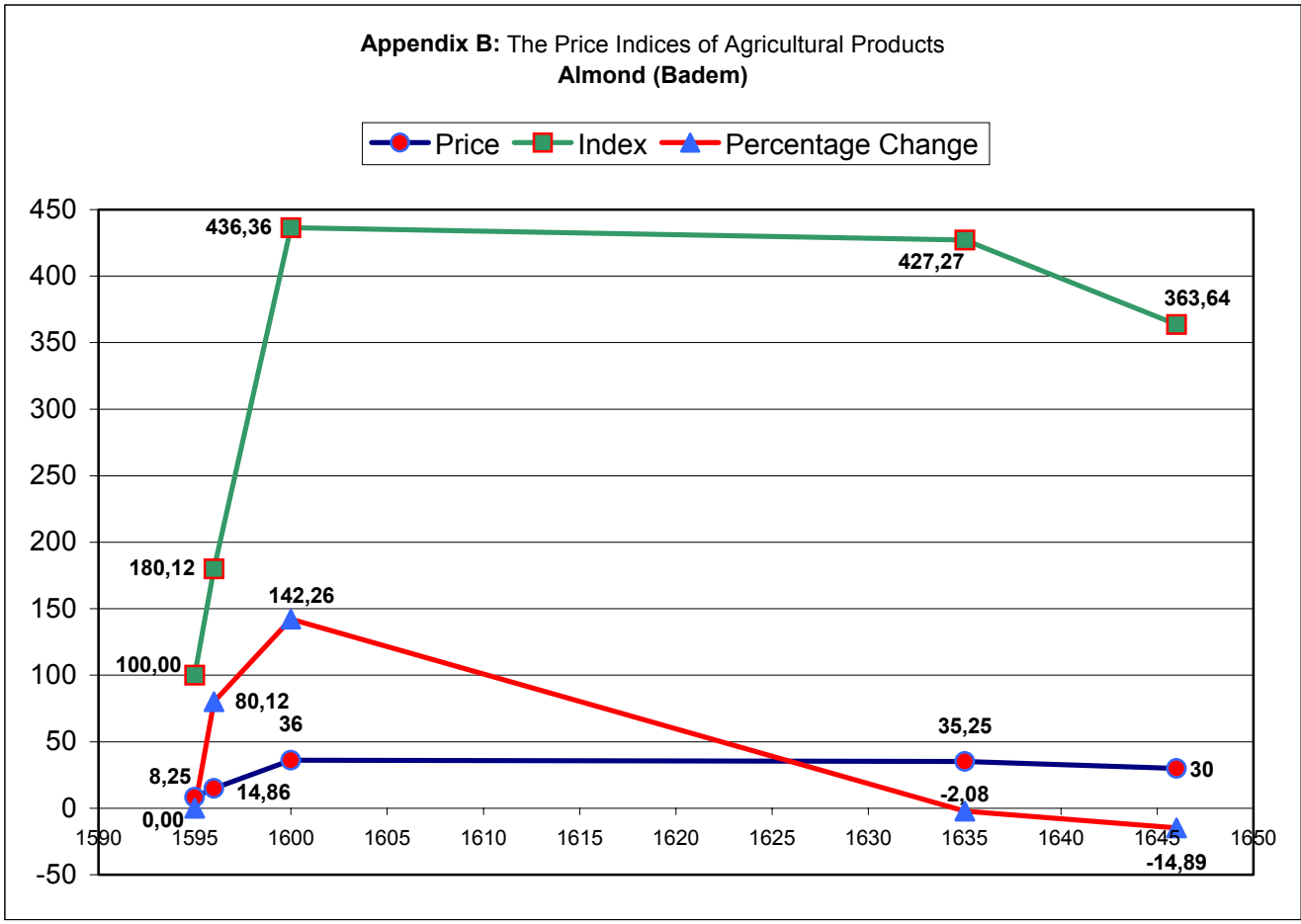


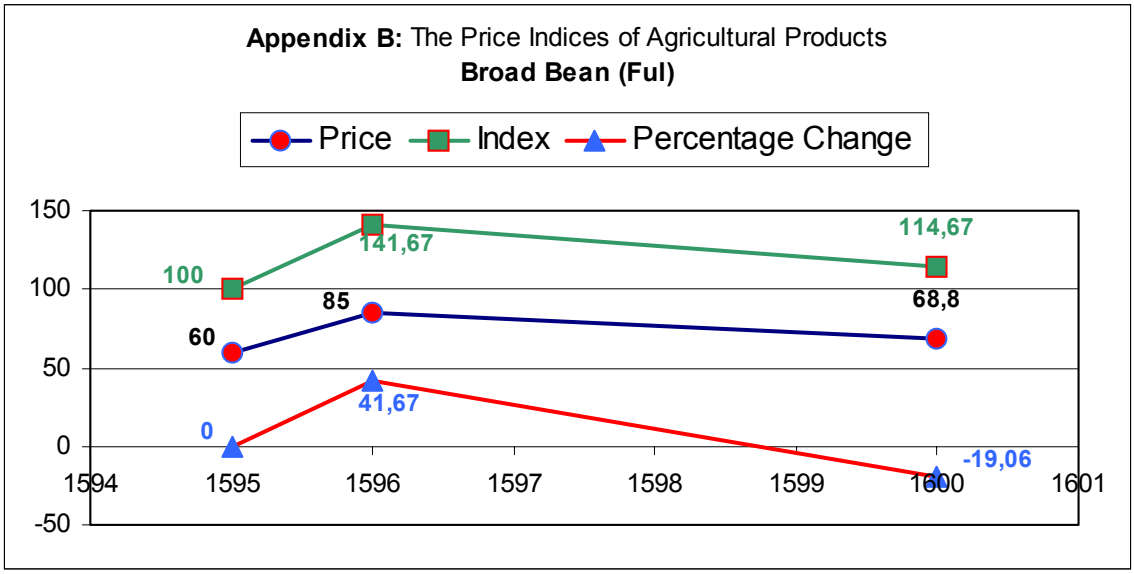
The prices of flour (*dakik*), honey (*'asel*), meat (*gûşt*), rice (*erz*), salt (*nemek*), red grape (*meviz-i surh*), grape molasses (*pekmez*), clarified butter (*revgân-ı sade*), cotton oil (*revgân-ı penbe*), seed oil (*revgân-ı bezir*) are given per *men*, wheat (*hınta*), chickpea (*nohud*), broad bean (*fûl*) and barley (*şa'îr*) are given per *kile*, pepper (*fülfül*), almond (*bâdem*) and starch (*nişasta*) are given per *nügi*, saffron (*za'ferân*) is given per *dirhem* and firewood (*hîme*) is given per camel-load.

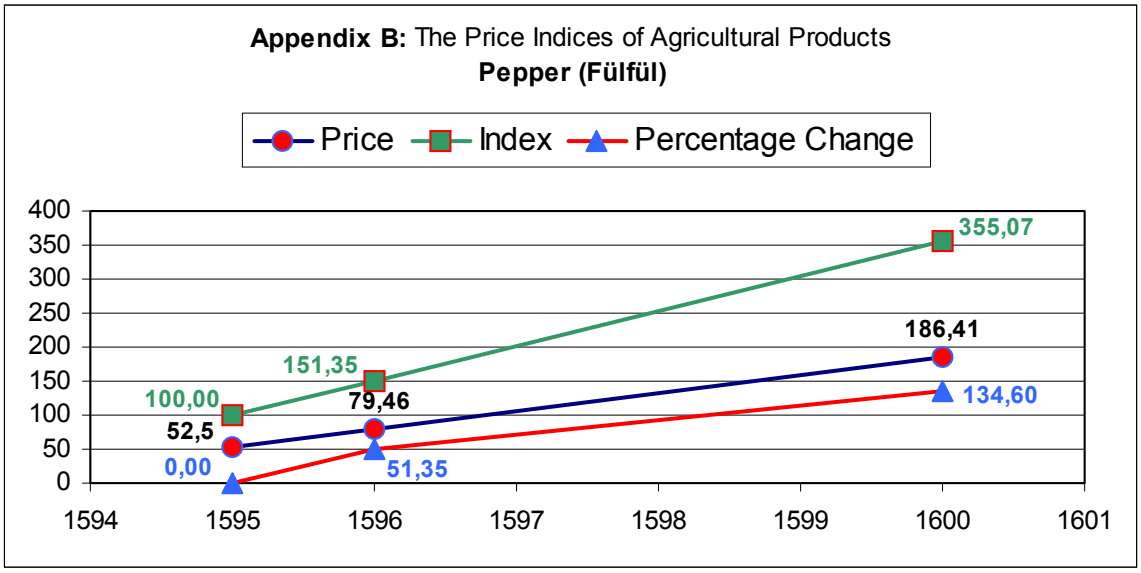

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Wheat (Hınta)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
-20
-40
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
100,00
96,57
116,05
118,59
81,78
63,38
48,91
47,23
56,76
58
40
31
0,00
-3,43
20,18
2,18
-31,03
-22,50

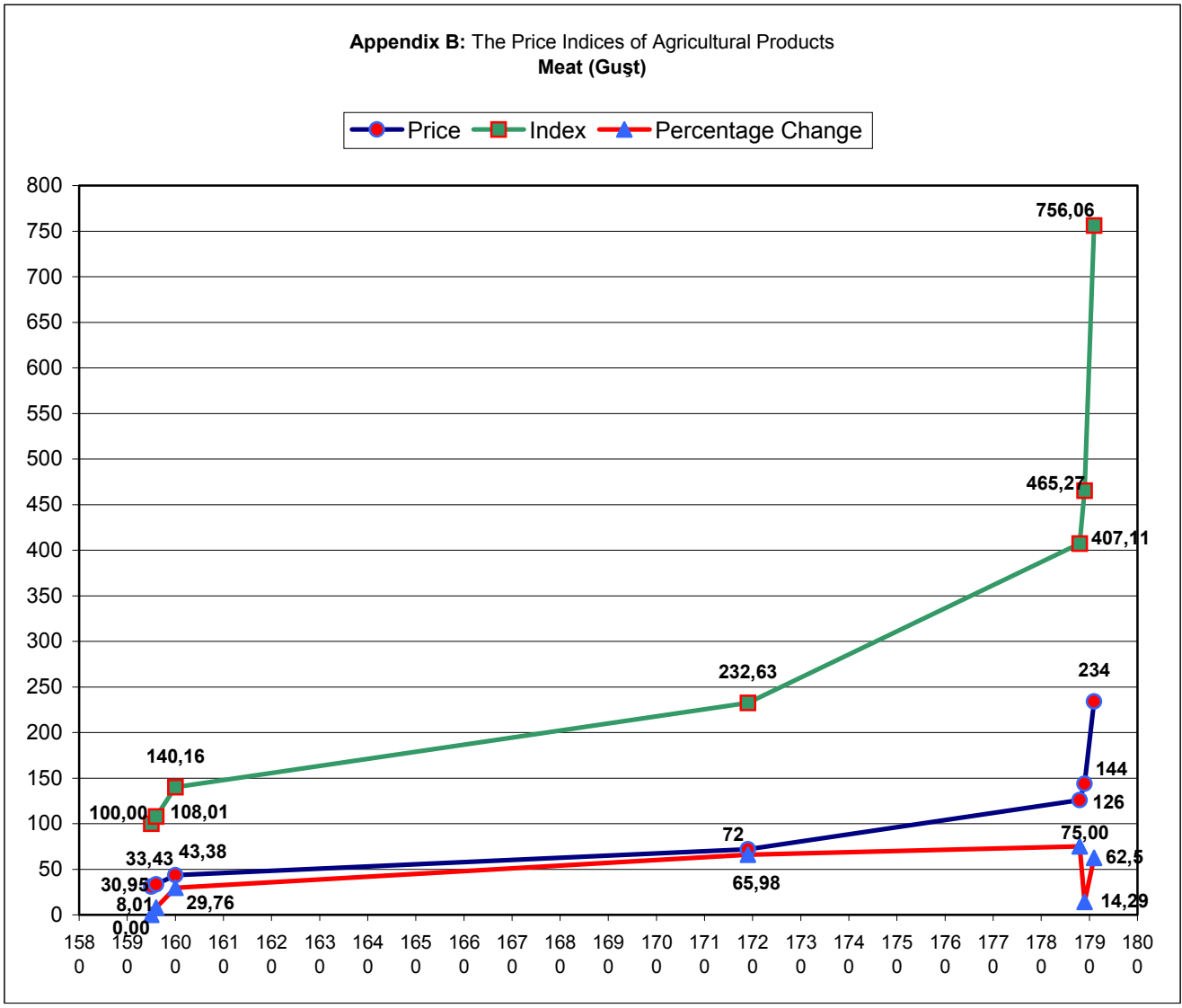

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Rice (Erz)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
-25
-50
-75
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
100,00
105,16
146,09
165,76
137,93
137,48
77,76
42,05
44,22
61,43
69,7
58
57,81
32,7
0,00
5,16
38,92
13,46
-16,79
-0,33
-43,44

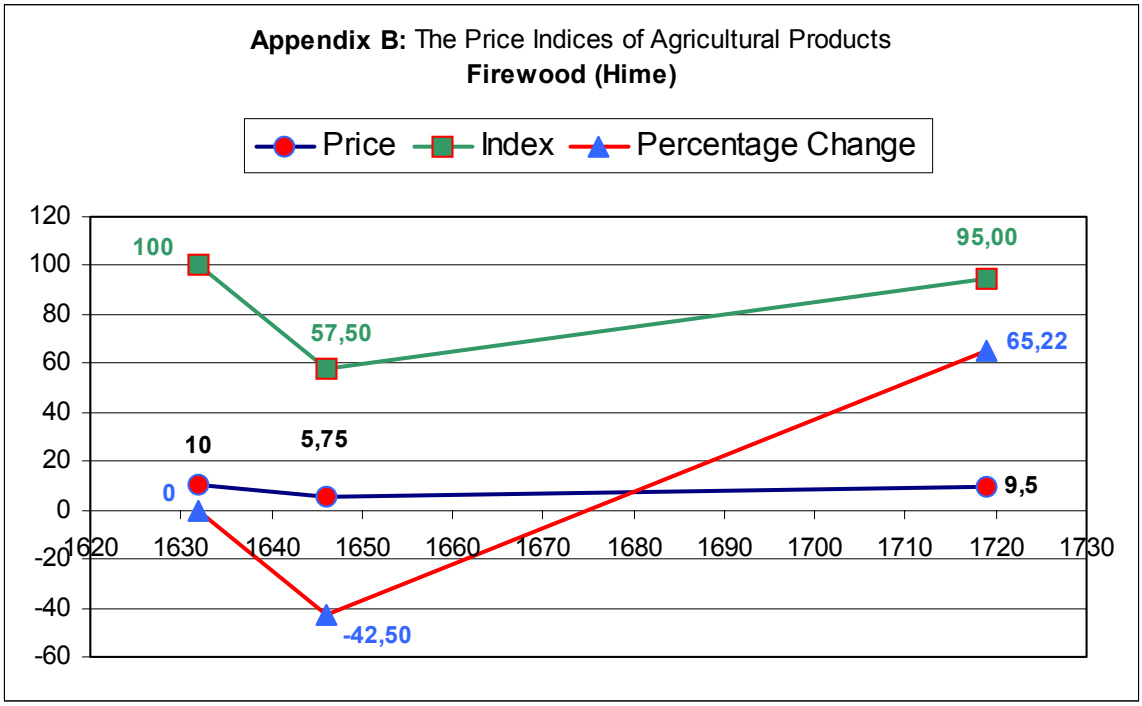

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Honey ('Asel)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
200
150
100
50
0
-50
1590
1595
1600
1605
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
1640
1645
1650
100,00
94,01
107,04
0,00
7,04
100,63
82,23
87,47
-18,28
165,94
156,00
89,71
127,65
120,00
123,81
116,39
-23,08
-3,01
77,65
73,00
-37,28

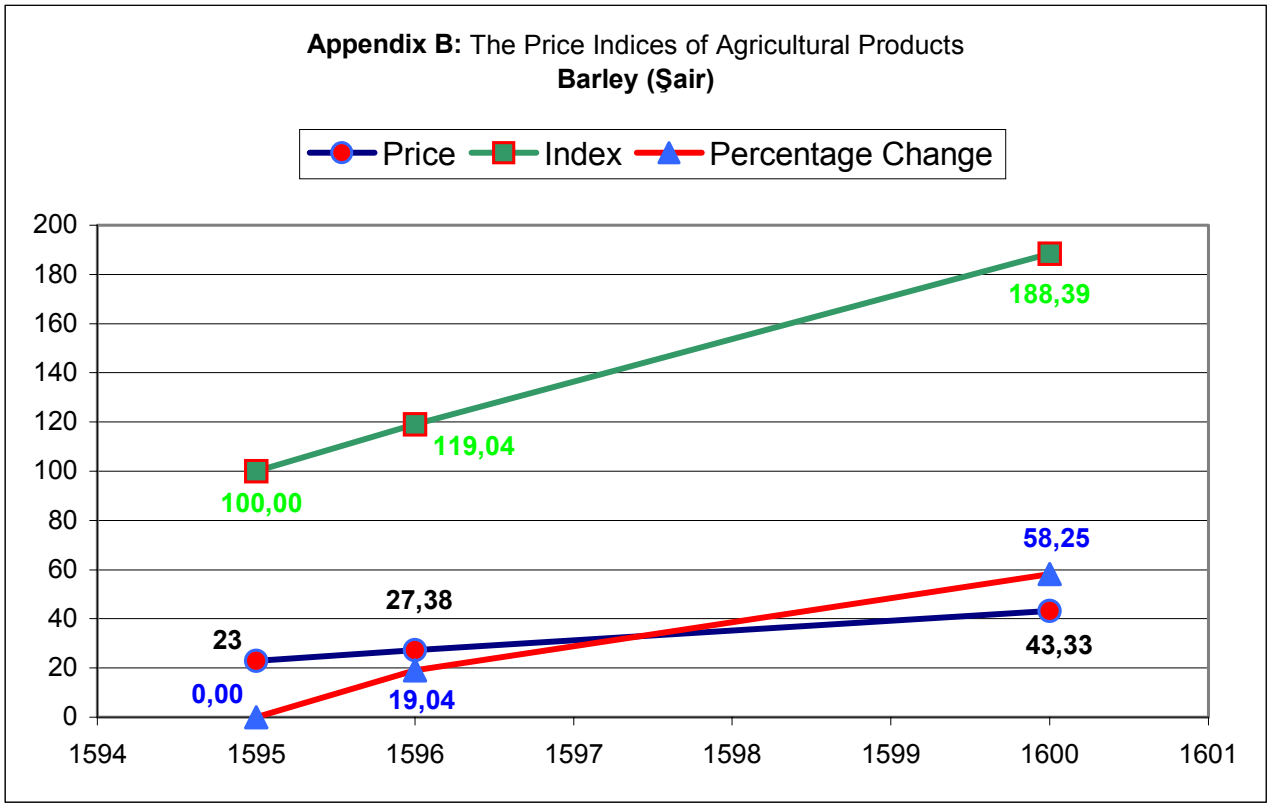

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Almond (Badem)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
-50
1590
1595
1600
1605
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
1640
1645
1650
436,36
427,27
363,64
180,12
142,26
100,00
80,12
36
35,25
30
8,25
14,86
-2,08
0,00
-14,89


Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Broad Bean (Ful)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
150
100
50
0
-50
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
100
141,67
114,67
85
68,8
60
41,67
0
-19,06

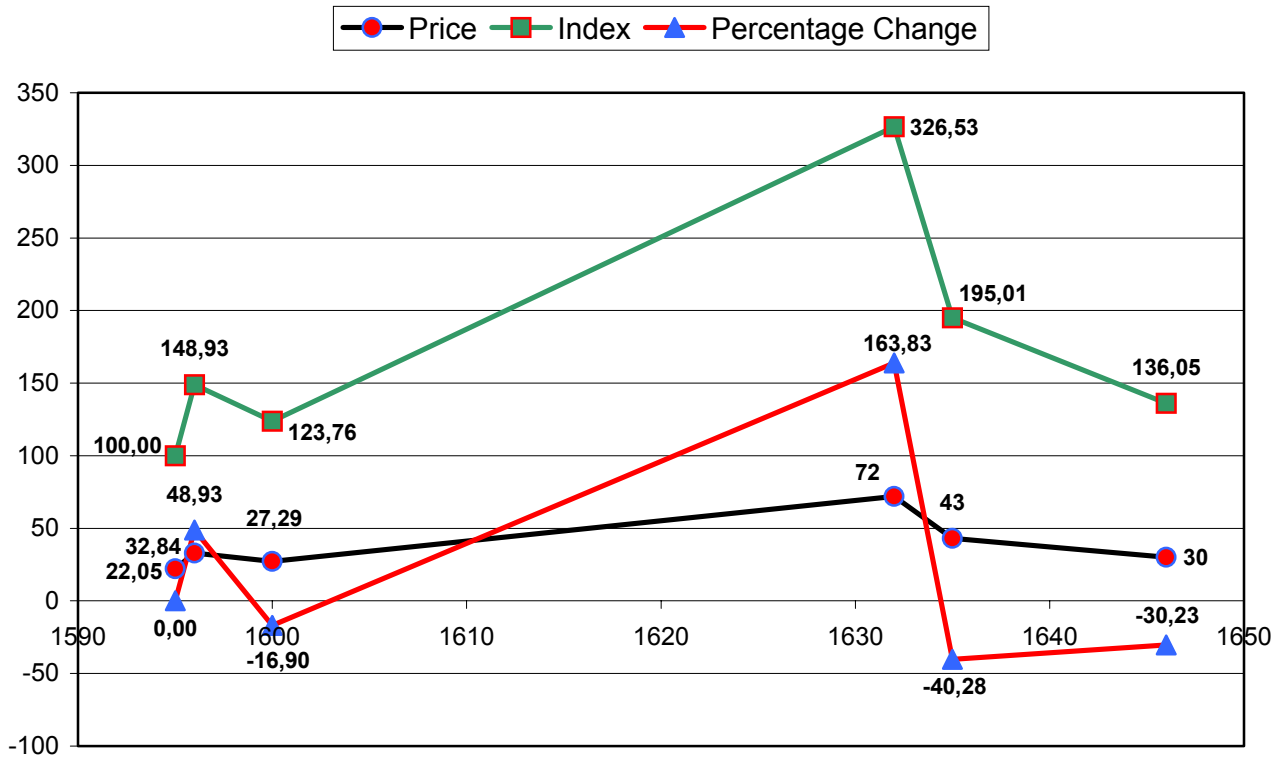

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Pepper (Fülfül)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
355,07
186,41
151,35
100,00
79,46
134,60
52,5
0,00
51,35

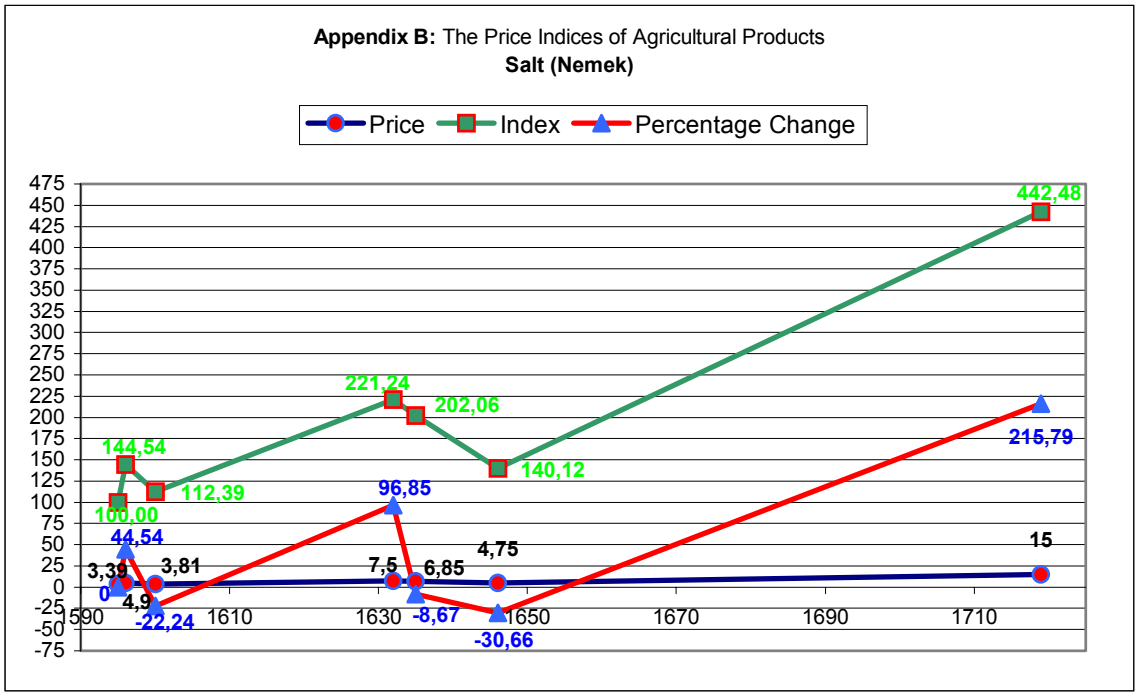

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Meat (Guşt)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
800
750
700
650
600
550
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
756,06
465,27
407,11
232,63
234
140,16
144
126
100,00
108,01
72
75,00
33,43
43,38
62,5
30,95
65,98
8,01
29,76
14,29
0,00
1580
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
1670
1680
1690
1700
1710
1720
1730
1740
1750
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800

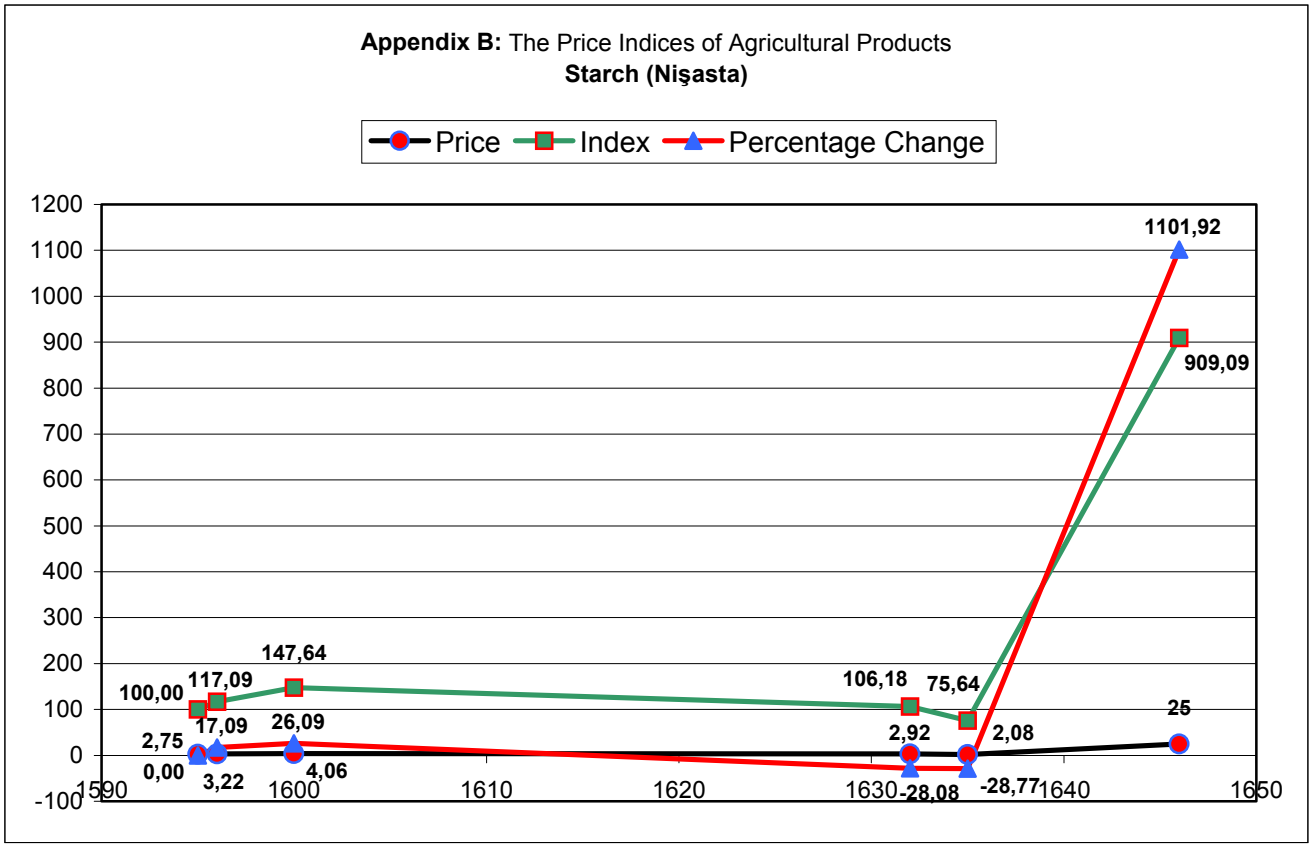

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Firewood (Hime)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
-20
-40
-60
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
1670
1680
1690
1700
1710
1720
1730
100
57,50
95,00
65,22
10
5,75
0
9,5
-42,50


Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Barley (Şair)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
188,39
119,04
100,00
58,25
27,38
23
43,33
0,00
19,04

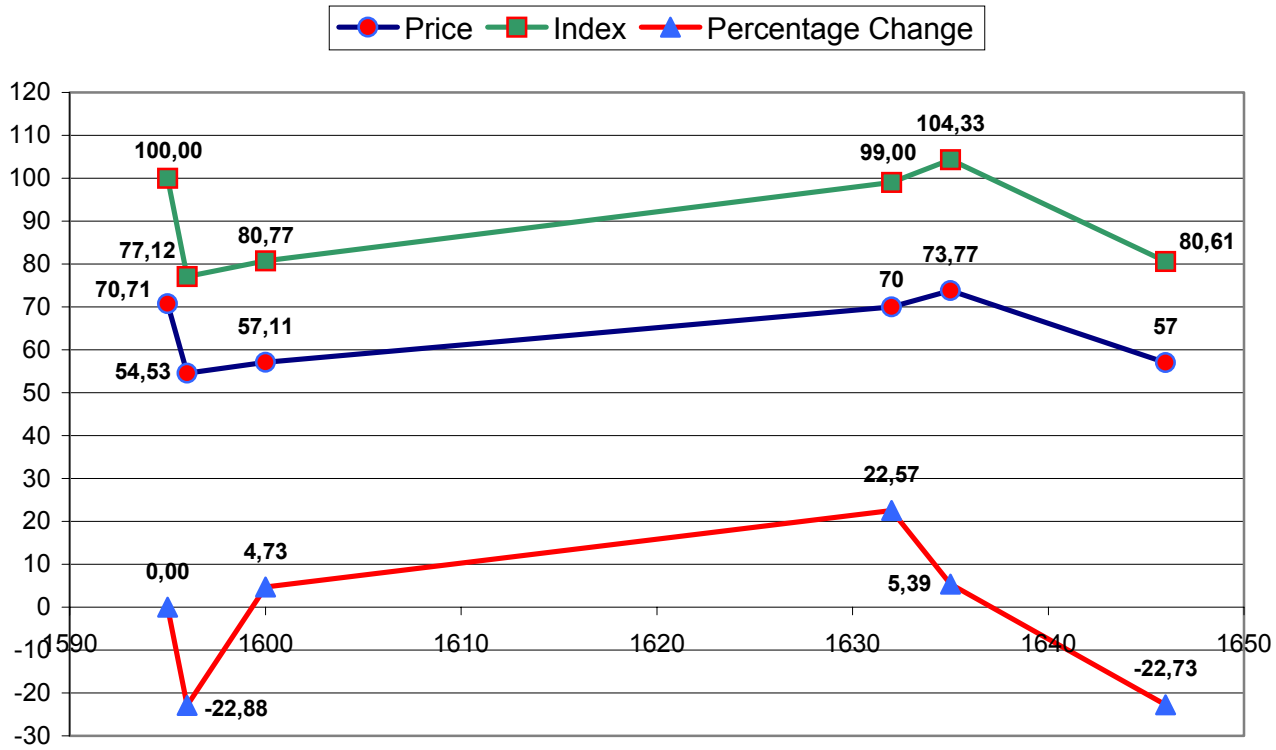
Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Red Grape (Meviz-i Surh)

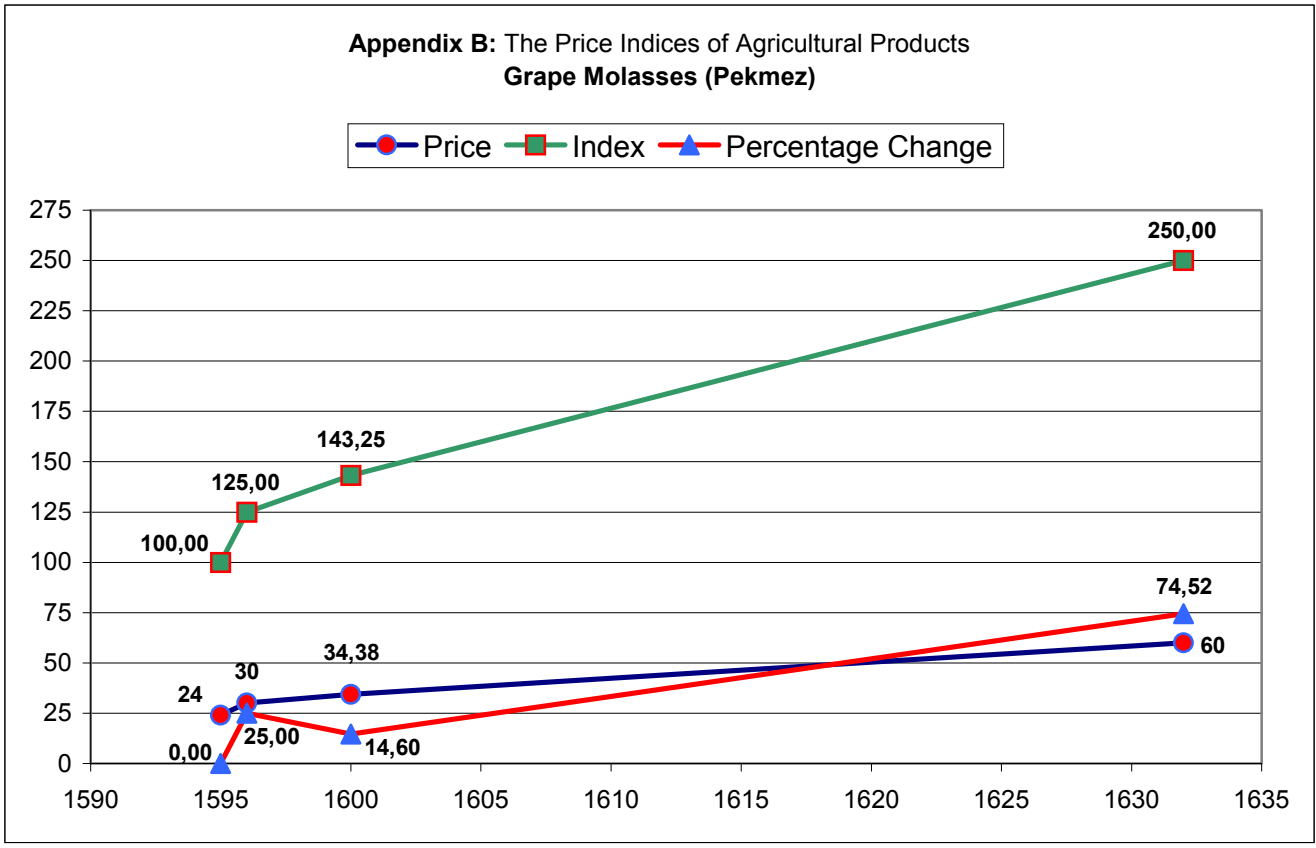


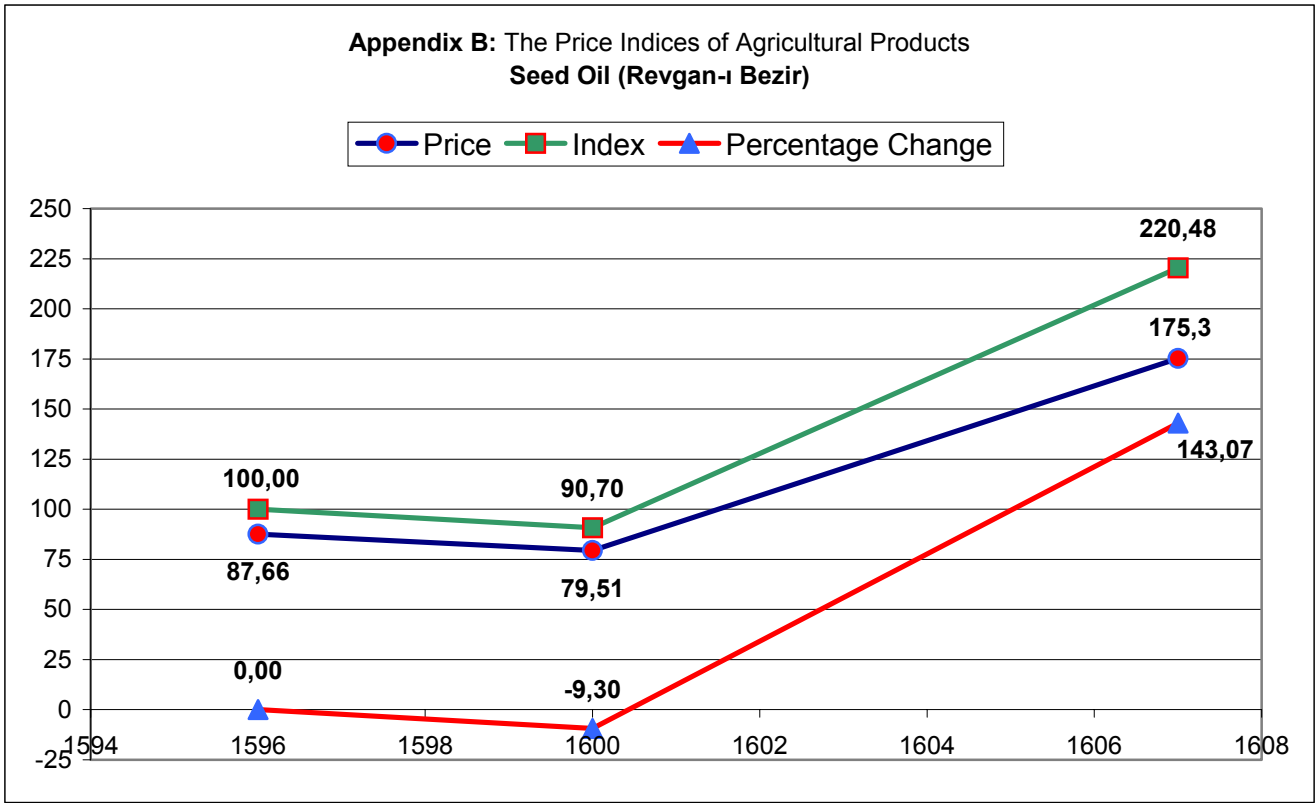

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Salt (Nemek)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
475
450
425
400
375
350
325
300
275
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
-25
-50
-75
1590
1610
1630
1650
1670
1690
1710
100,00
144,54
112,39
221,24
202,06
140,12
442,48
44,54
0
-22,24
96,85
-8,67
-30,66
215,79
3,39
4,9
3,81
7,5
6,85
4,75
15


Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Starch (Nişasta)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
-100
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
100,00
117,09
147,64
106,18
75,64
909,09
1101,92
2,75
17,09
26,09
2,92
2,08
25
0,00
3,22
4,06
-28,08
-28,77

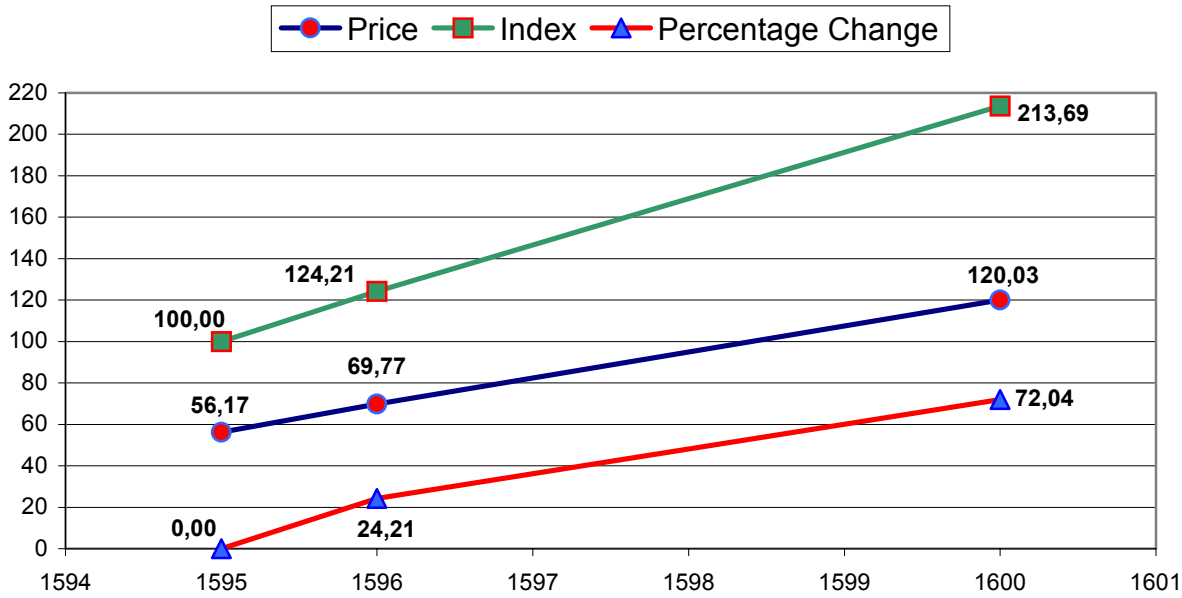
Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Chickpea (Nohud)

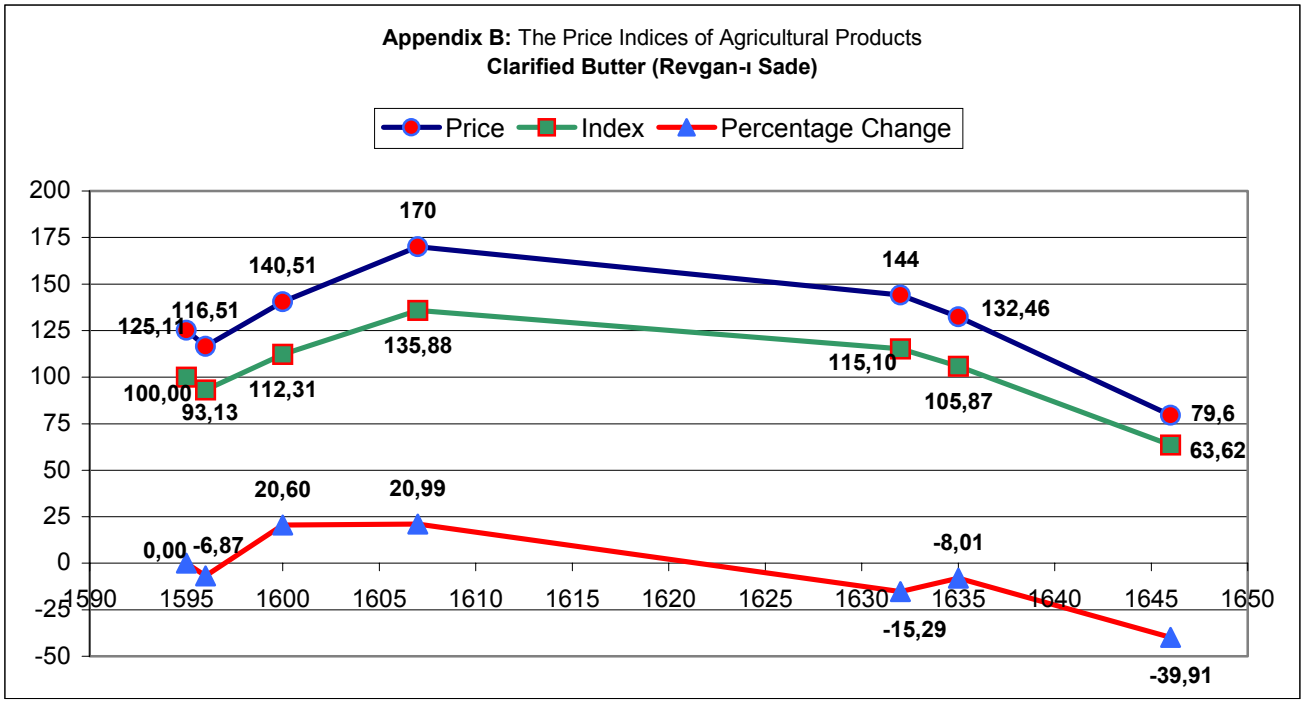


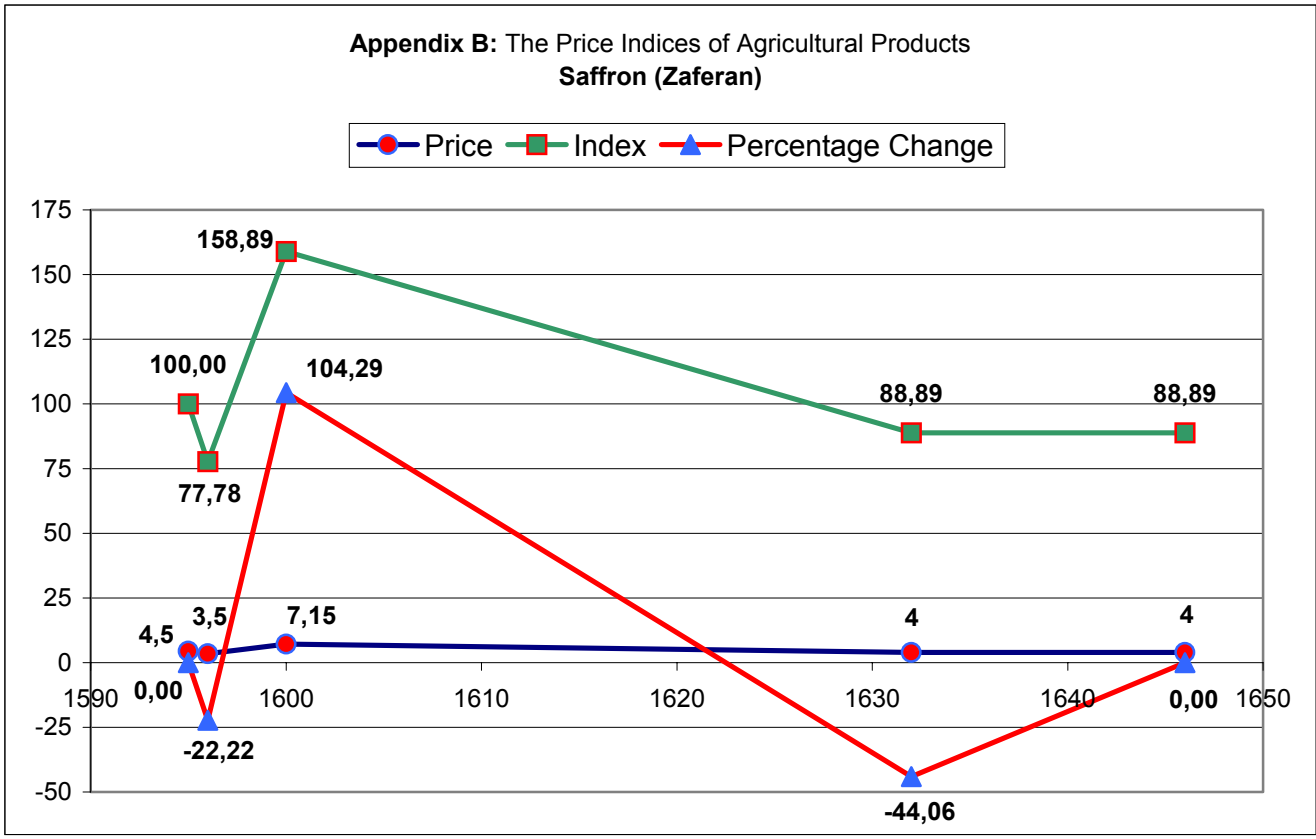

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Grape Molasses (Pekmez)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
275
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
1590
1595
1600
1605
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
250,00
143,25
125,00
100,00
74,52
60
34,38
30
24
25,00
14,60
0,00


Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Seed Oil (Revgan-ı Bezir)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
-25
1594
1596
1598
1600
1602
1604
1606
1608
100,00
87,66
0,00
90,70
79,51
-9,30
220,48
175,3
143,07

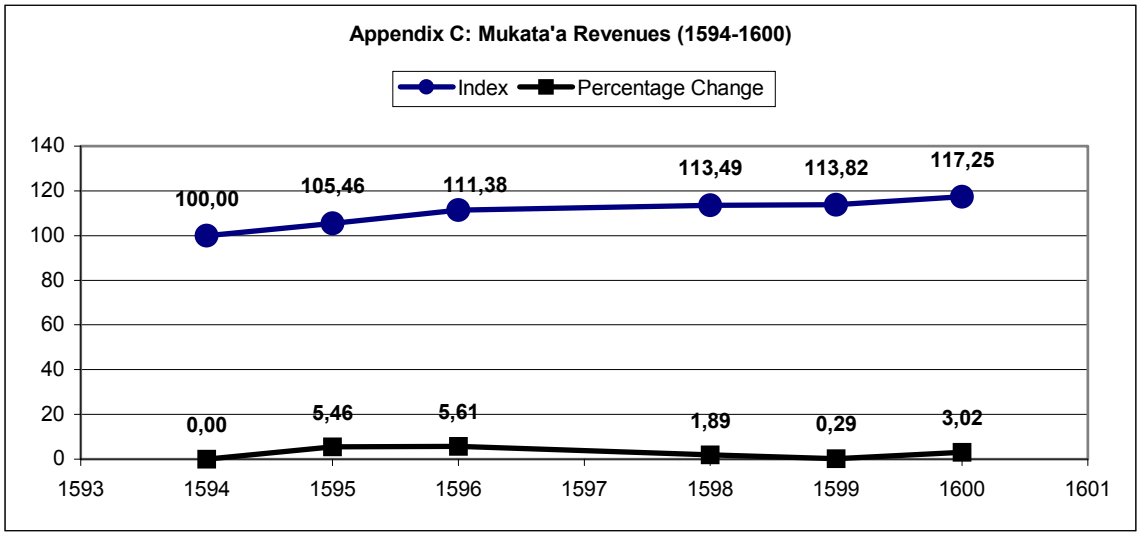
Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Cotton Oil (Revgan-ı Penbe)

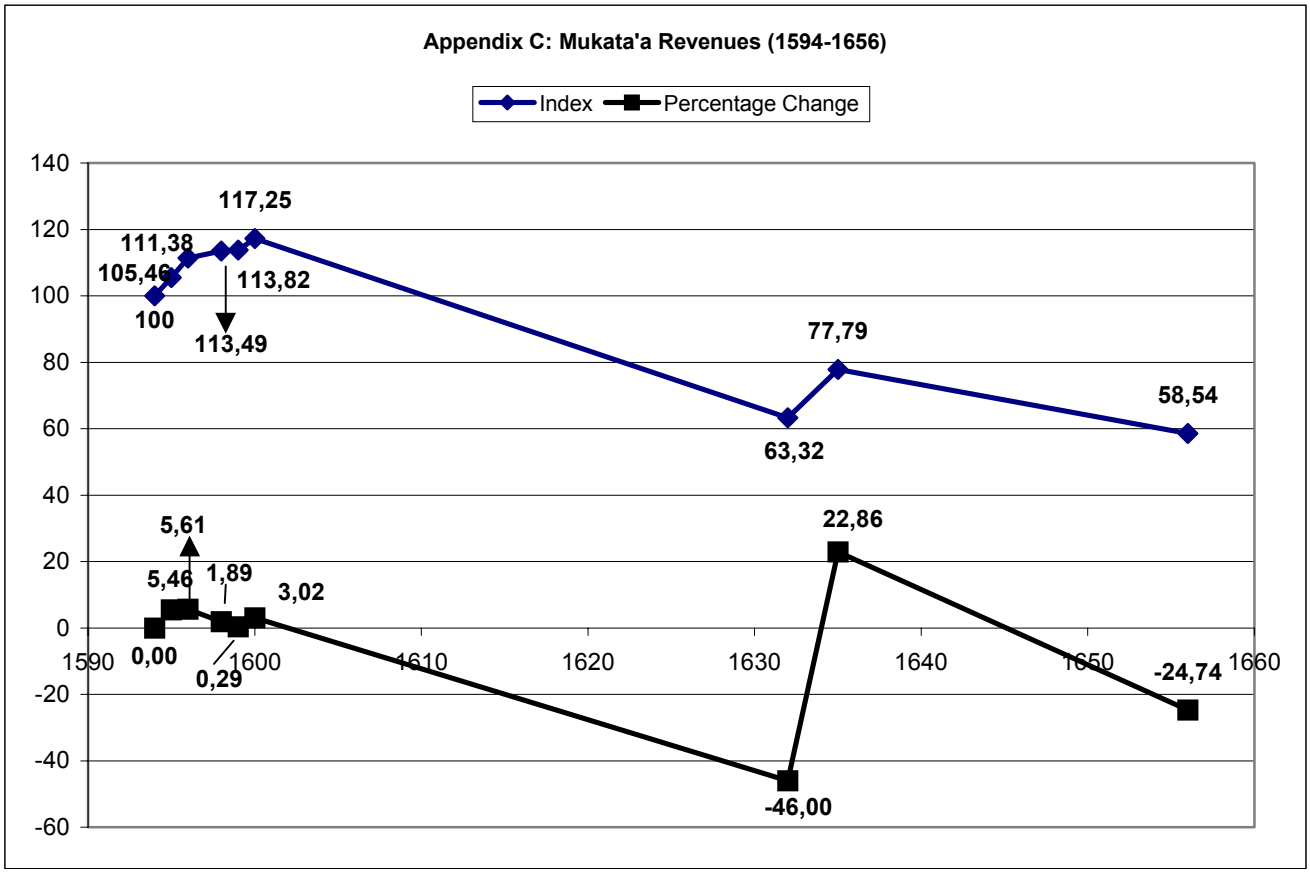


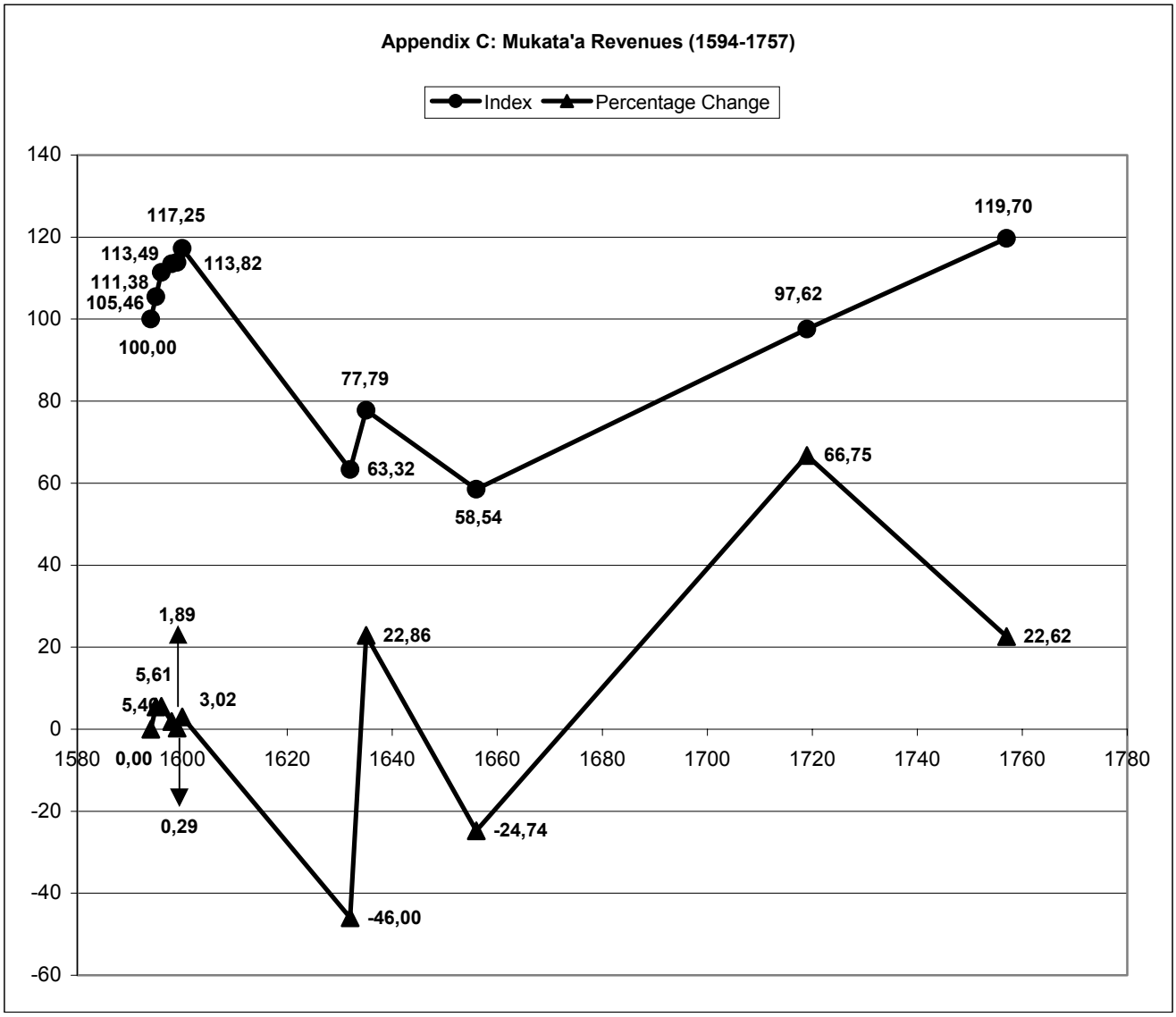

Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Clarified Butter (Revgan-ı Sade)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
-25
-50
1590
1595
1600
1605
1610
1615
1620
1625
1630
1635
1640
1645
1650
125,11
116,51
140,51
170
144
132,46
79,6
100,00
93,13
112,31
135,88
115,10
105,87
63,62
0,00
-6,87
20,60
20,99
-15,29
-8,01
-39,91


Appendix B: The Price Indices of Agricultural Products
Saffron (Zaferan)
Price
Index
Percentage Change
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
-25
-50
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
158,89
100,00
104,29
88,89
88,89
77,78
4,5
3,5
7,15
4
4
0,00
-22,22
-44,06
0,00

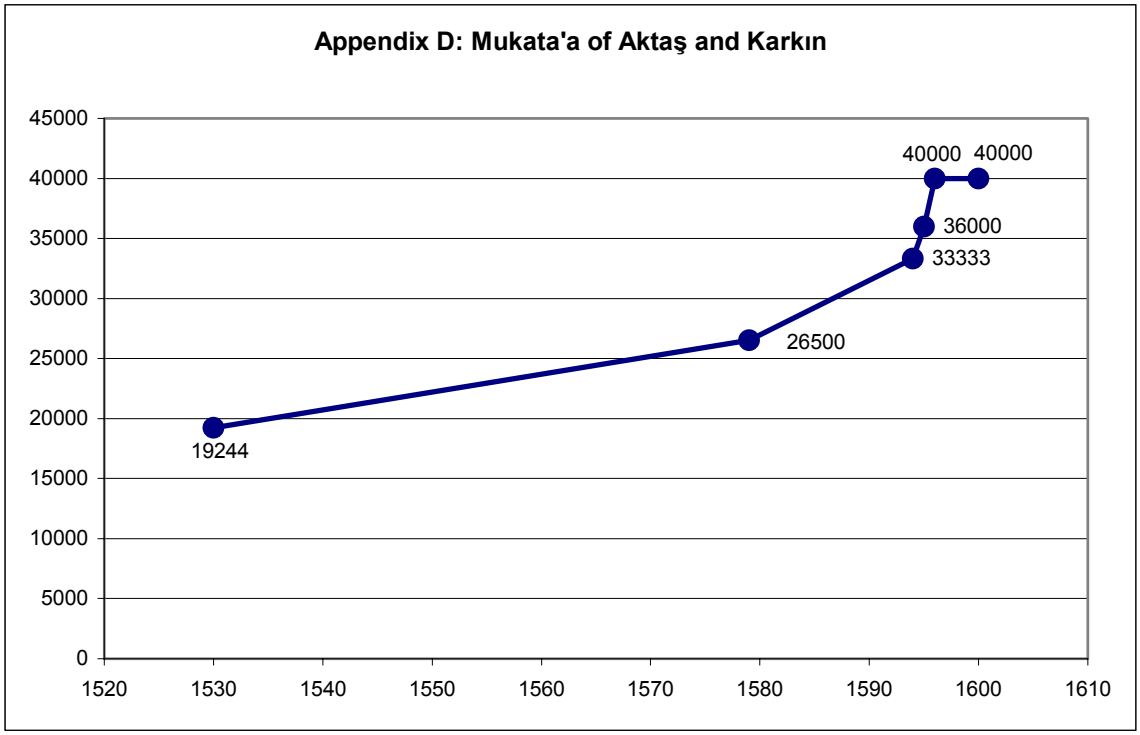
Appendix C: Indices of *mukâta'a* revenues during the periods 1594-1757, 1594-1656 and 1594-1600

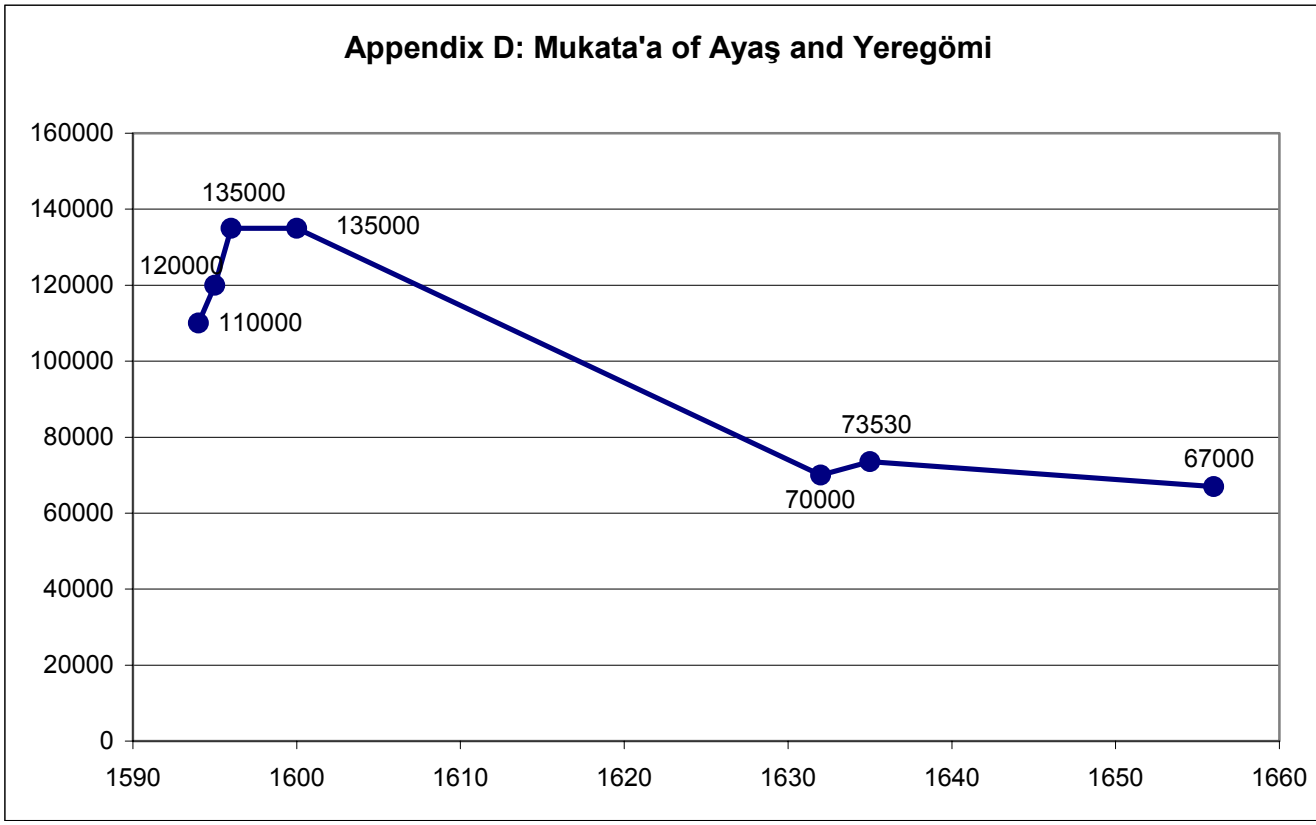


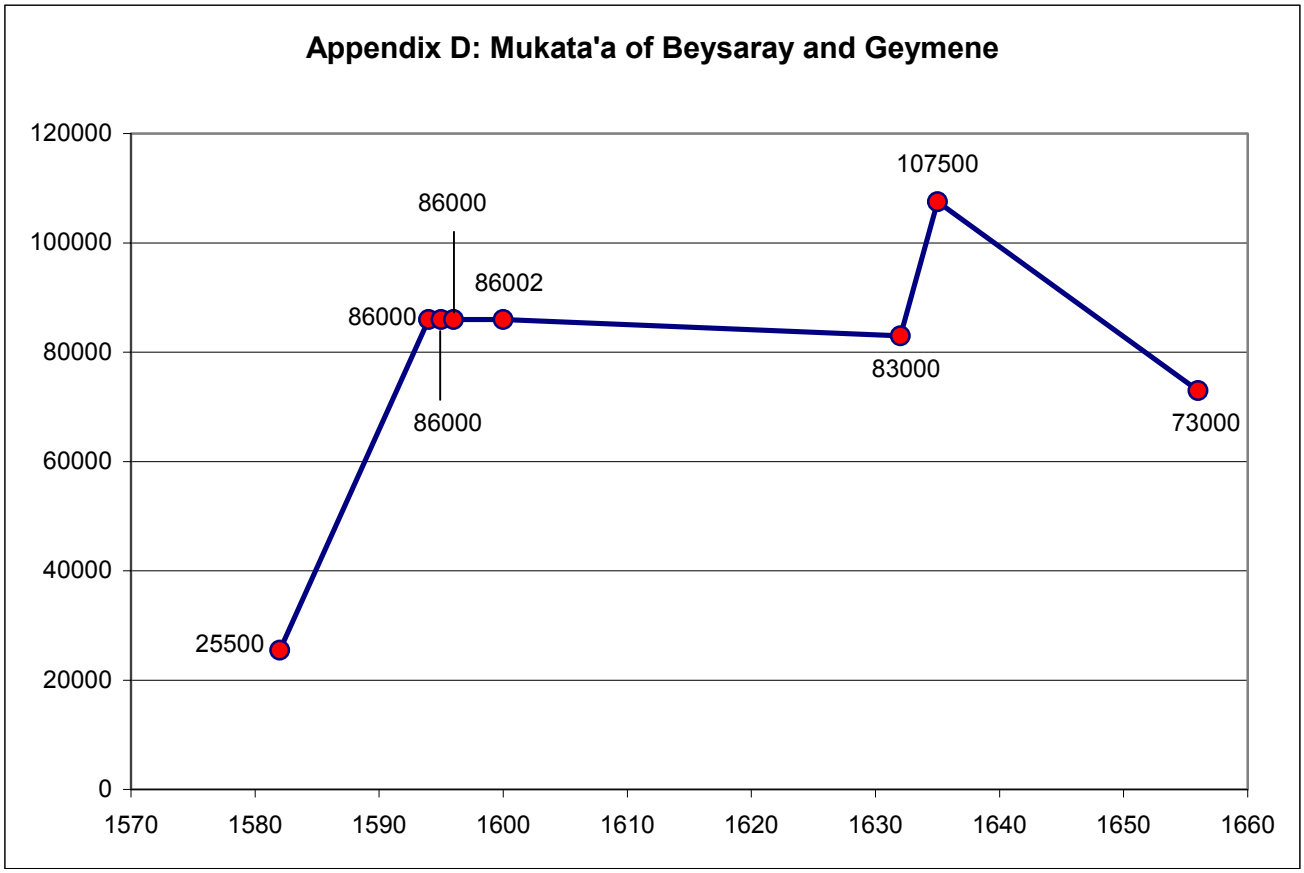

Appendix C: Mukata'a Revenues (1594-1656)
Index
Percentage Change
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
-20
-40
-60
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
117,25
111,38
105,46
100
113,82
113,49
77,79
58,54
63,32
5,61
5,46
1,89
3,02
0,00
0,29
22,86
-46,00
-24,74

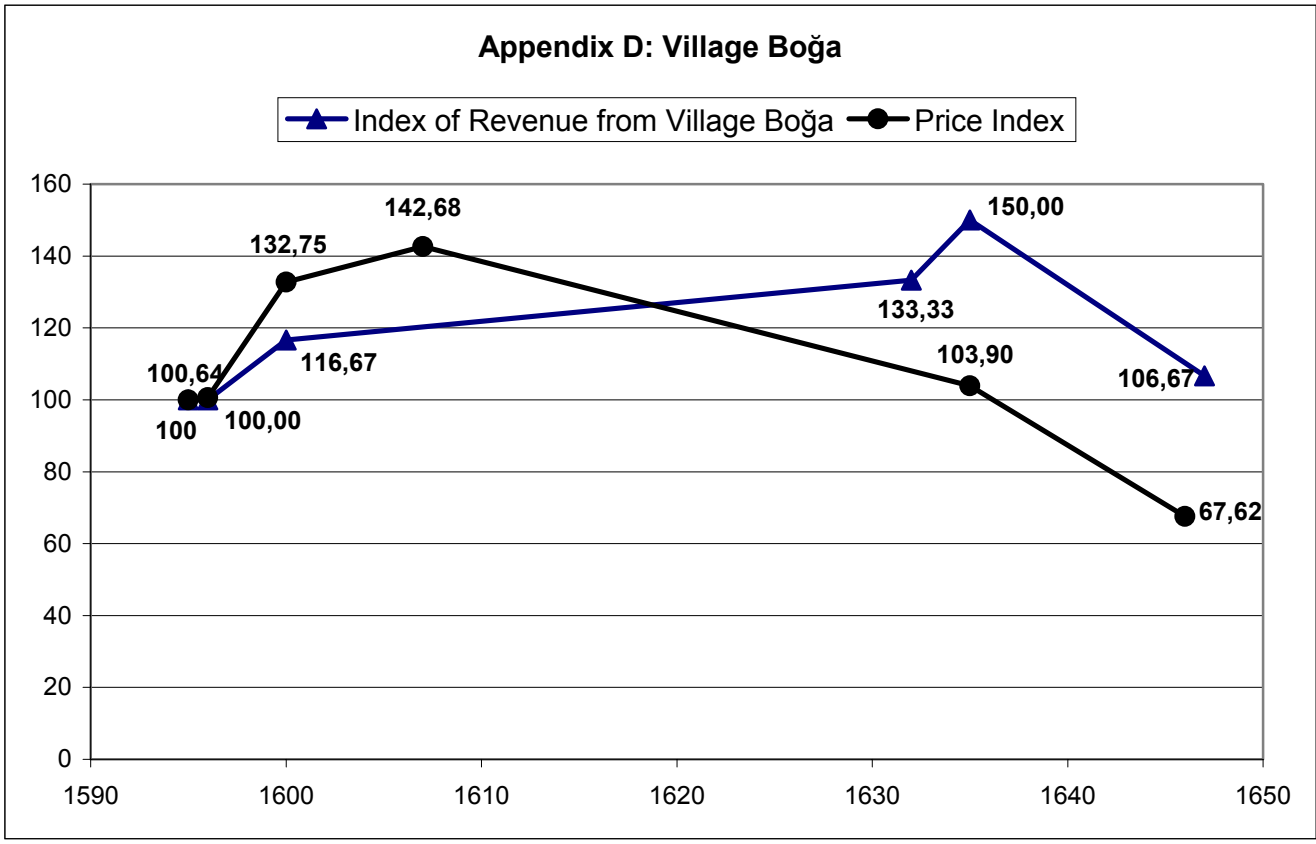

Appendix C: Mukata'a Revenues (1594-1757)
Index
Percentage Change
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
-20
-40
-60
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
117,25
113,49
113,82
111,38
105,46
100,00
77,79
63,32
58,54
97,62
119,70
1,89
5,61
5,49
3,02
0,00
0,29
22,86
-46,00
-24,74
66,75
22,62

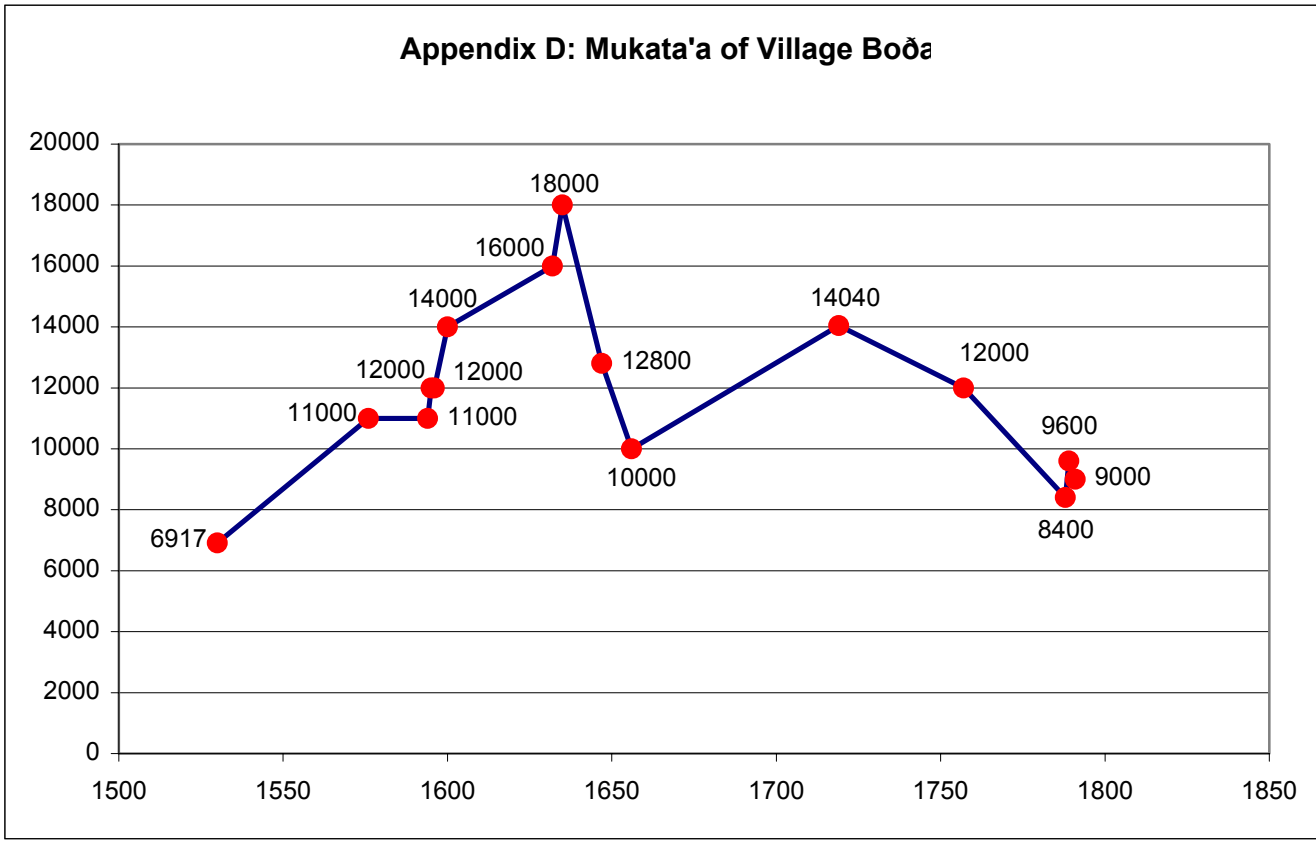
Appendix D: *Mukâta'a* Revenues from Waqf Villages

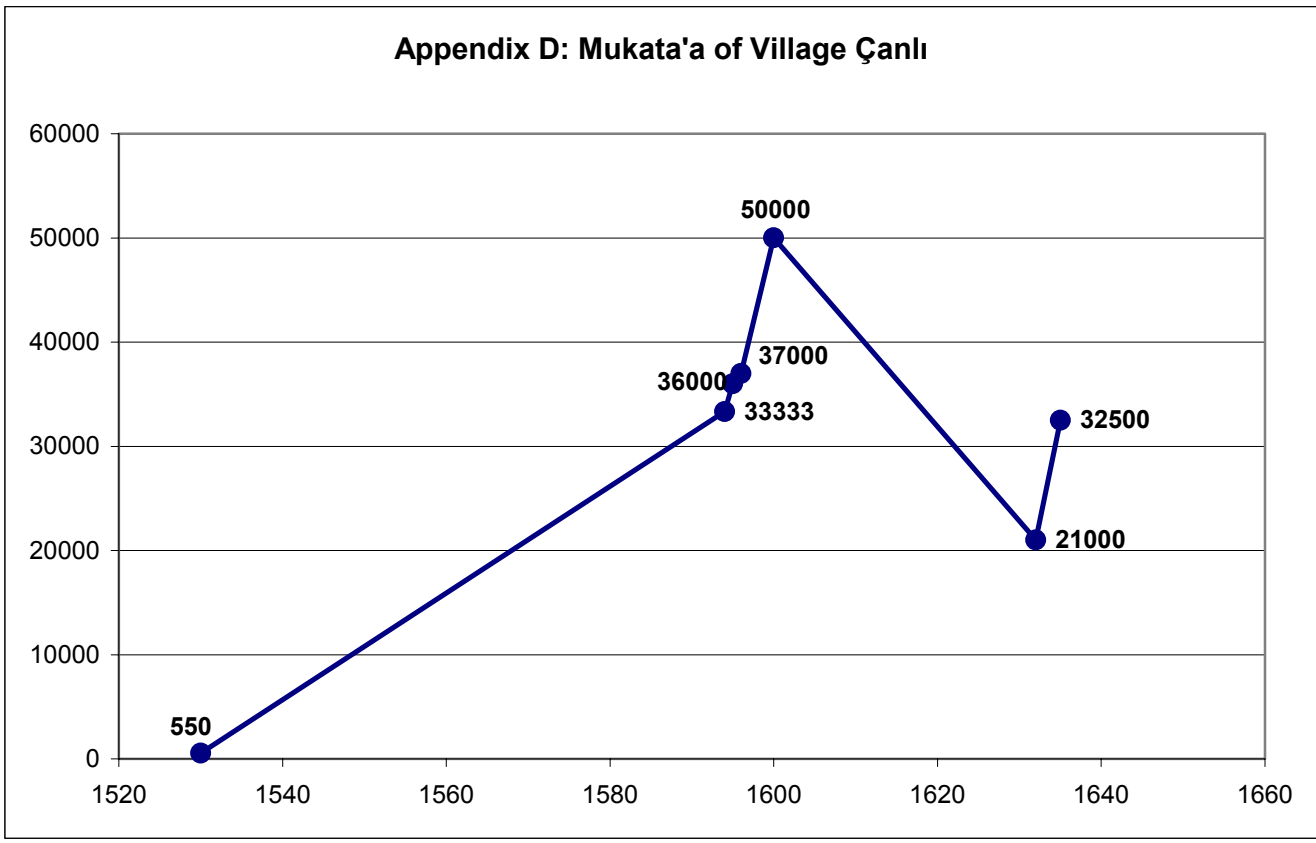


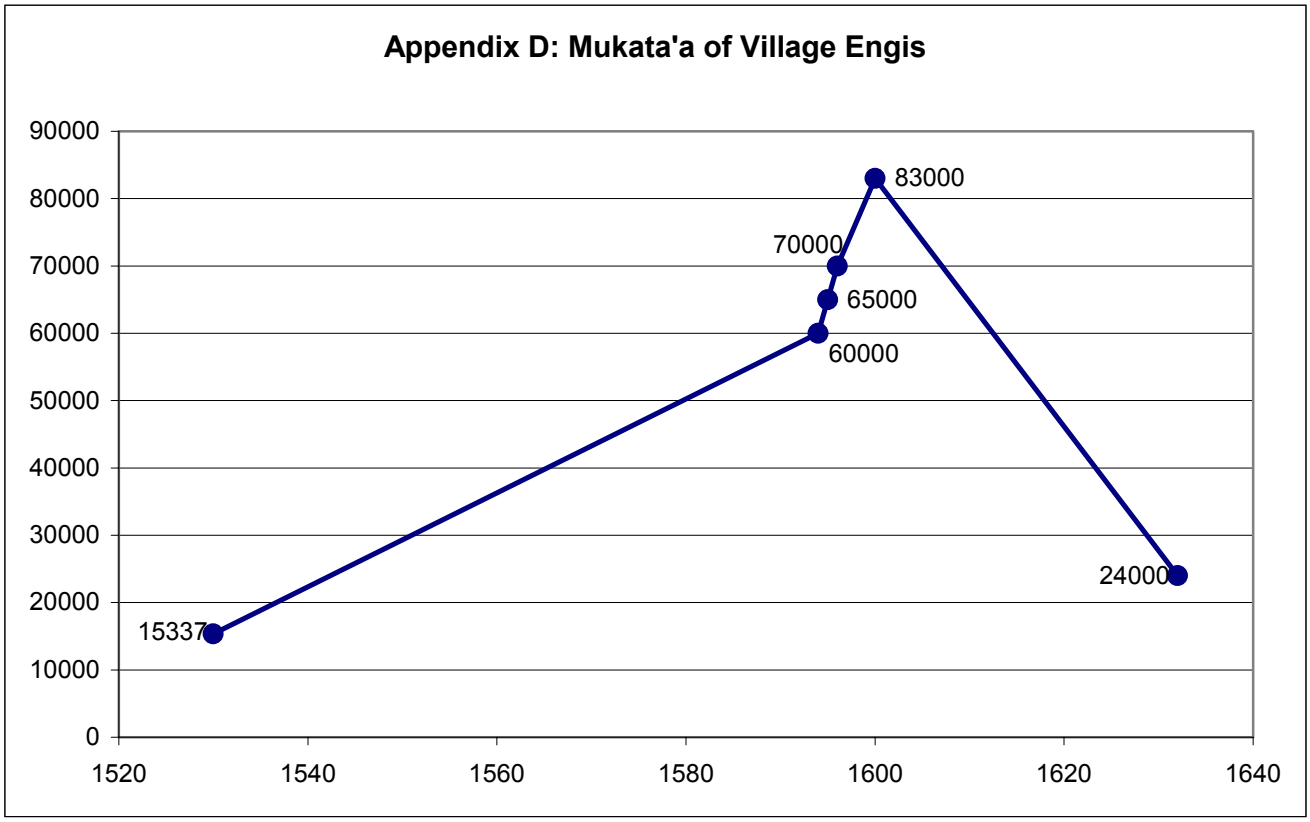

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Ayaş and Yeregömi
160000
140000
120000
100000
80000
60000
40000
20000
0
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
135000
135000
120000
110000
73530
67000
70000

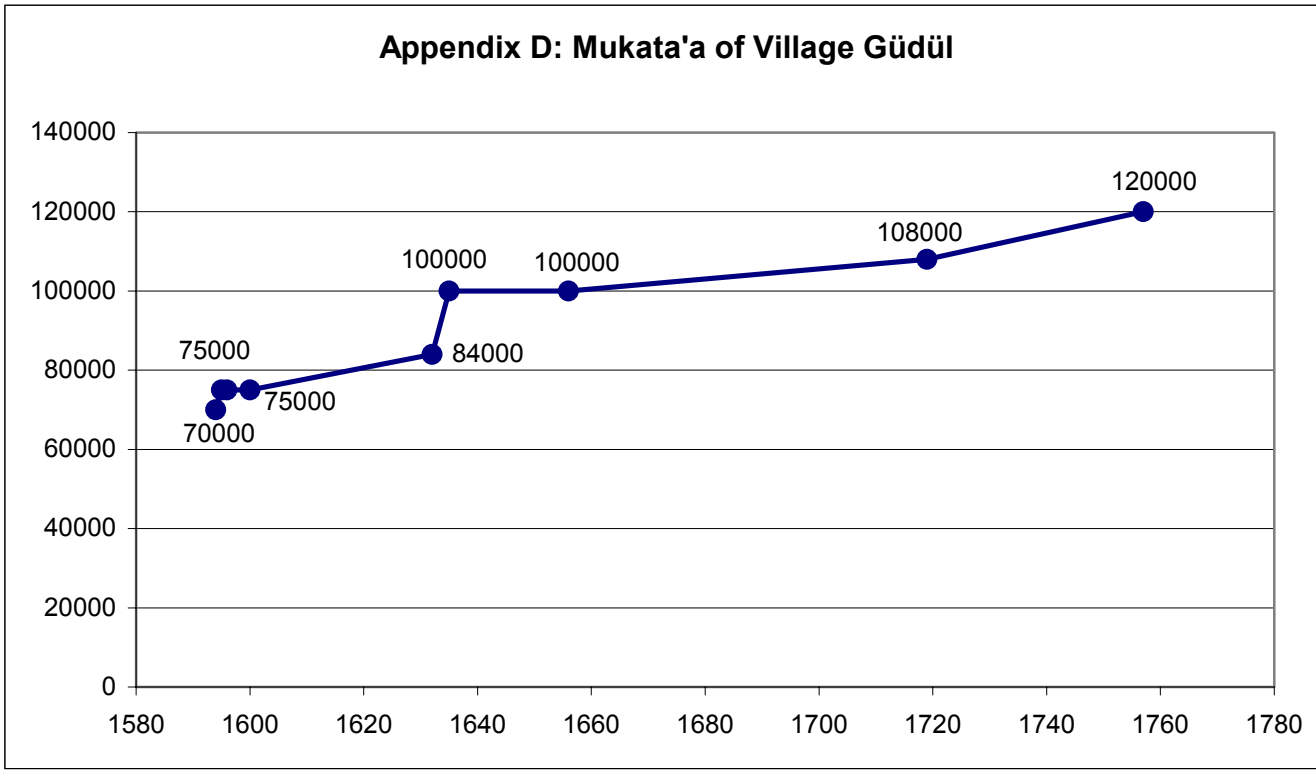

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Beysaray and Geymene
120000
100000
80000
60000
40000
20000
0
1570
1580
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
25500
86000
86000
86000
86002
83000
107500
73000

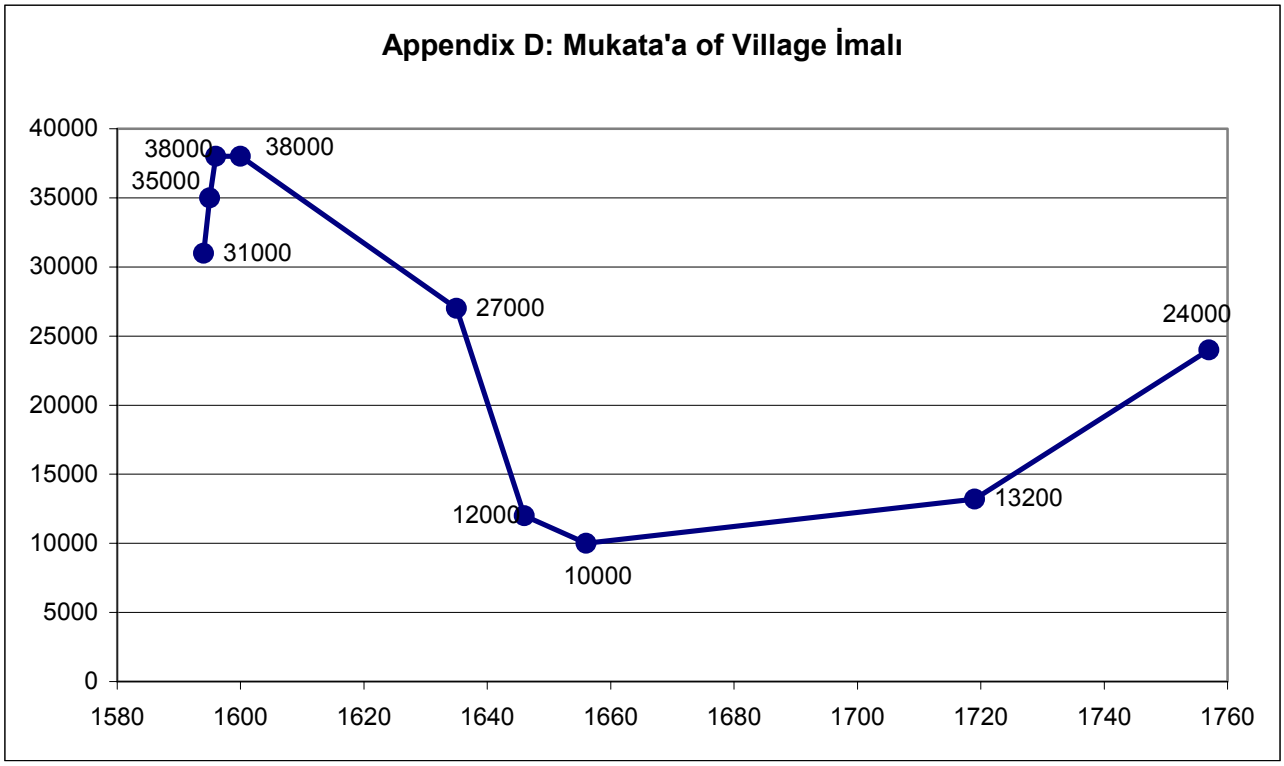

Appendix D: Village Boğa
Index of Revenue from Village Boğa
Price Index
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
142,68
132,75
150,00
133,33
100,64
116,67
103,90
106,67
100
100,00
67,62

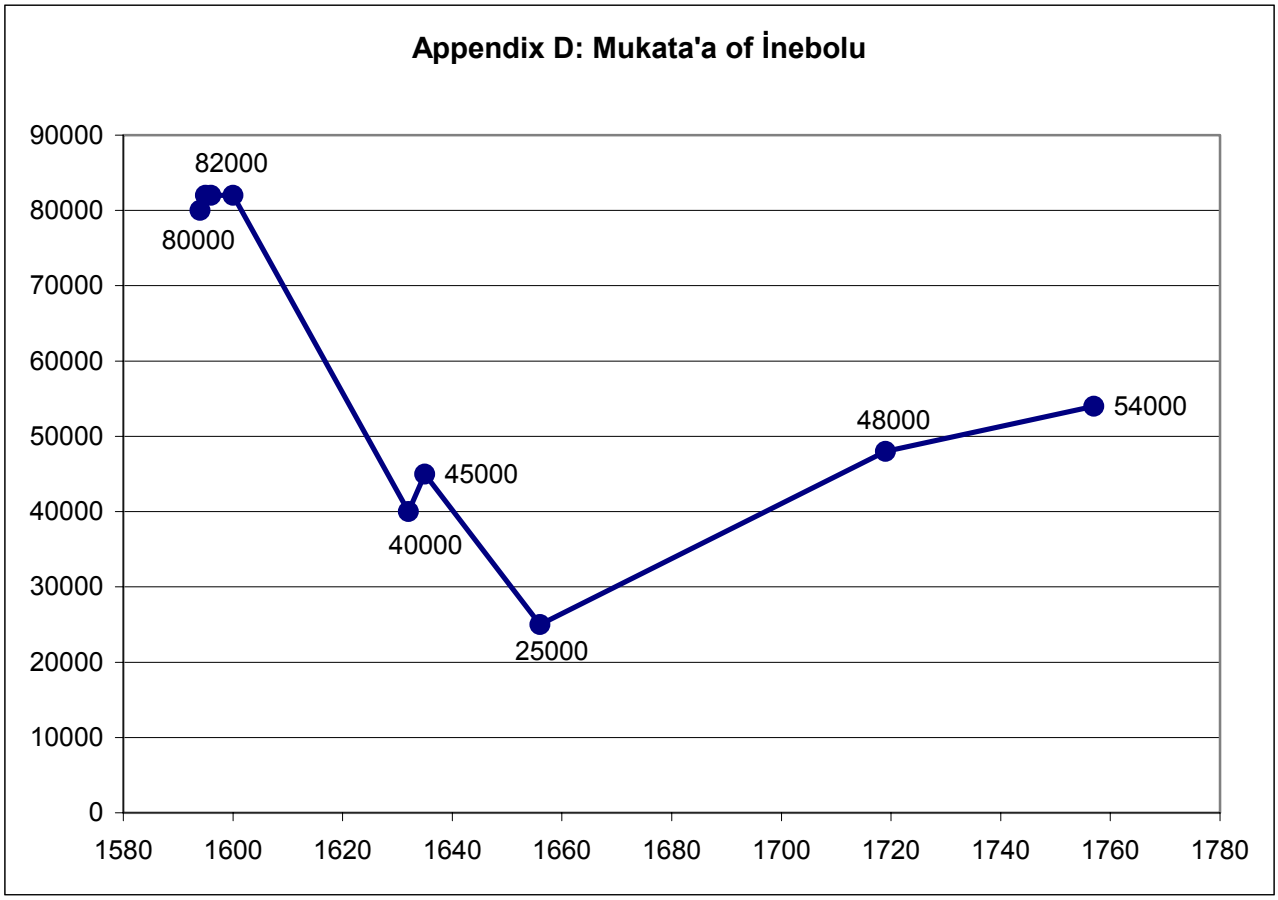

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Boða
20000
18000
16000
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1500
1550
1600
1650
1700
1750
1800
1850
6917
11000
11000
12000
12000
14000
16000
18000
12800
10000
14040
12000
9600
9000
8400

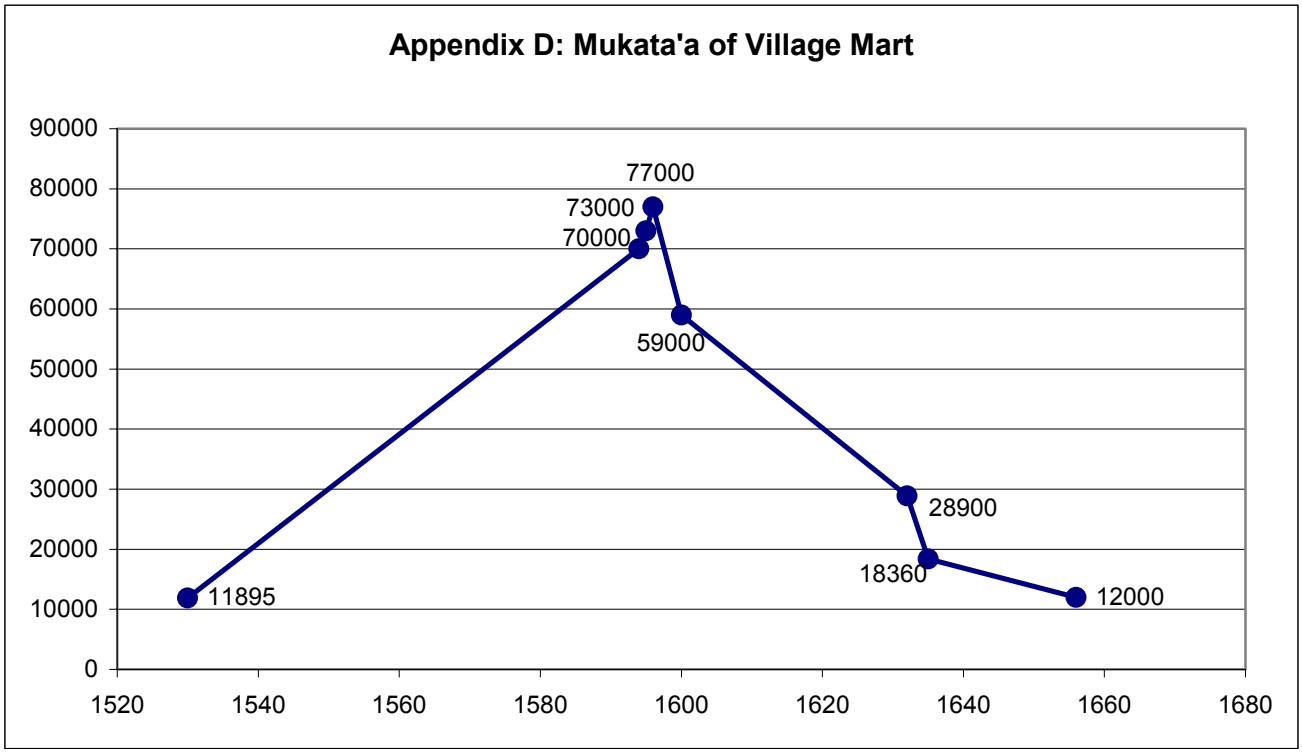

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Çanlı
60000
50000
40000
30000
20000
10000
0
1520
1540
1560
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
550
33333
36000
37000
50000
21000
32500

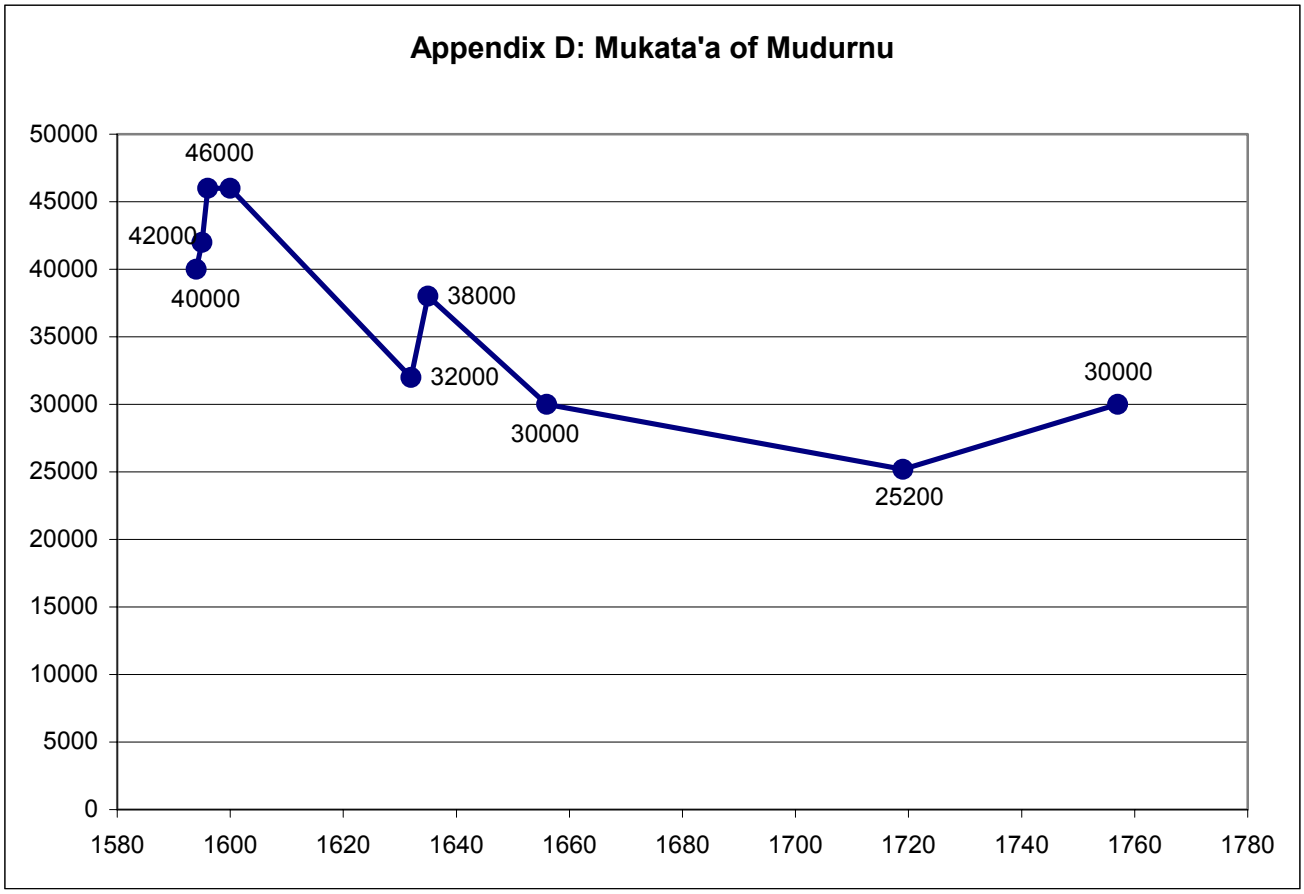

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Engis
90000
80000
70000
60000
50000
40000
30000
20000
10000
0
1520
1540
1560
1580
1600
1620
1640
83000
70000
65000
60000
24000
15337

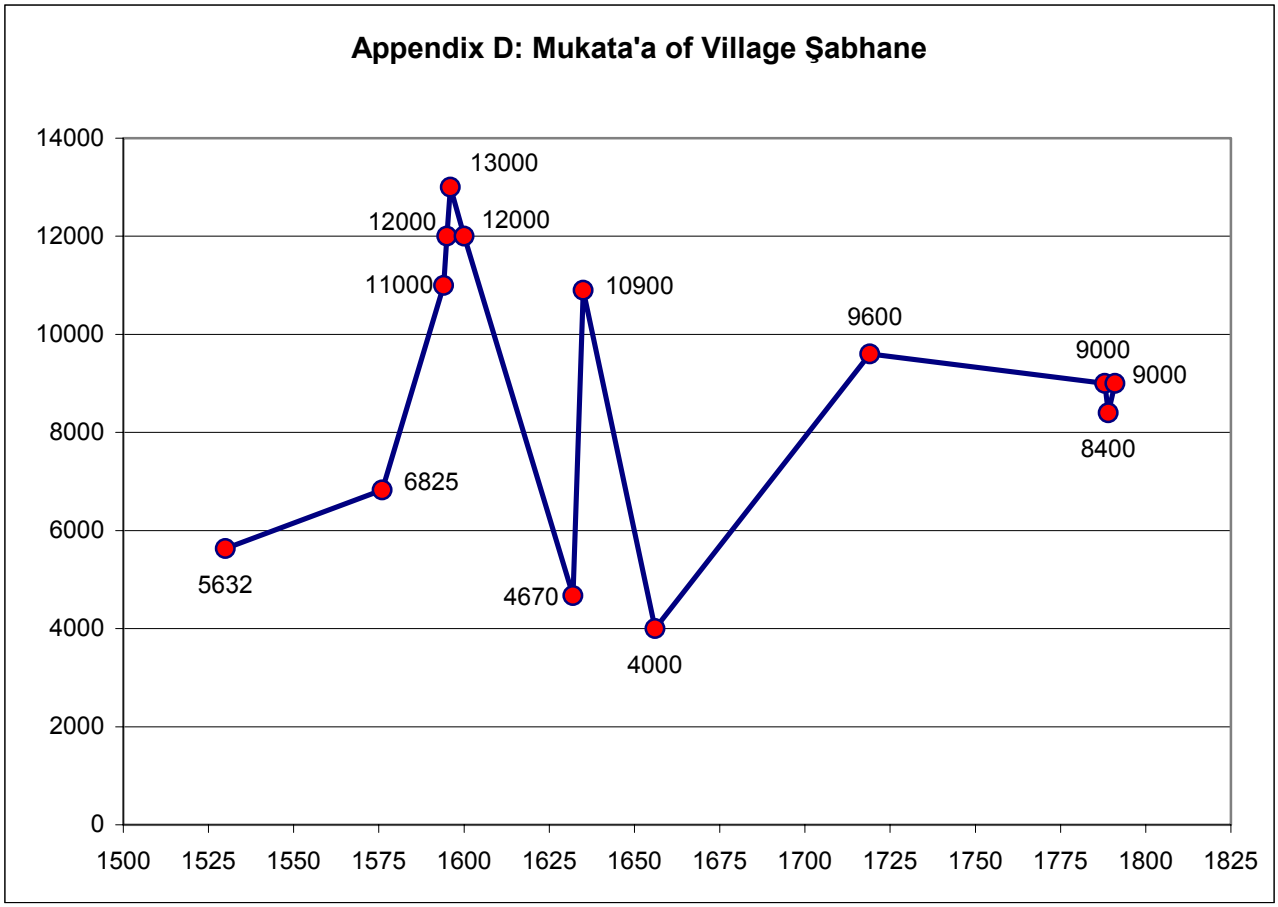

Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Güdül
140000
120000
100000
80000
60000
40000
20000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
120000
108000
100000
100000
84000
75000
75000
70000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village İmalı
40000
35000
30000
25000
20000
15000
10000
5000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
38000
38000
35000
31000
27000
12000
10000
13200
24000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of İnebolu
90000
80000
70000
60000
50000
40000
30000
20000
10000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
82000
80000
45000
40000
25000
48000
54000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Mart
90000
80000
70000
60000
50000
40000
30000
20000
10000
0
1520
1540
1560
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
77000
73000
70000
59000
28900
18360
12000
11895


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Mudurnu
50000
45000
40000
35000
30000
25000
20000
15000
10000
5000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
46000
42000
40000
38000
32000
30000
25200
30000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Şabhane
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1500
1525
1550
1575
1600
1625
1650
1675
1700
1725
1750
1775
1800
1825
13000
12000
12000
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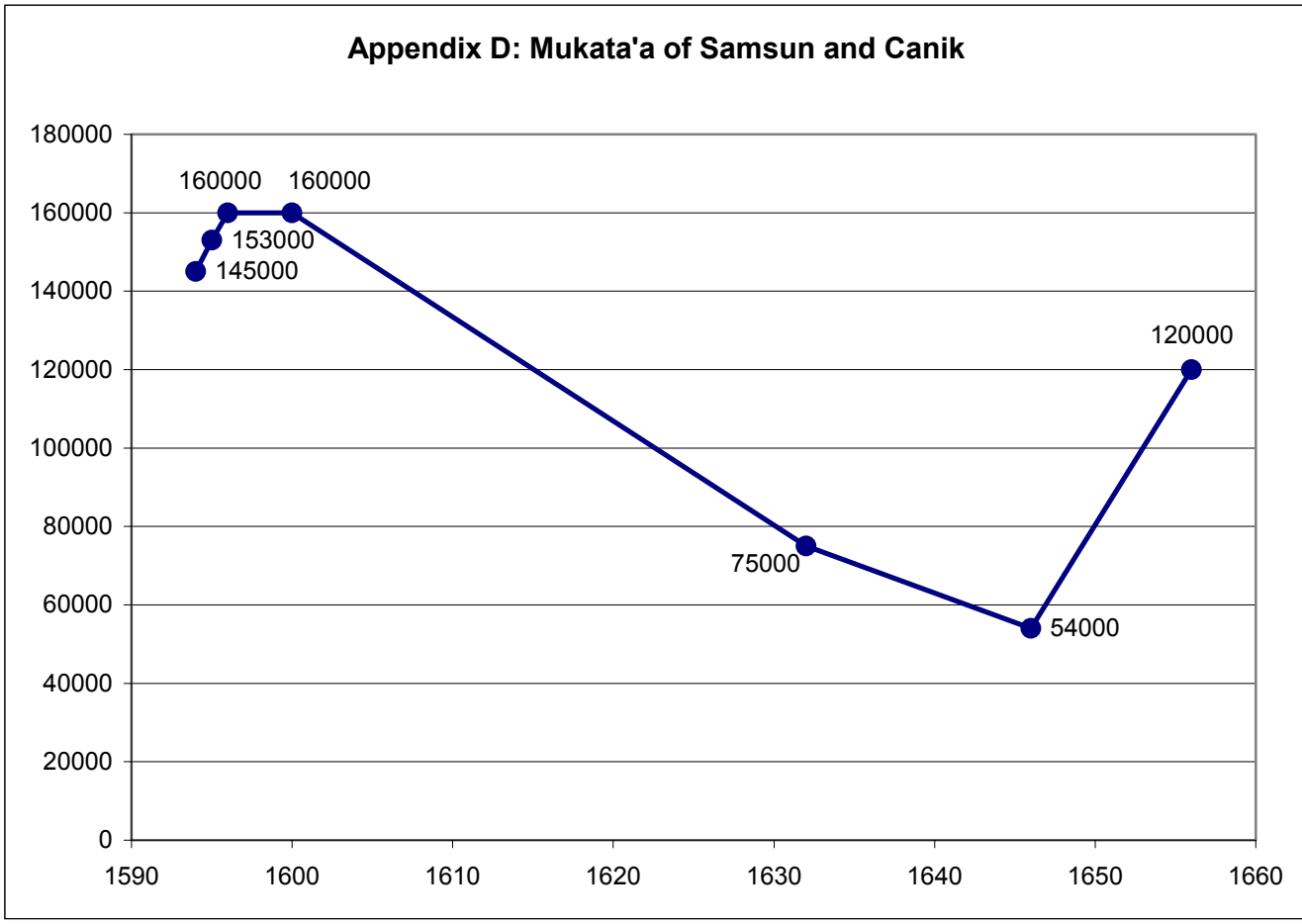
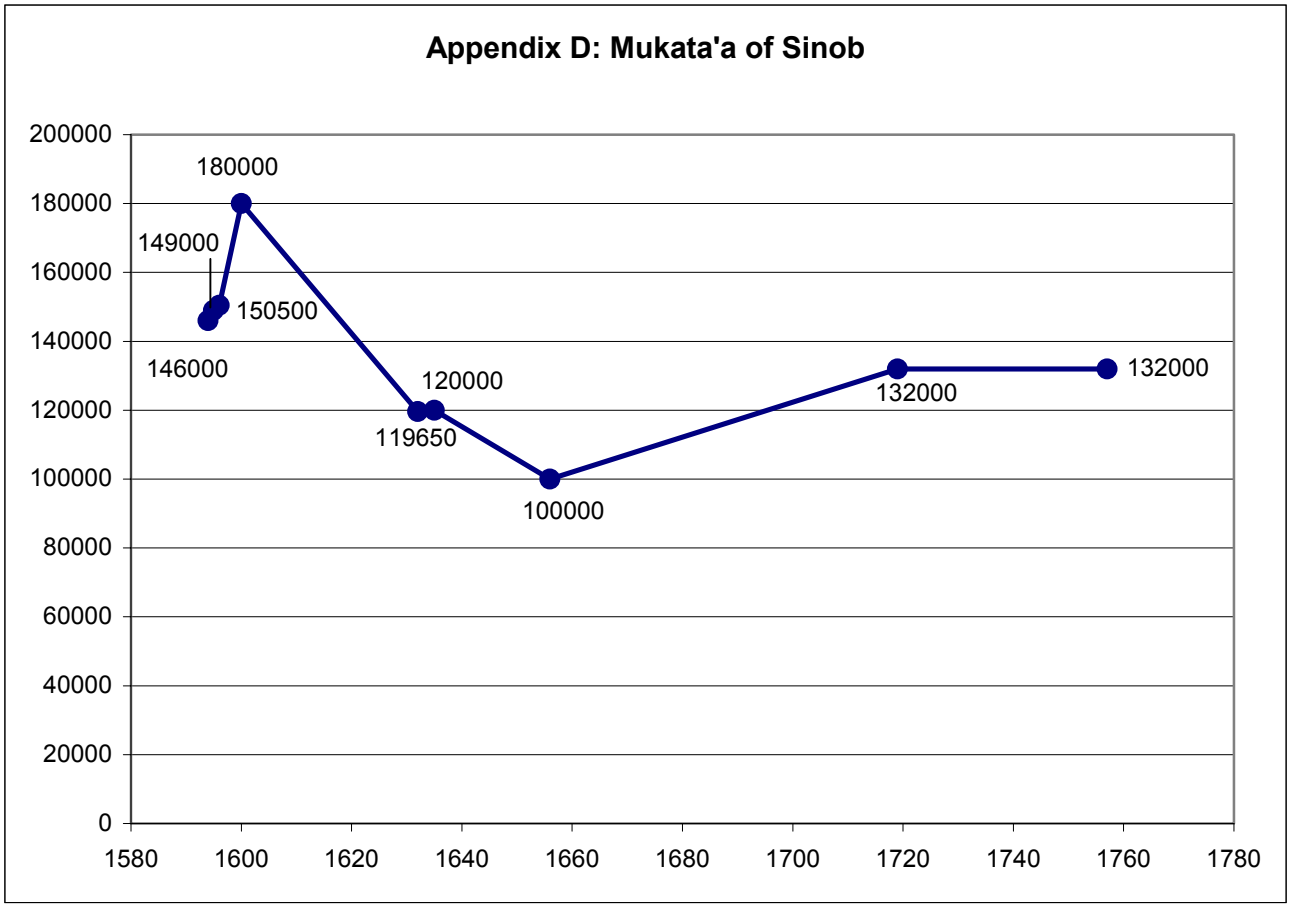
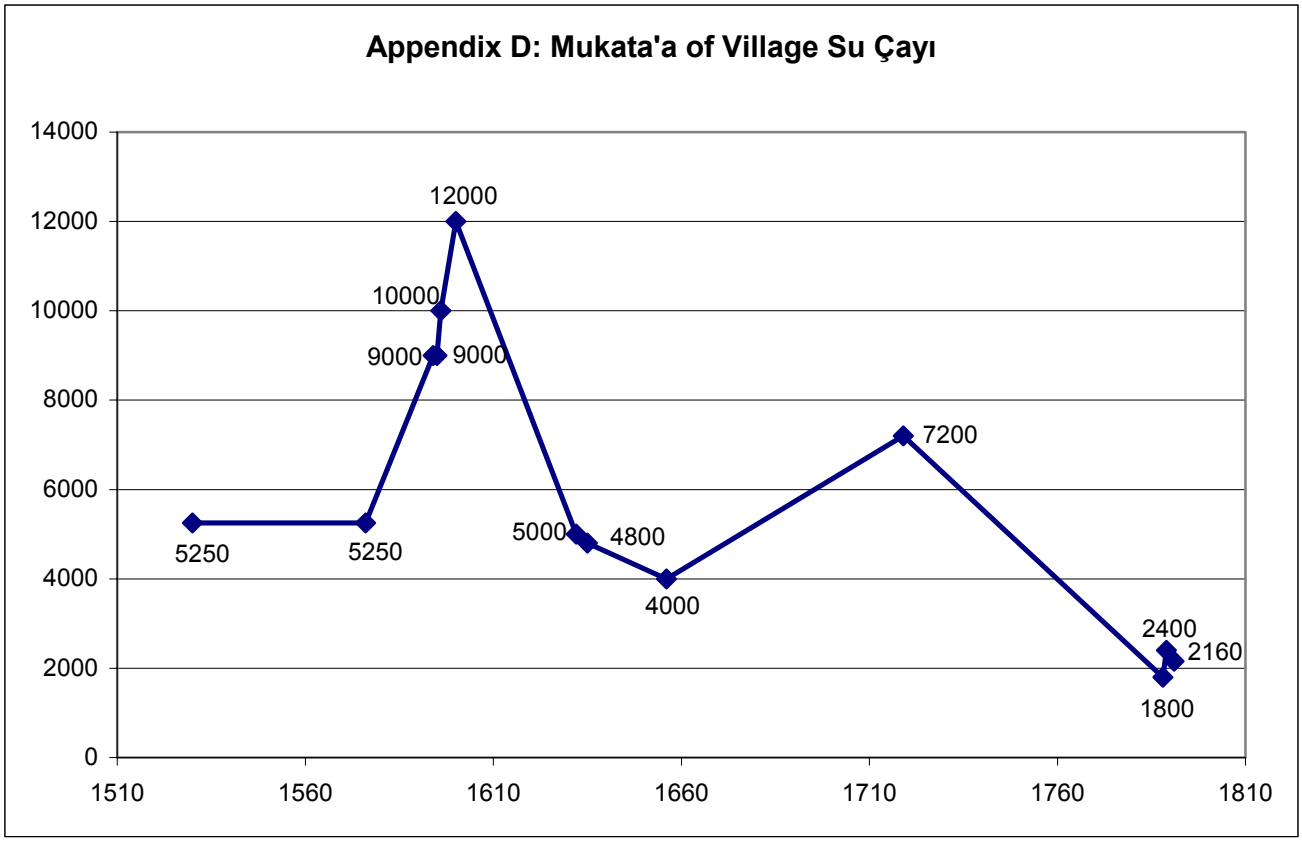
10900
9600
9000
9000
8400
6825
5632
4670
4000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Samsun and Canik
180000
160000
140000
120000
100000
80000
60000
40000
20000
0
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650
1660
160000
160000
153000
145000
120000
75000
54000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Sinob
200000
180000
160000
140000
120000
100000
80000
60000
40000
20000
0
1580
1600
1620
1640
1660
1680
1700
1720
1740
1760
1780
180000
149000
150500
146000
120000
119650
100000
132000
132000


Appendix D: Mukata'a of Village Su Çayı
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1510
1560
1610
1660
1710
1760
1810
12000
10000
9000
9000
7200
5250
5250
5000
4800
4000
2400
2160
1800

Appendix E: Uncollected or Partially Collected *Mukâta'a* Revenues

The information in the Table below is derived from MM 5159 (1632)

From the *Mukâta'a* of	**Year**
Basdak	1631
Canik	1631
Çanlı	1631
Engis	1631, 1632
Geymene	1631
İstanos	1631
Samsun	1631, 1632
Ayaş	1632
Bey Saray	1632
İnebolu	1632
Mudurnu	1632
Sinob	1632
Şabhane	1632
Yeregömi	1632
Yassı Viran	1632

The information in the Table below is derived from MM 5666 (1635)

From the *Mukâta'a* of	**Year**
Basdak	1632, 1633, 1634
Güdül	1632
Canik	1633
Mudurnu	1633
Edris	1634
Yeregömi	1634
Engis	1635
İstanos	1635
Ovacık	1635
Yassı Viran	1635

The information in the Table below is derived from MM 5776 (1647)

From the *Mukâta'a* of	**Year**
Aktaş	1640
Mudurnu	1640, 1646
Samsun	1640
Sinob	1640
Ovacık	1640, 1646, 1647
Yeregömi	1640, 1641
Ayaş	1641
Beysaray	1641, 1646, 1647
Geymene	1641
İnebolu	1641
Mart	1641, 1644
Su Çayı	1641
Yassı Viran	1641

Below is a table which is prepared by considering all the account books at our disposal

From the *Mukâta'a* of	**Year**
Aktaş	1640
Ayaş	1593, 1594, 1596, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1641
Basdak	1631, 1632, 1633, 1634
Beysaray	1595, 1632, 1641, 1646, 1647
Bilviran	1595, 1600, 1635
Boğa	1595
Çanlı	1595, 1600, 1631, 1632
Engis	1594, 1600, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1635
Geymene	1595, 1631, 1641
Güdül	1594, 1595, 1632
İmalı	1595, 1600, 1632
İnebolu	1595, 1632, 1641
İstanos	1631, 1635
Mart	1595, 1641, 1645
Mudurnu	1631, 1632, 1633, 1640, 1646
Ovacık	1635, 1640, 1646, 1647
Samsun and Canik	1594, 1600, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1640
Sinob	1594, 1595, 1632, 1634, 1640
Su Çayı	1595, 1600, 1632
Şabhane	1632
Yassı Viran	1631, 1632, 1635, 1641
Yeregömi	1593, 1600, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1640, 1641
Yiregiren	1595, 1600

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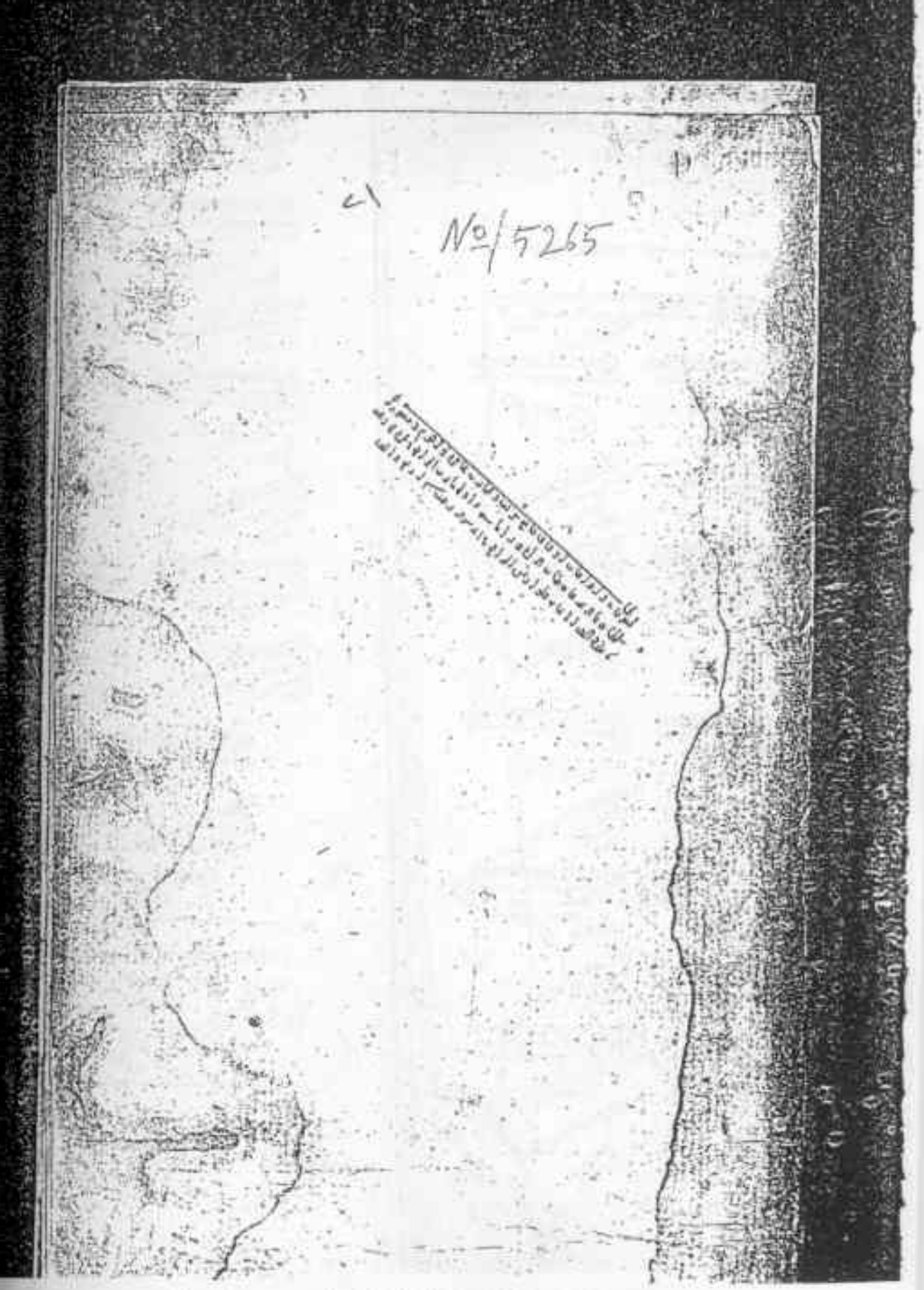
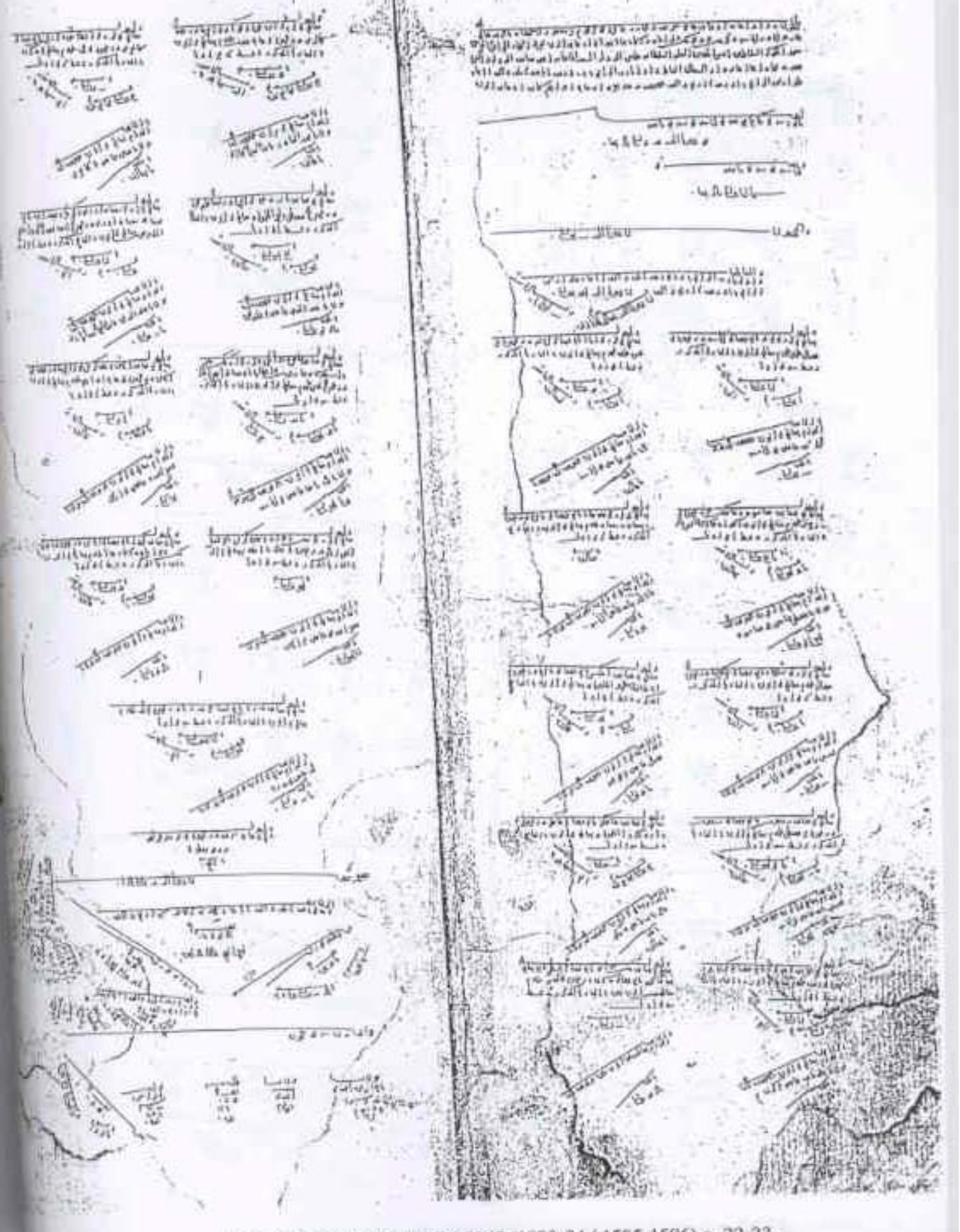
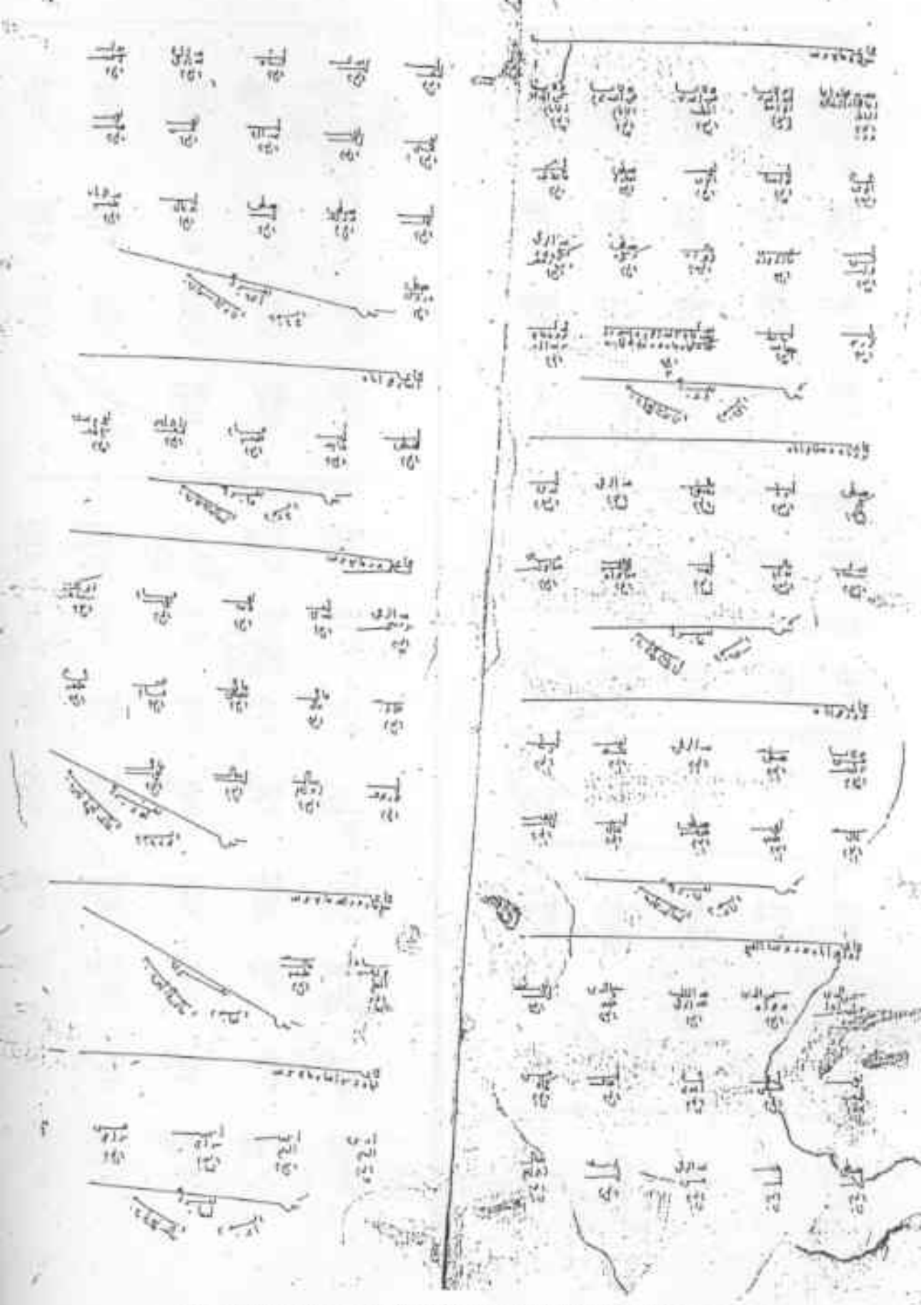


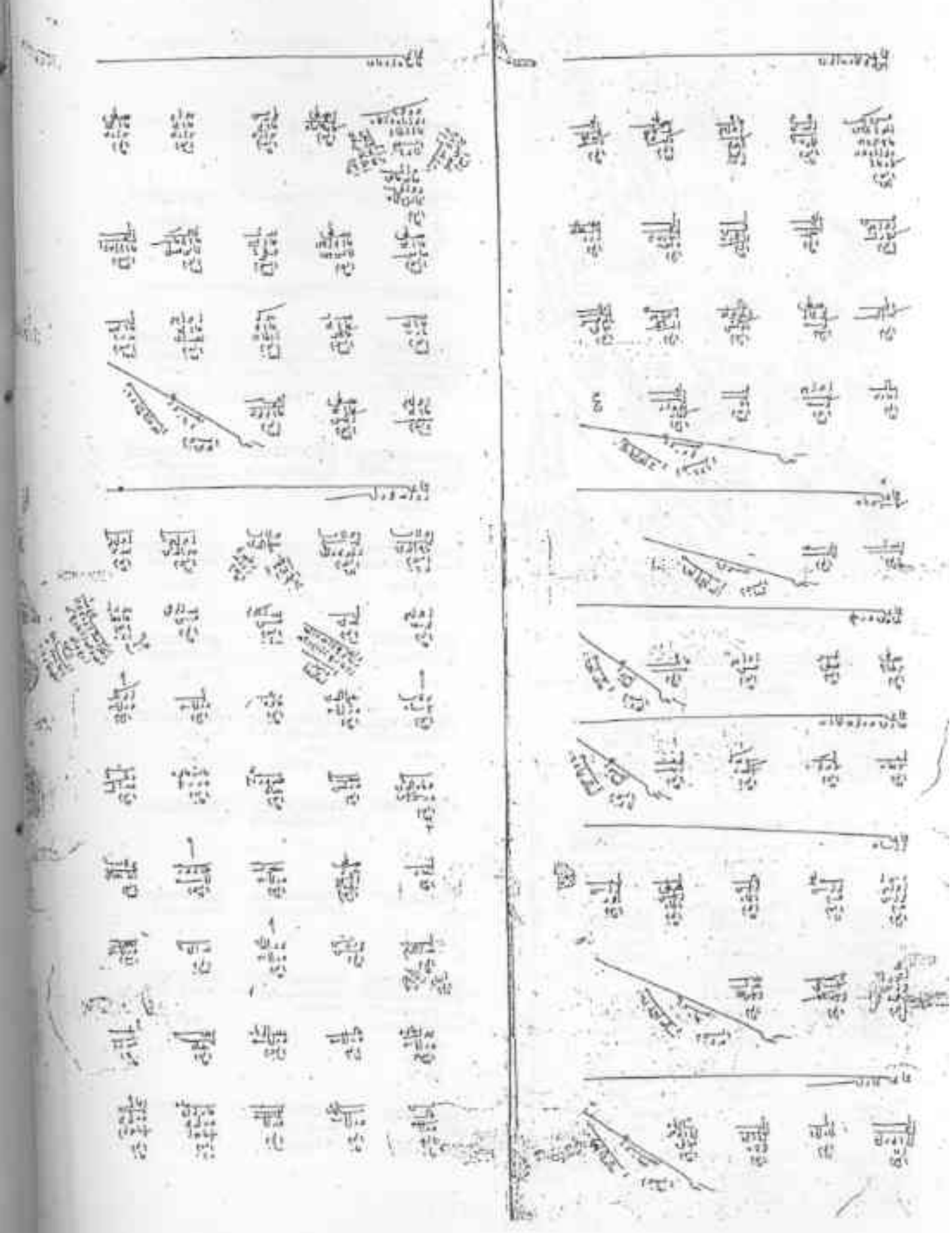
From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 21.



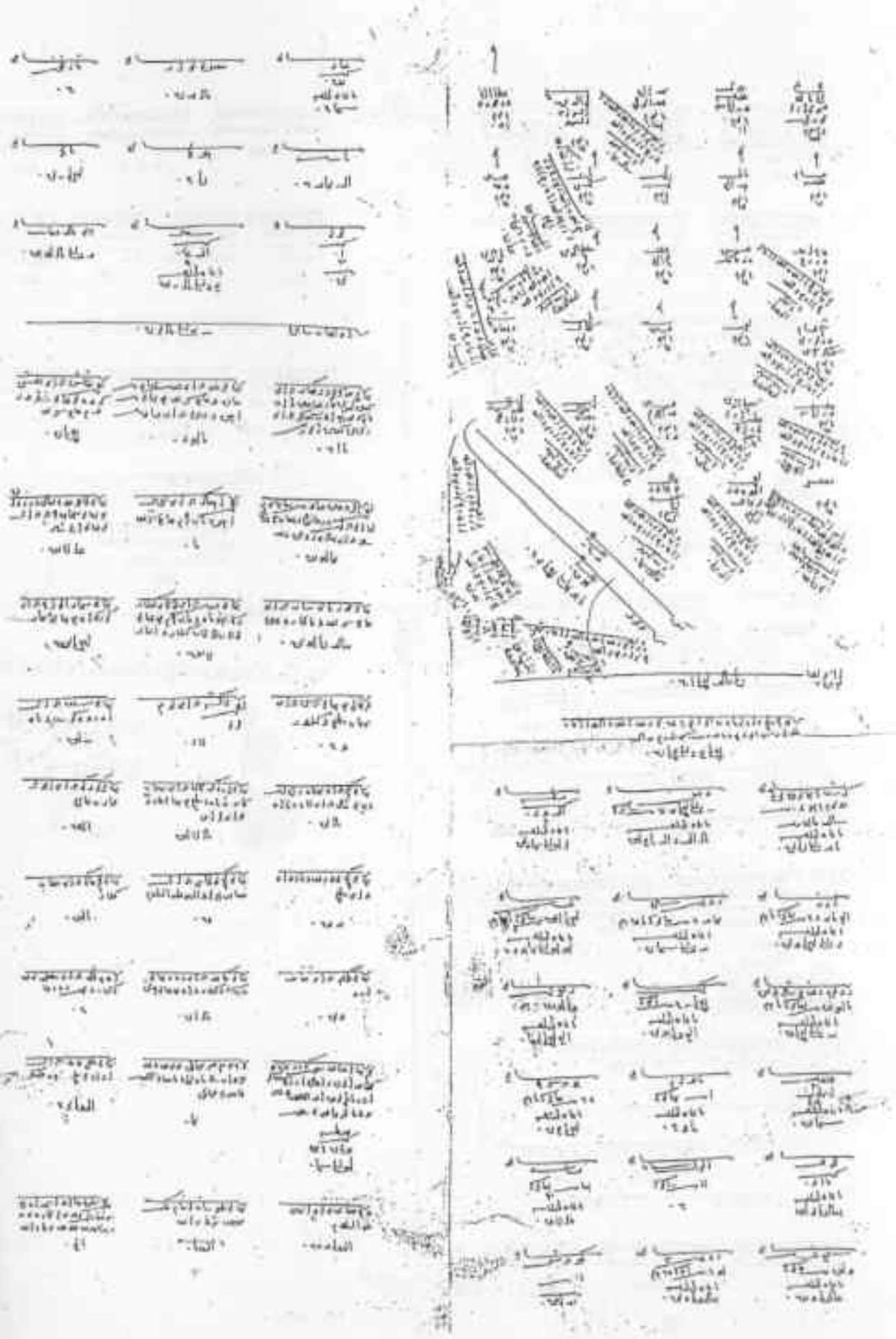
From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 22-23.



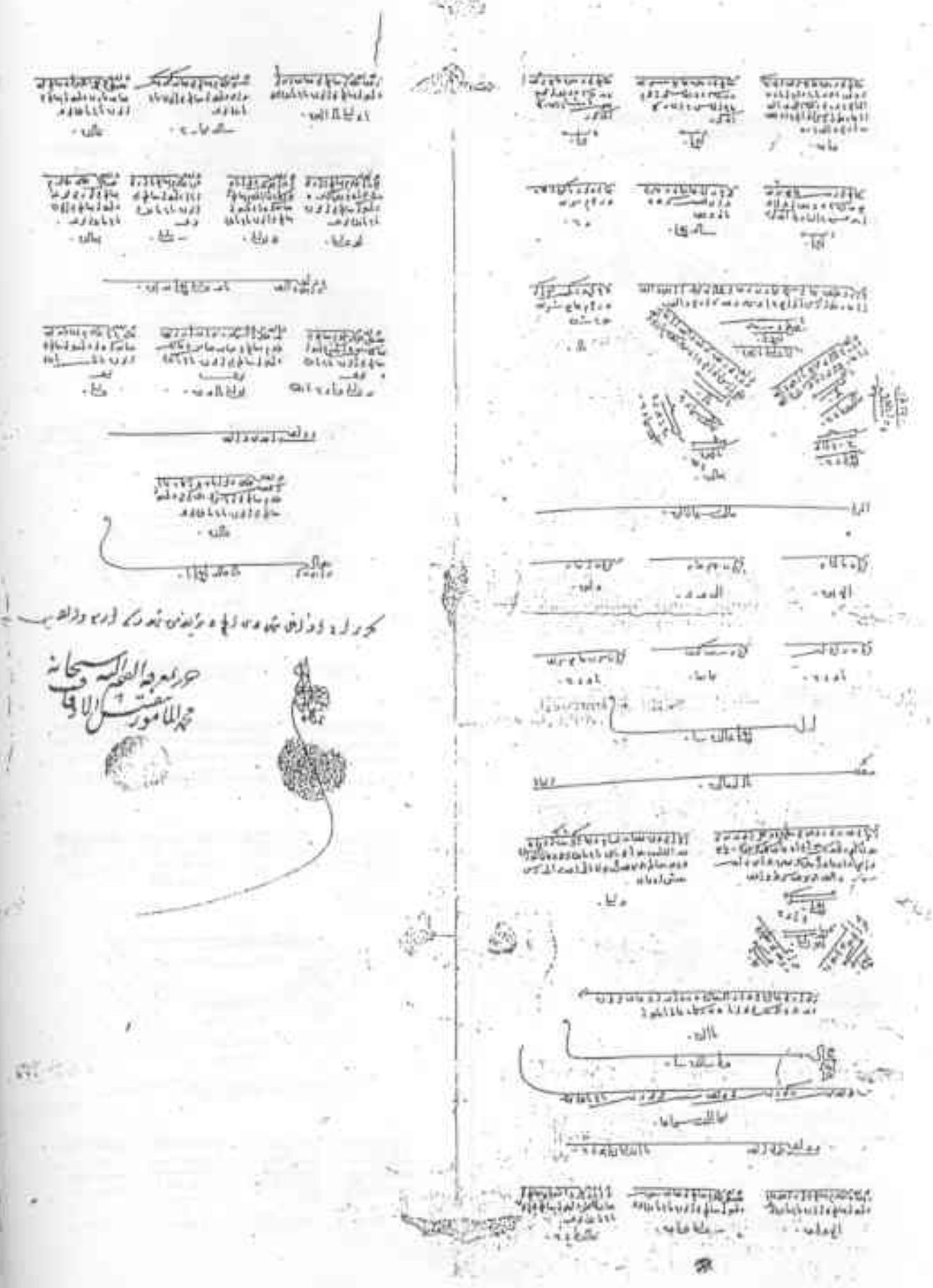
From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 24-25.



From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 26-27.

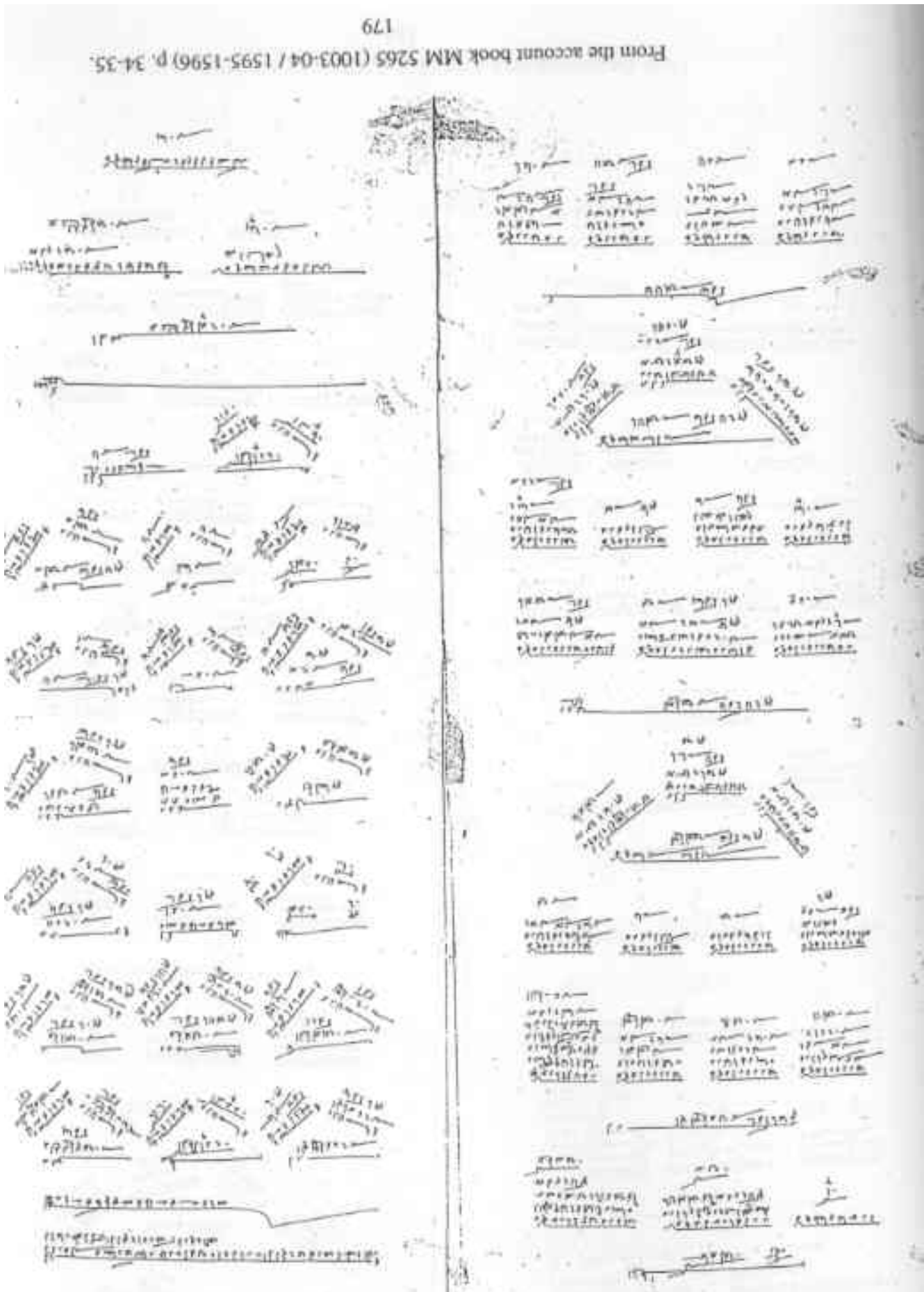


From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 28-29.

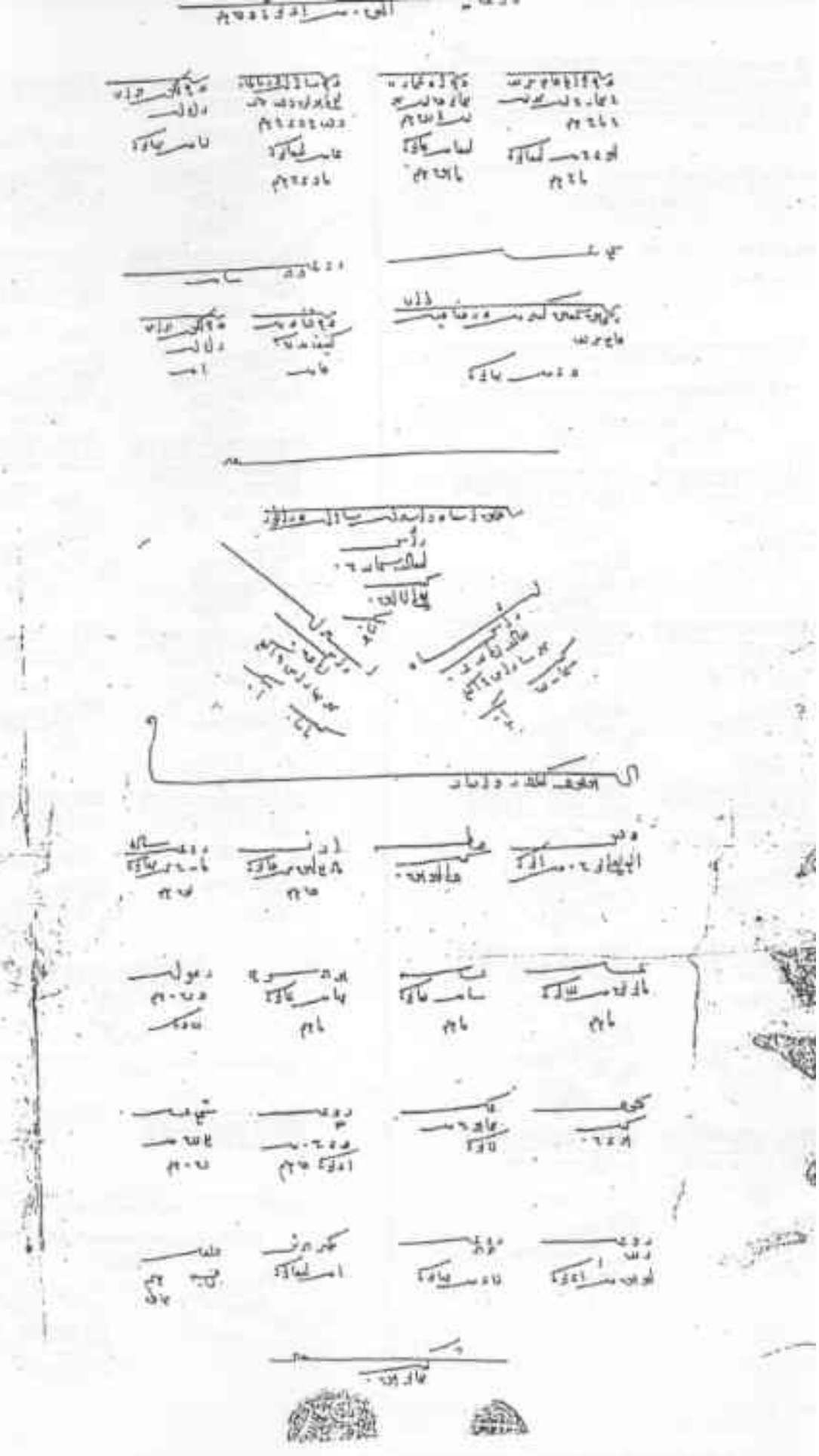


From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 30-31.

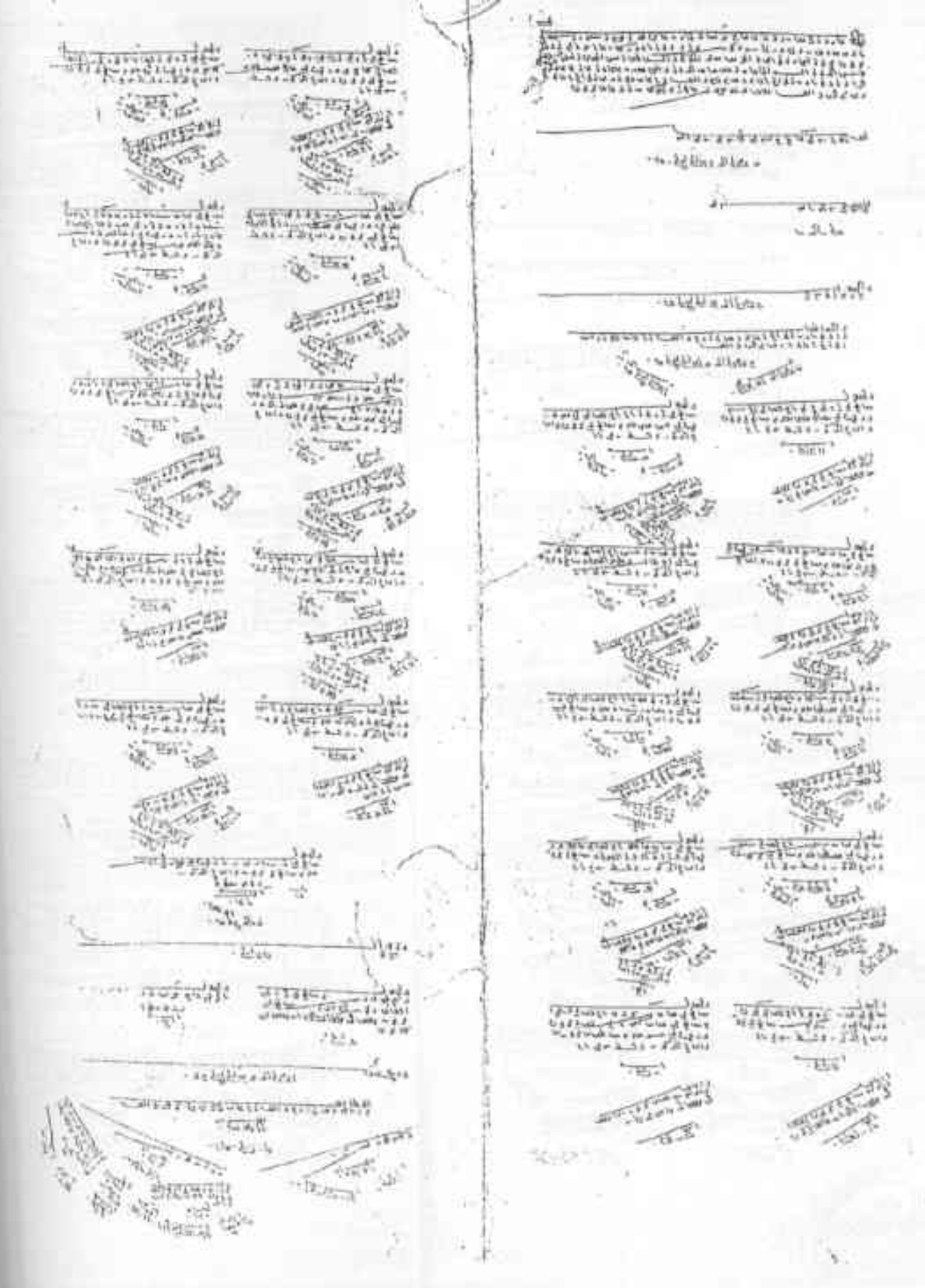
From the account book MM 5265 (1003.04 / 1595-1596) p. 34-35.



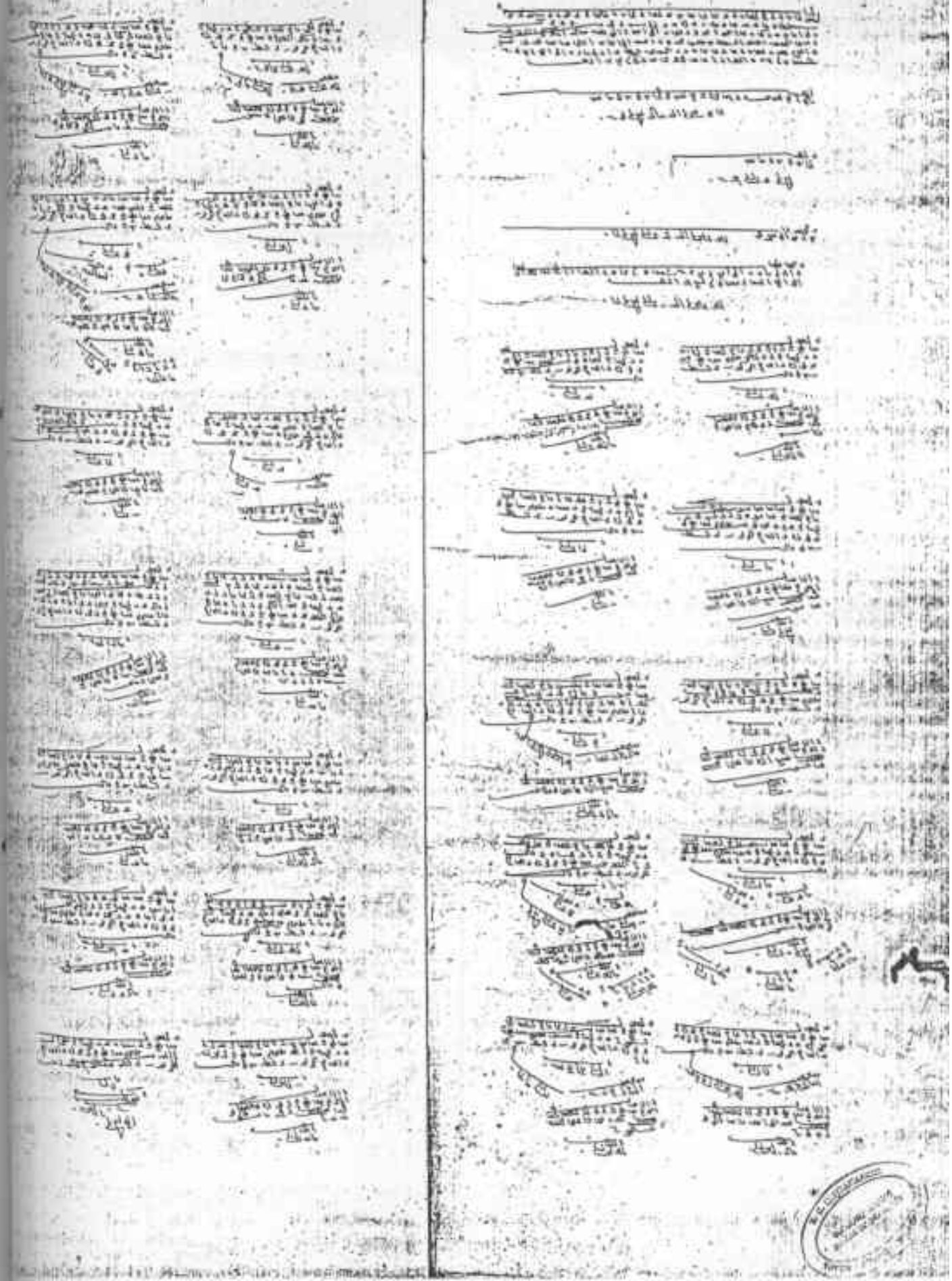
From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 36-37.



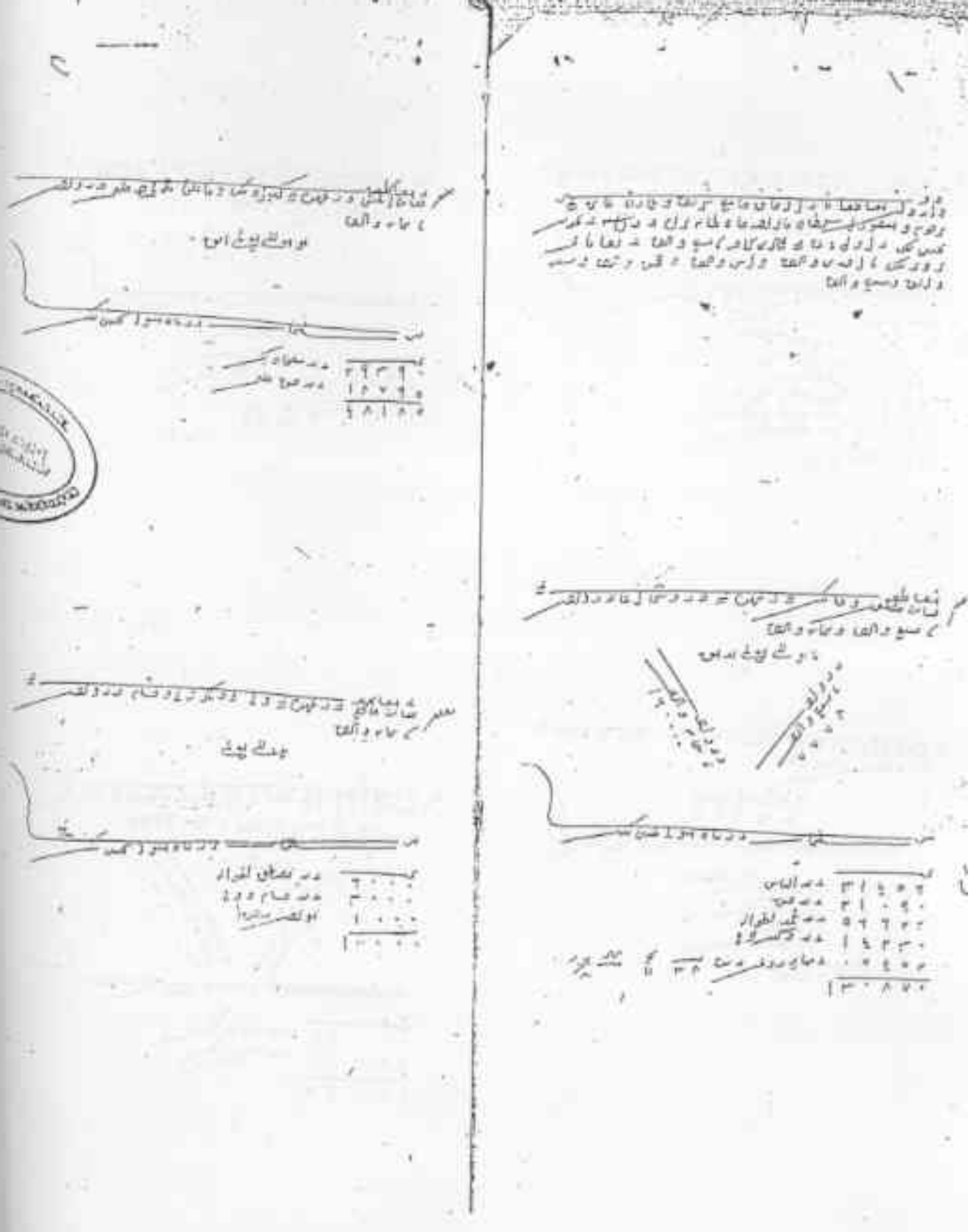
From the account book MM 5265 (1003-04 / 1595-1596) p. 38.



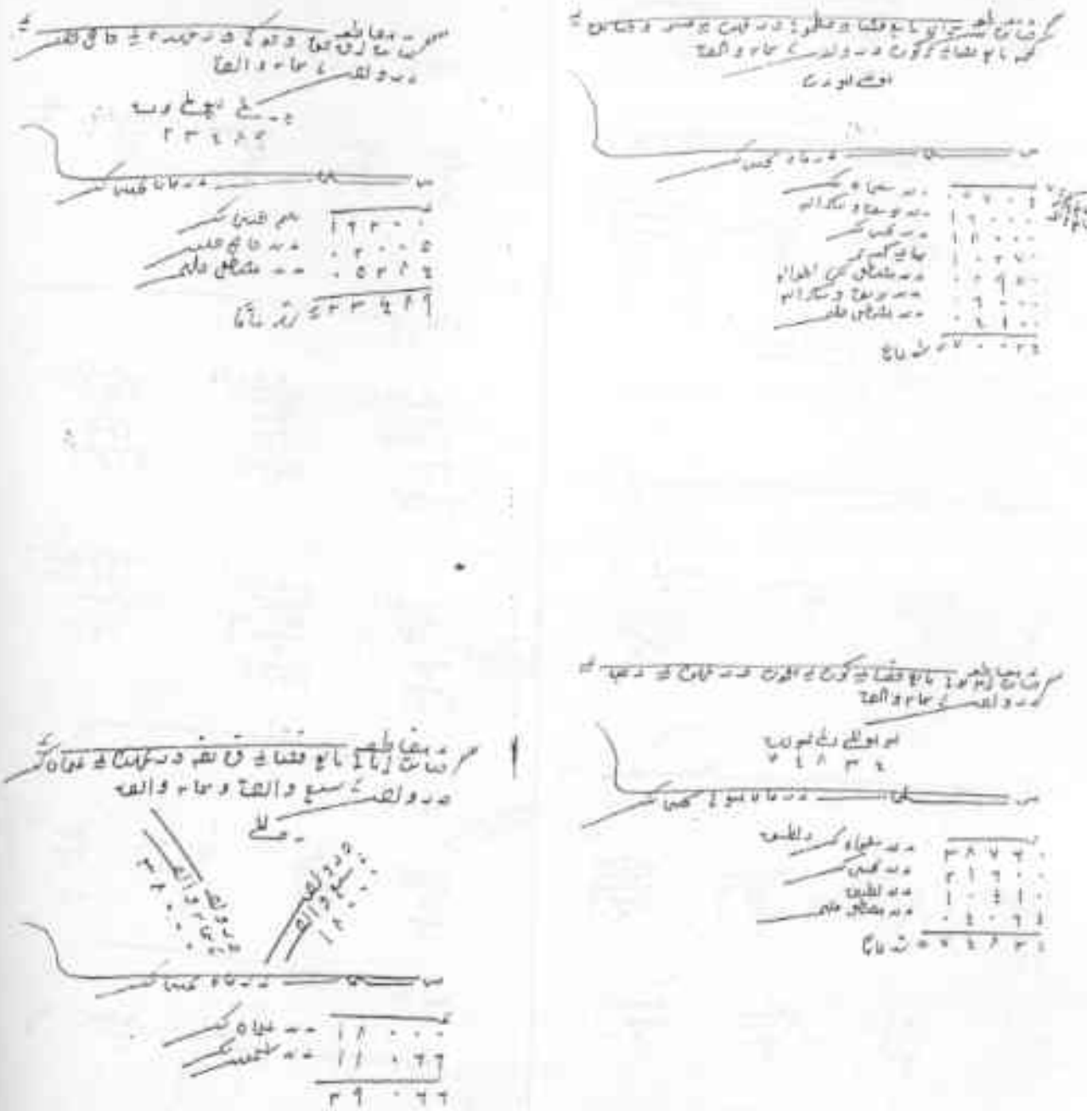
From the account book MM 5265 (1004-05 / 1596-1597) p. 2-3.



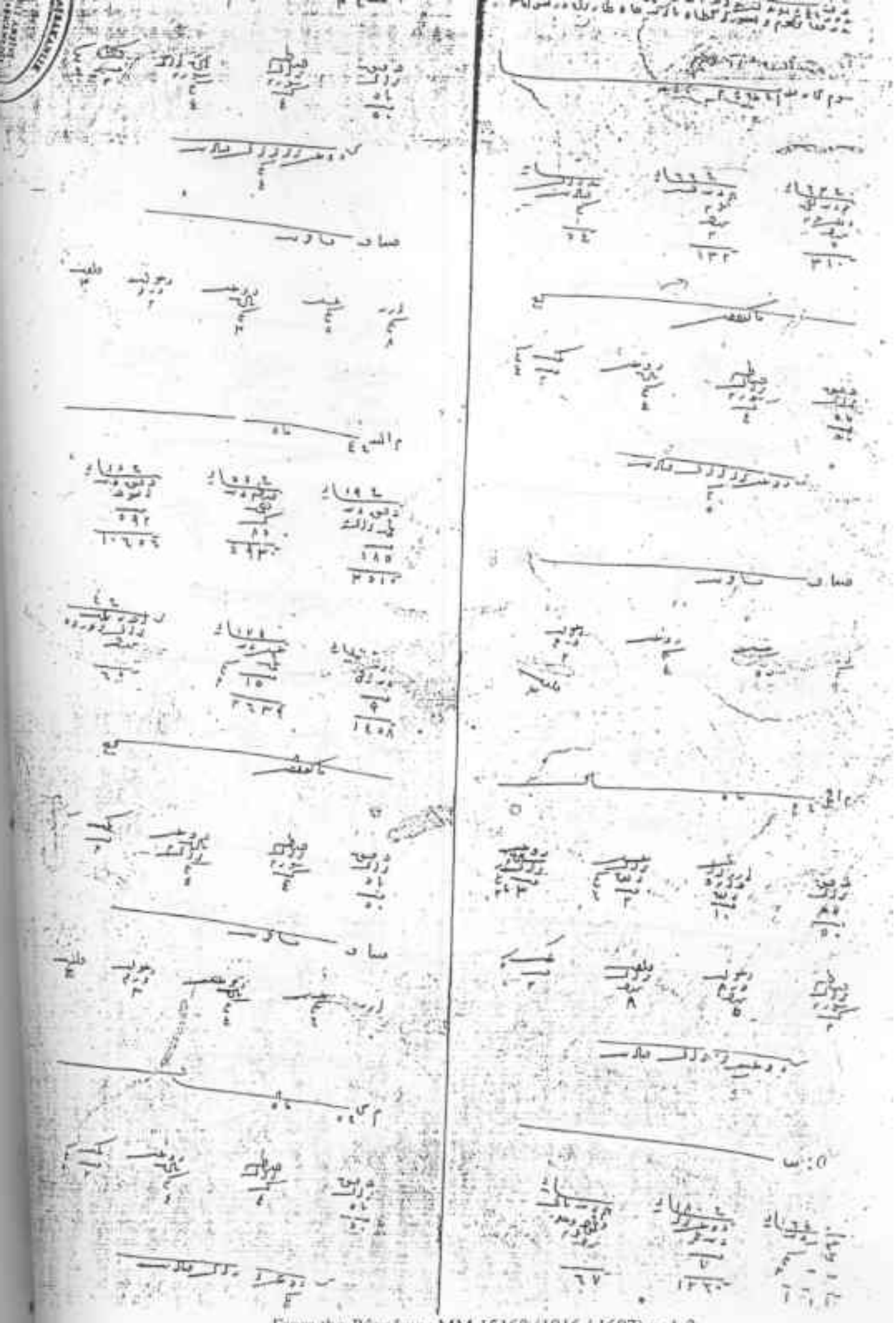
From the account book MM 469 (1008-09 / 1600) p. 2-3.



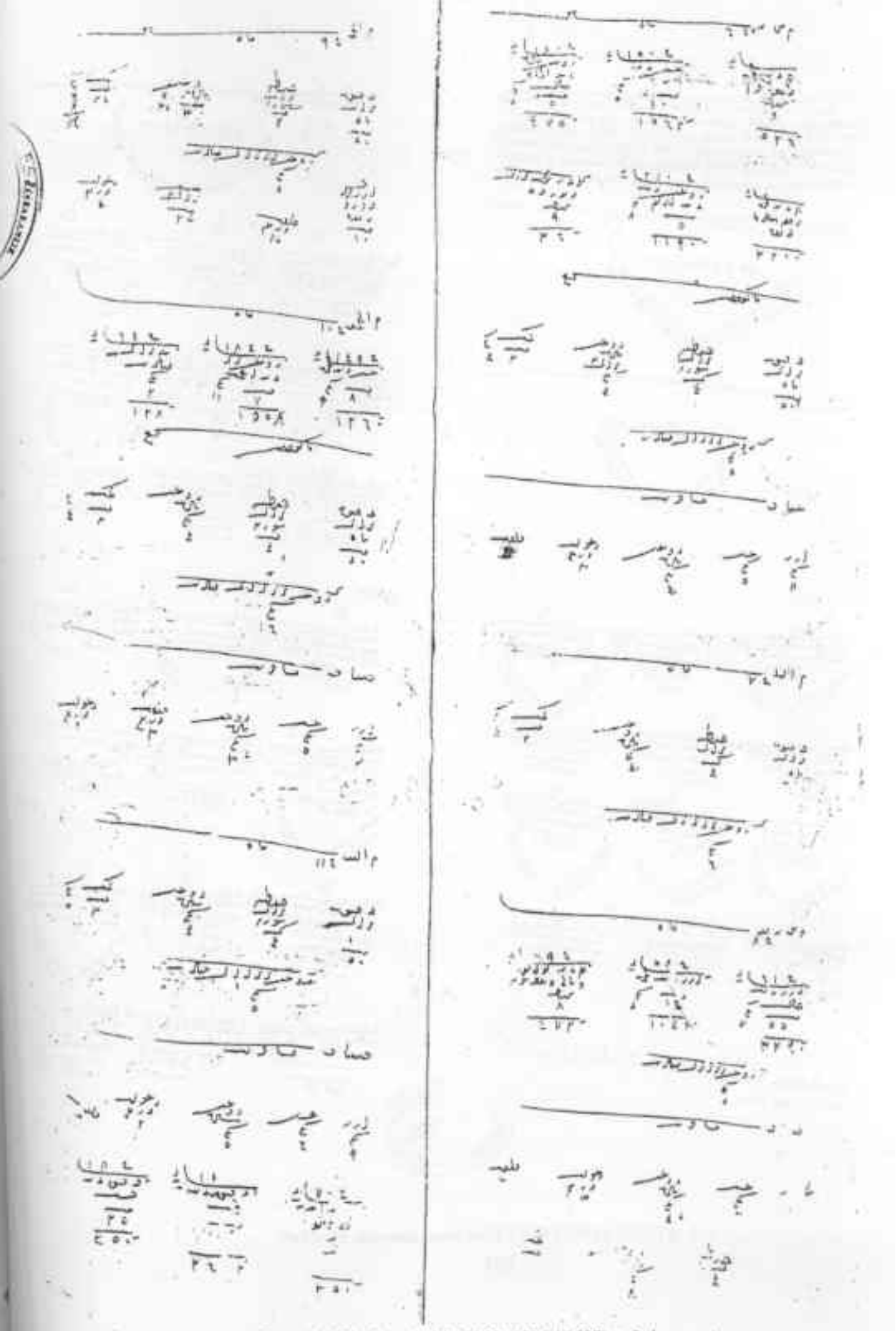
From the account book MM 15480 (1009 / 1601) p. 1-2.



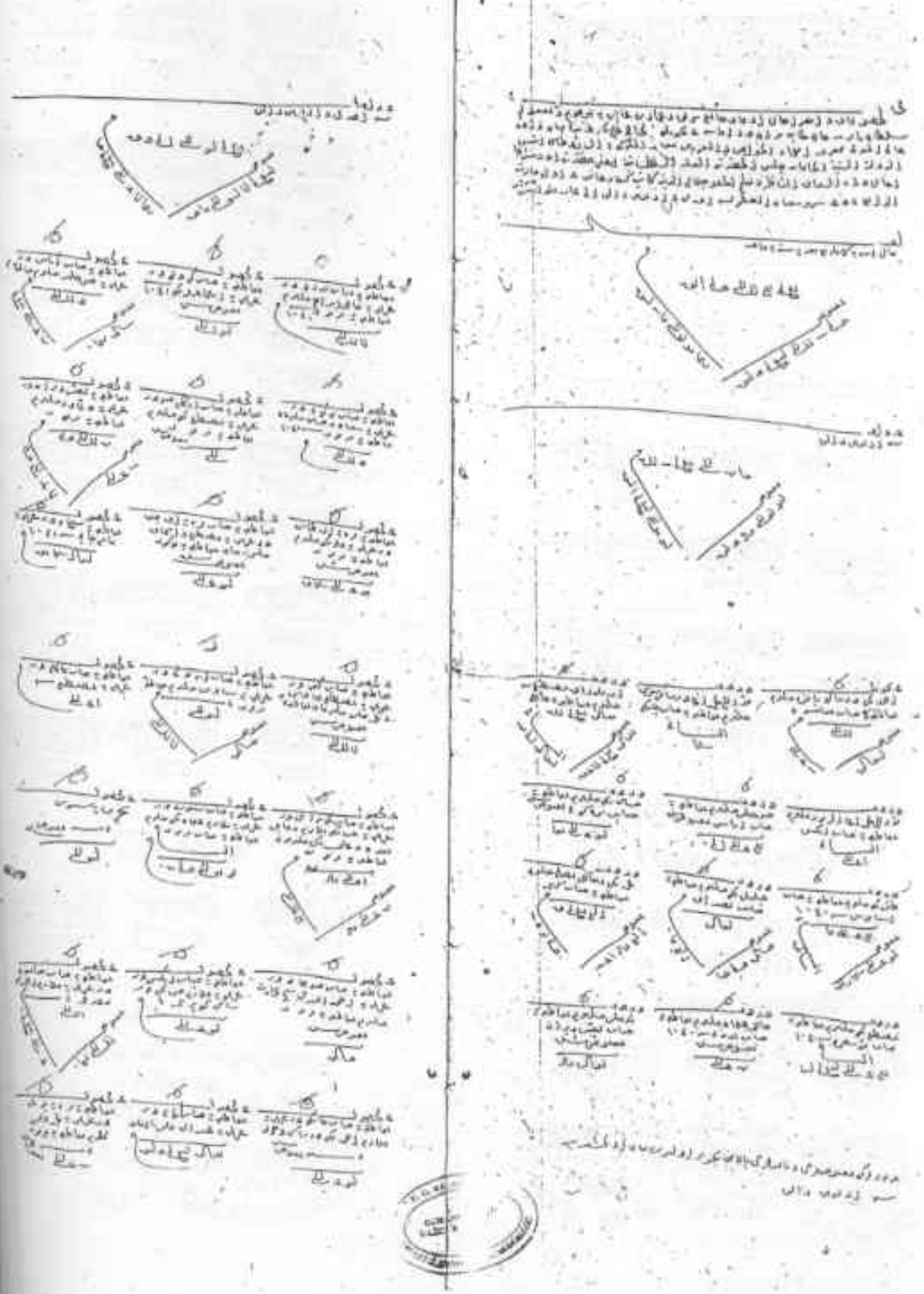
From the account book MM 15480 (1009 / 1601) p. 3-4.



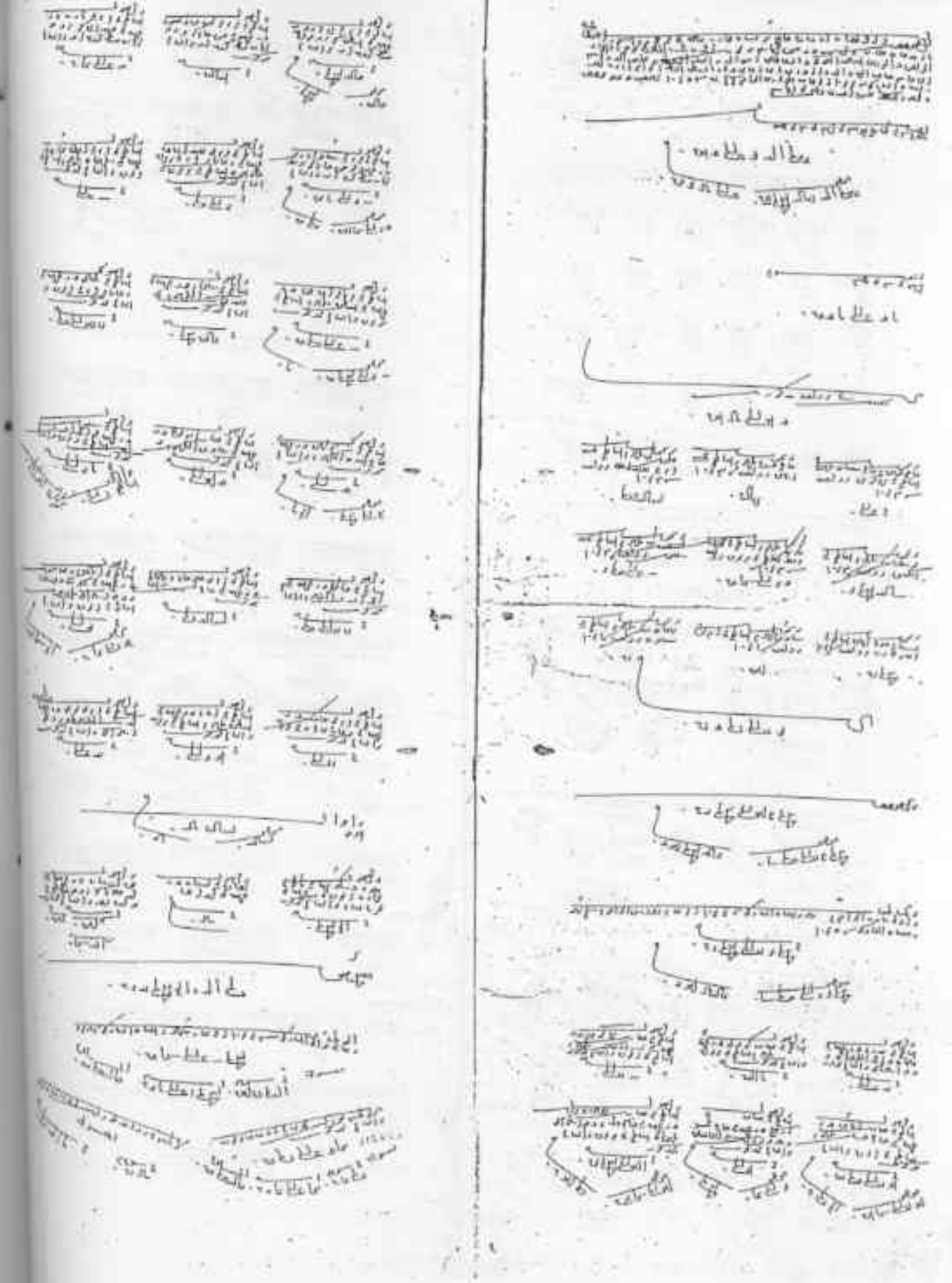
From the *Rûznâmçe* MM 15168 (1016 / 1607) p. 1-2.



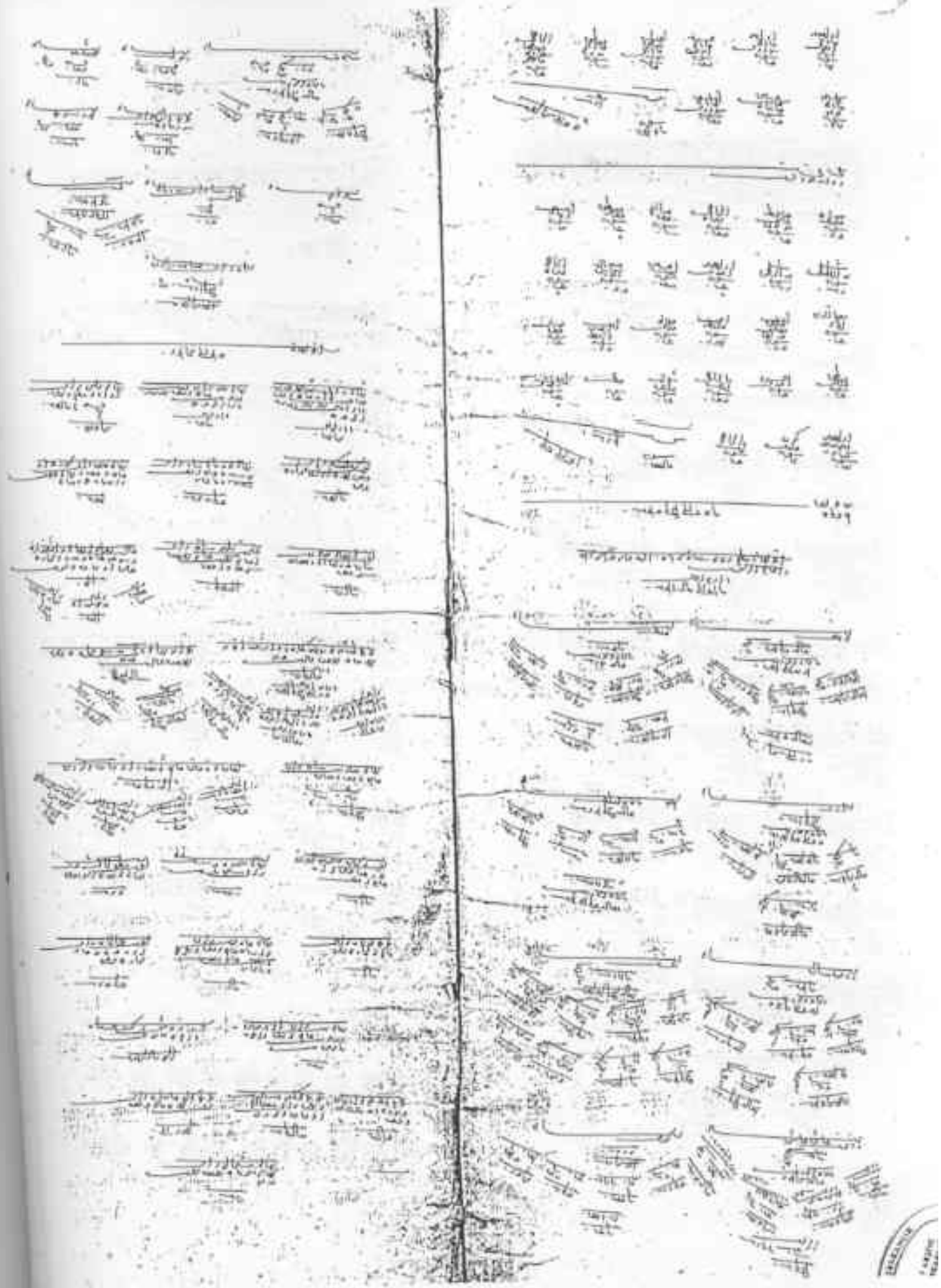
From the *Rûznâmçe* MM 15168 (1016 / 1607) p. 3-4.



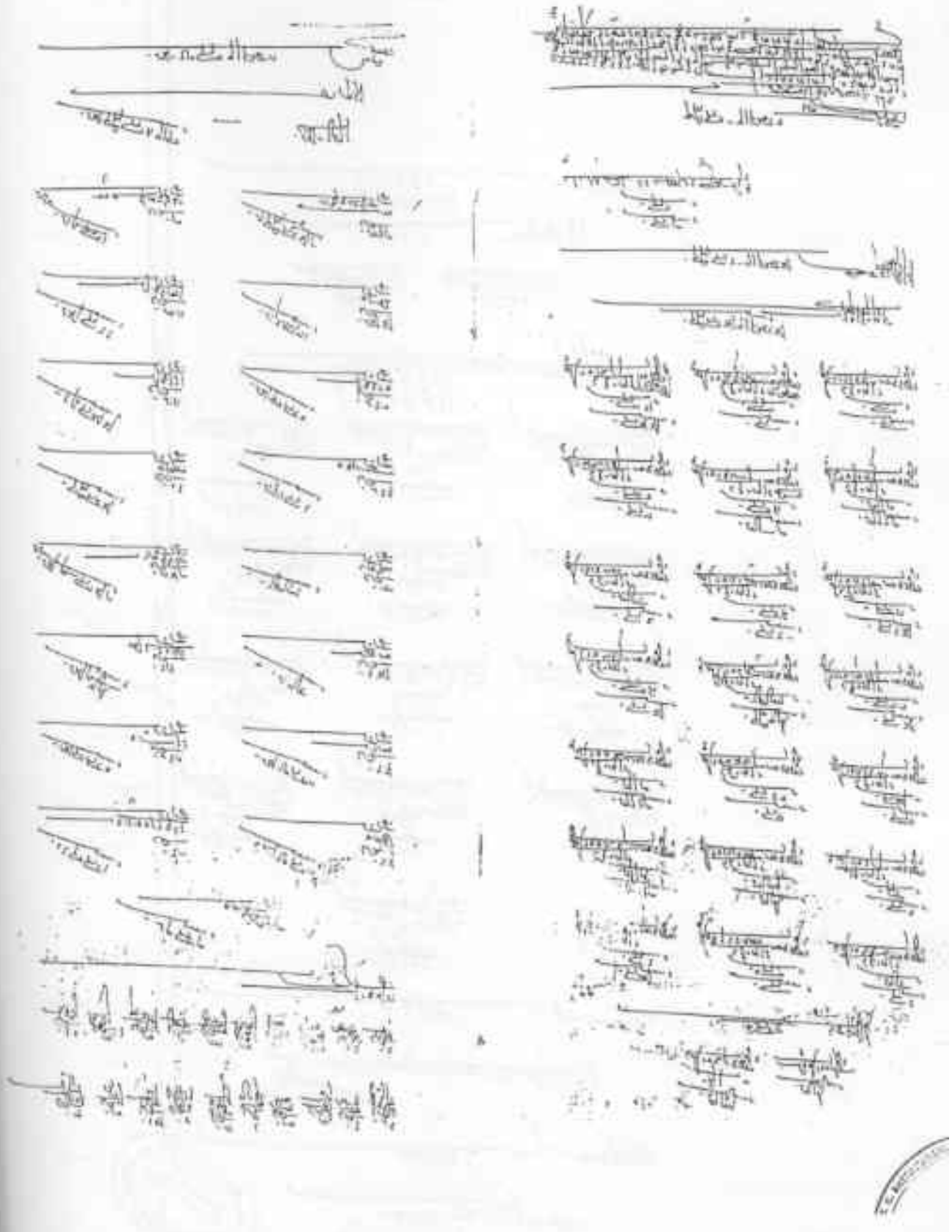
From the account book MM 5159 (1041 / 1632) p. 2-3.



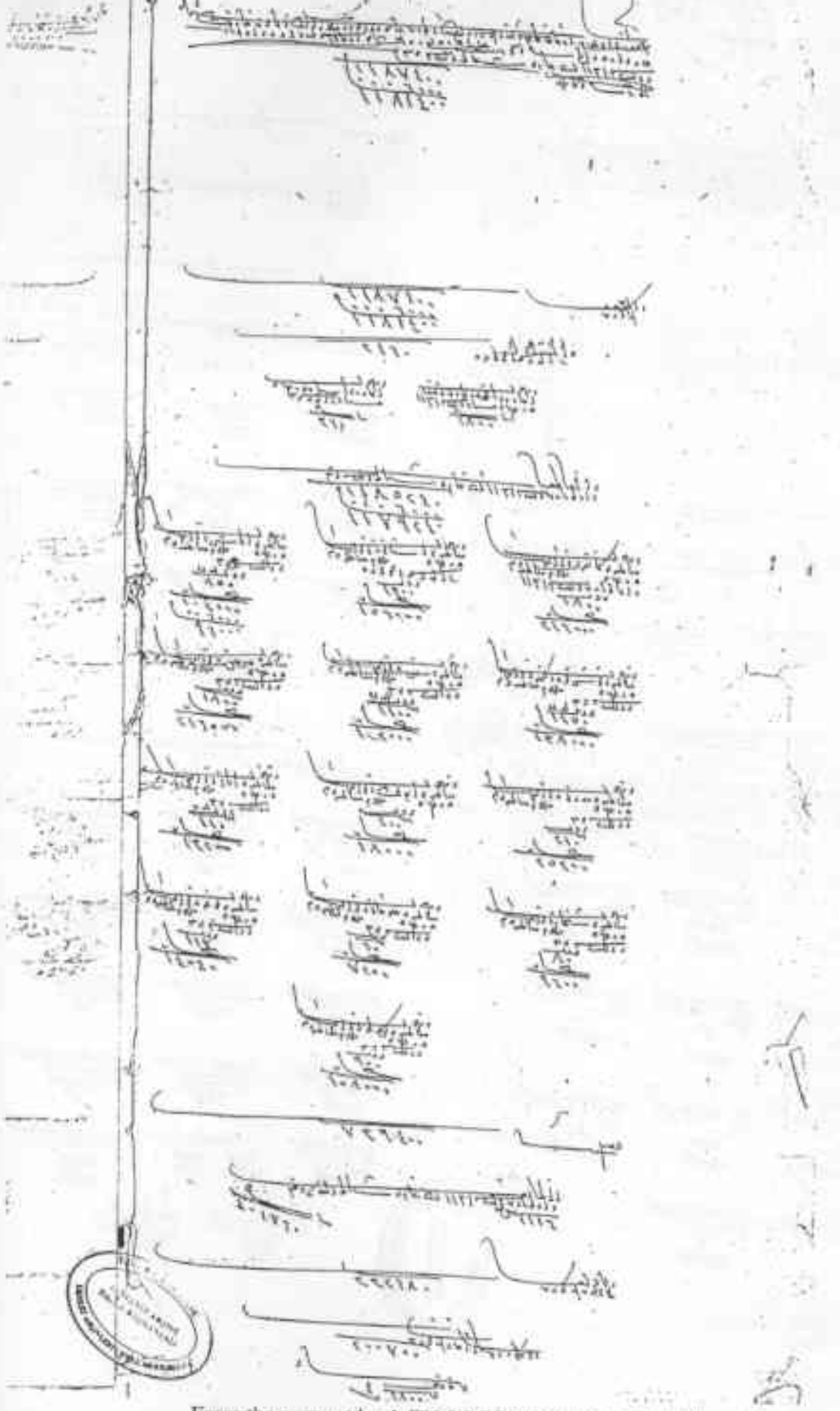
From the account book MM 5666 (1044-45 / 1635) p. 2-3.



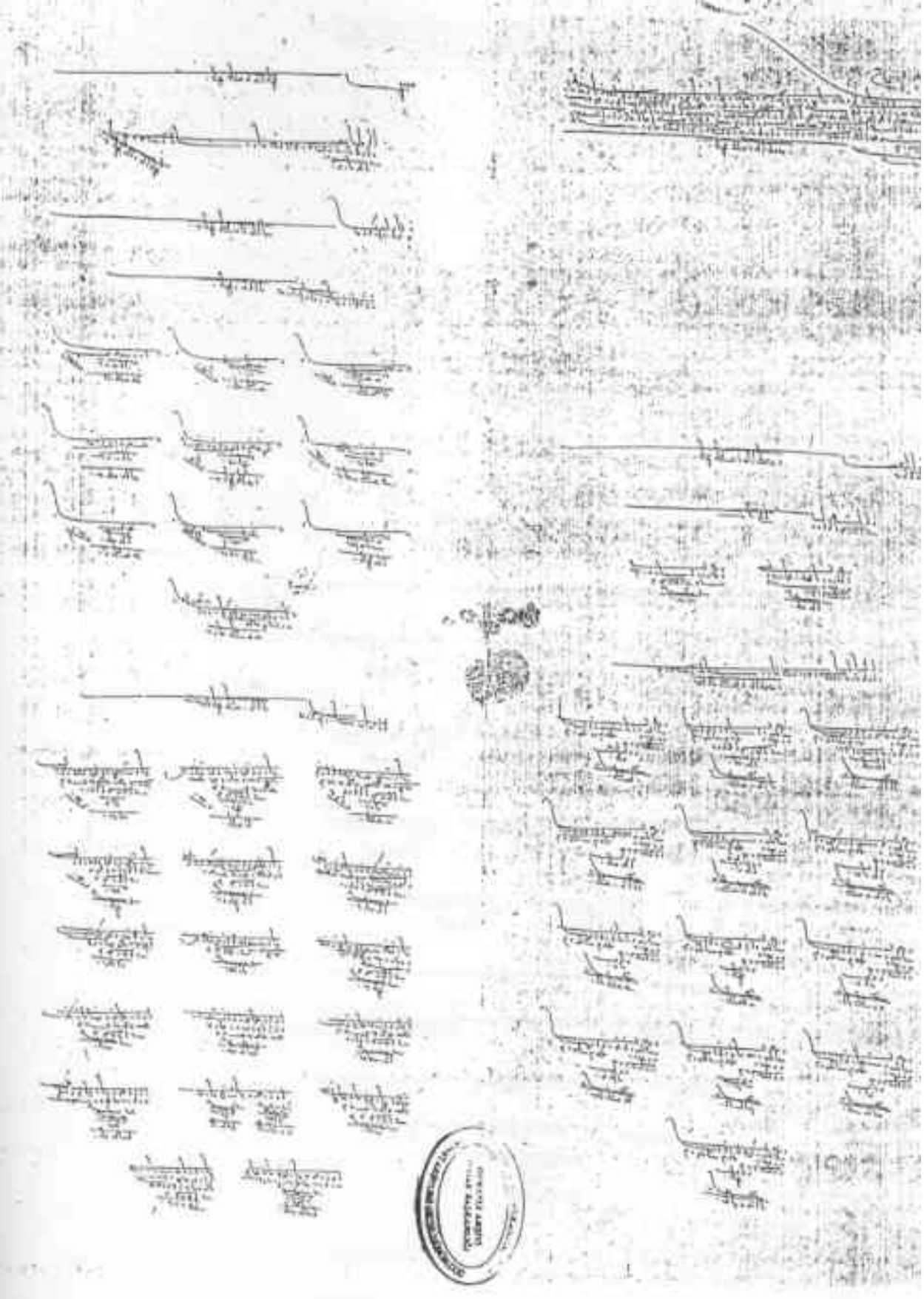
From the account book MM 5776 (1056 / 1646-47) p. 8-9.



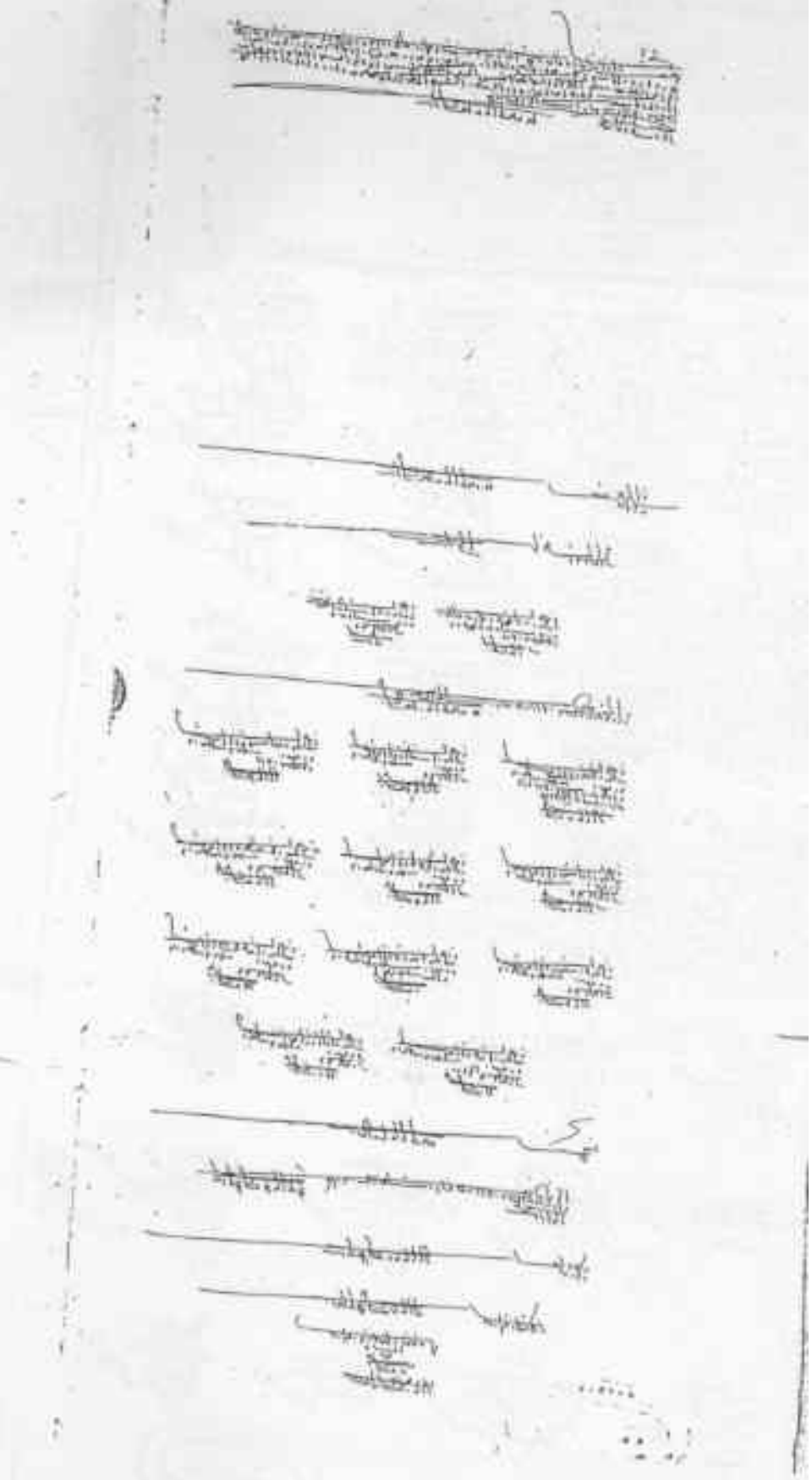
From the account book MM 15809 (1066-67 / 1656-57) p. 5-6.



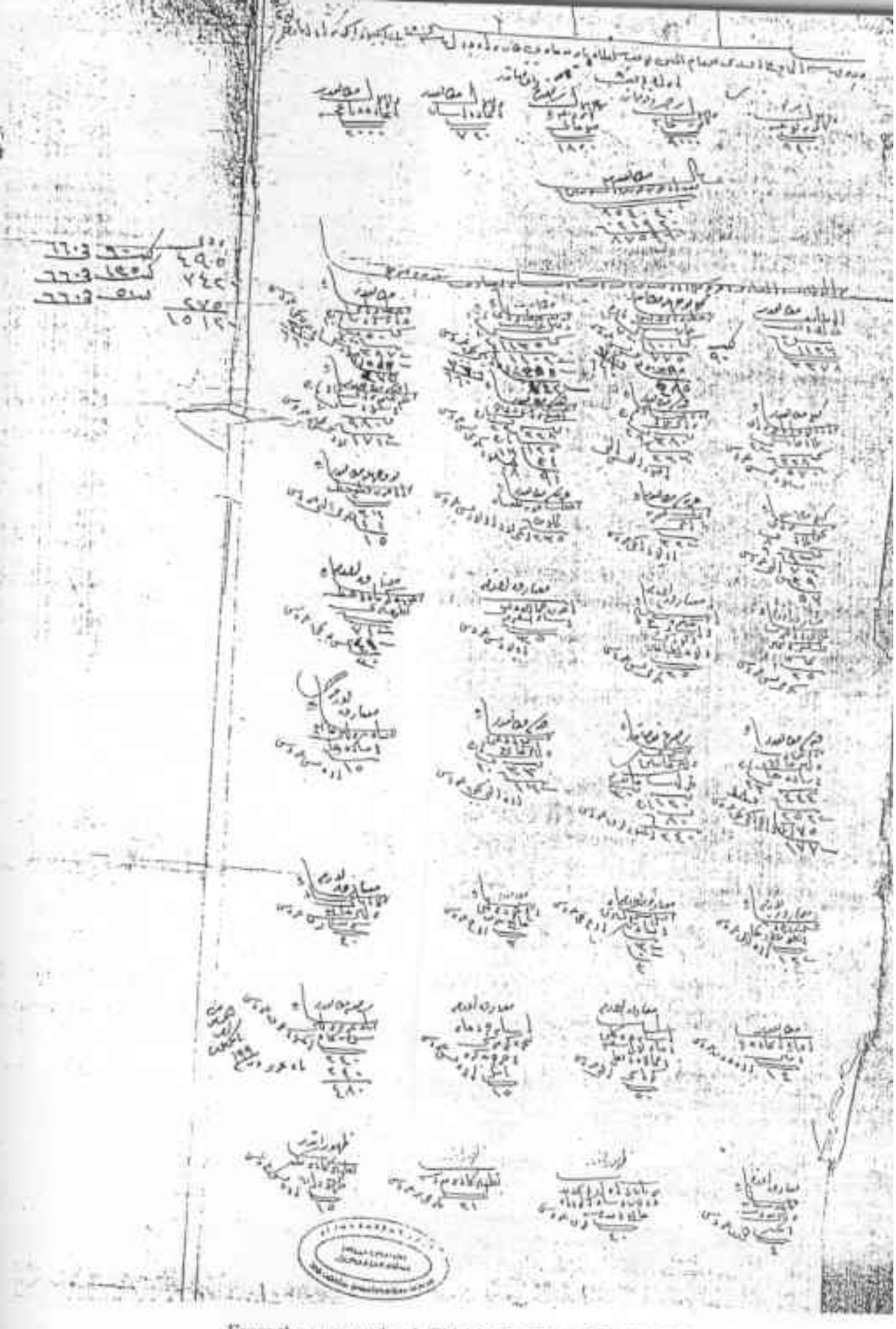
From the account book EV-HMH 2382 (1131-32 / 1719) p. 2-192



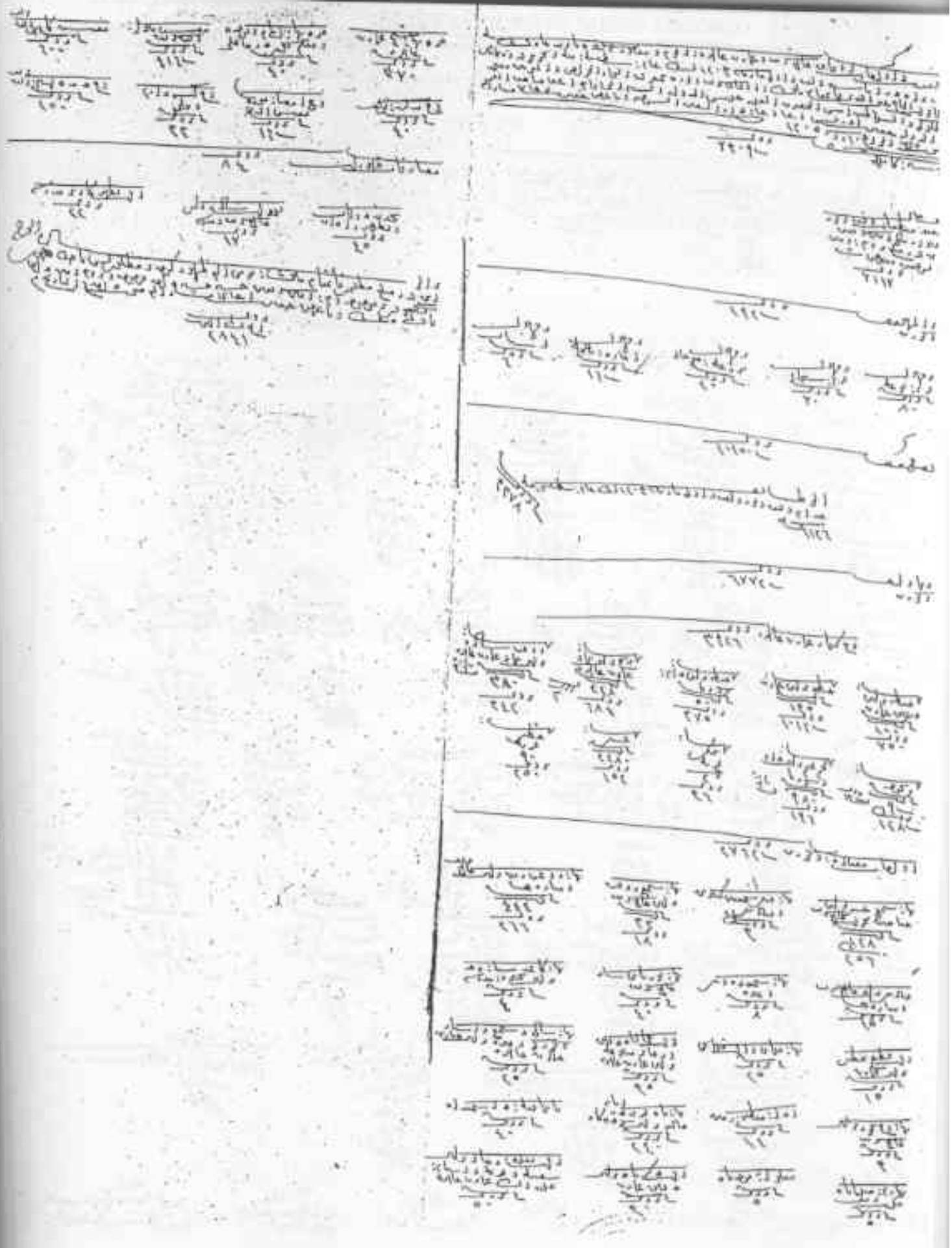
From the account book EV-HMH 2388 (1131-32 / 1719) p. 2–3



From the account book EV-HMH 5065 (1170-71/1757) p. 2.

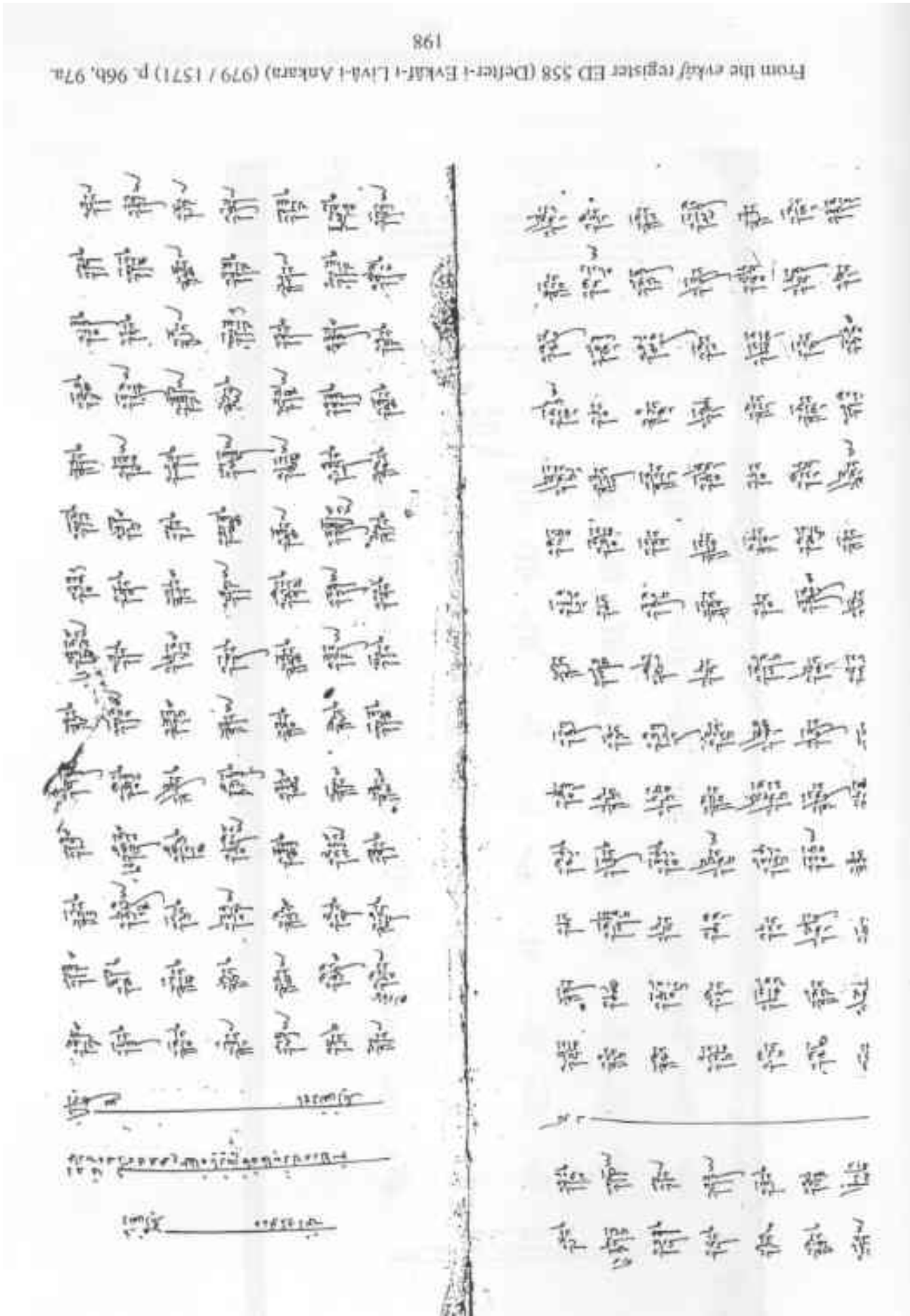


From the account book EV-HMH 6701 (1202/1787-88) p. 1.

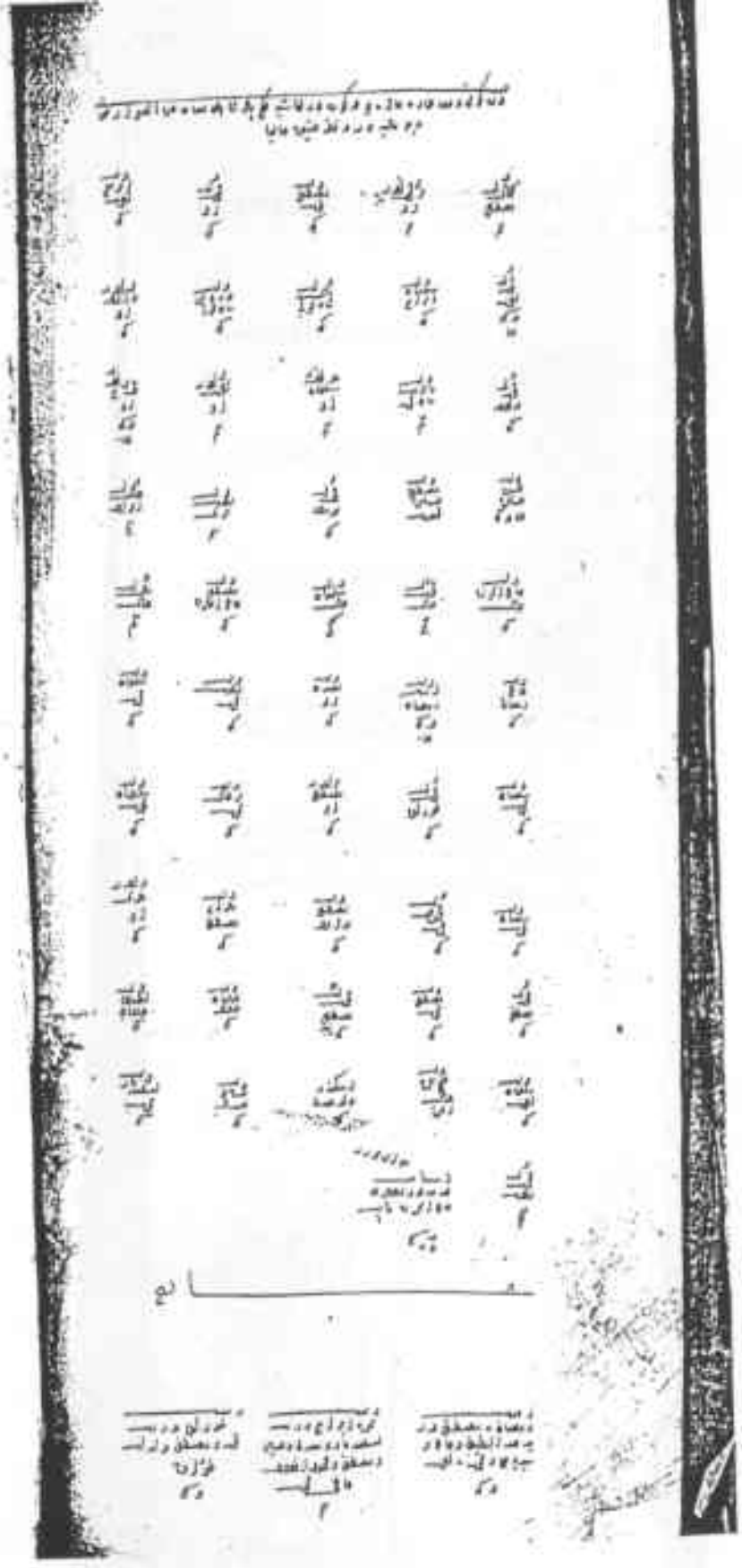


From the account book EV-HMH 6757 (1203/1788-89) p. 1.

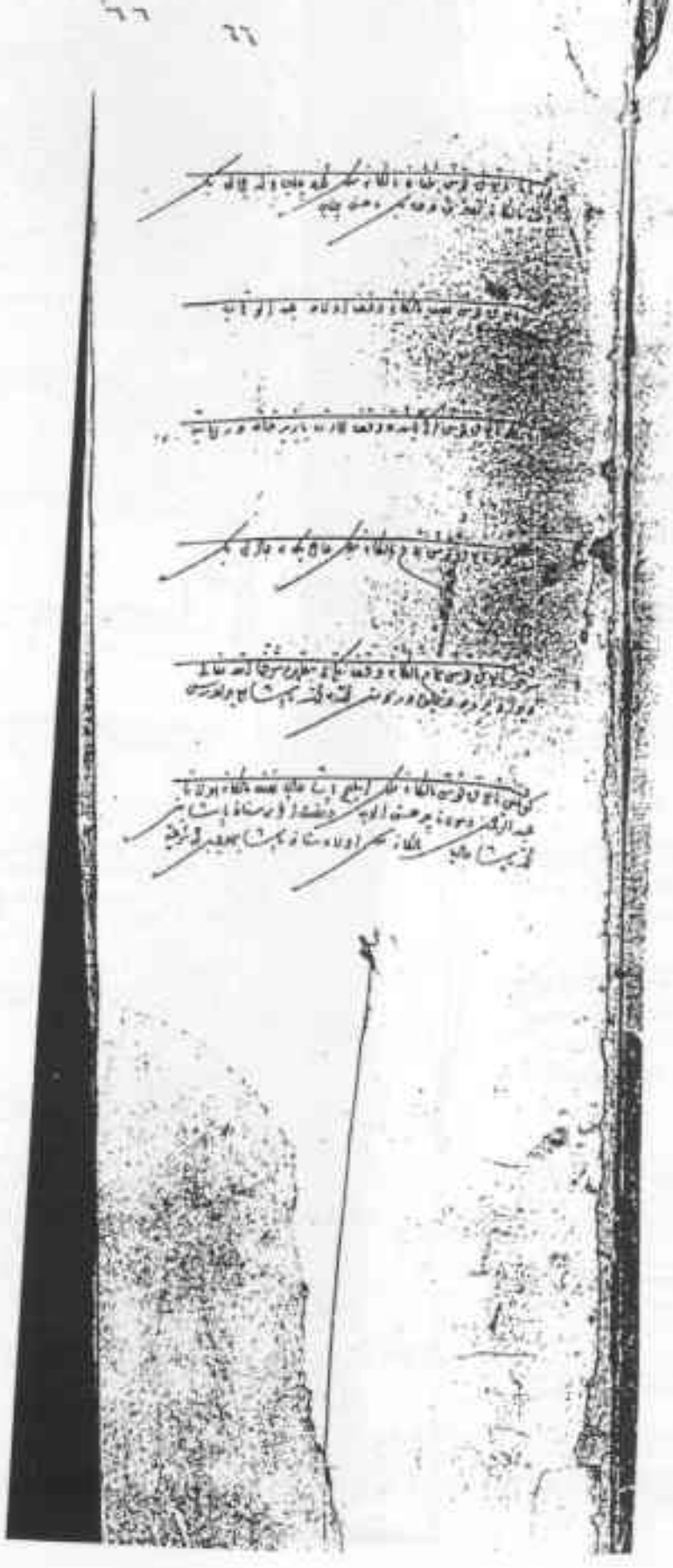
From the account book EV-HMH 6992 (1206/1791-92) p. 1.



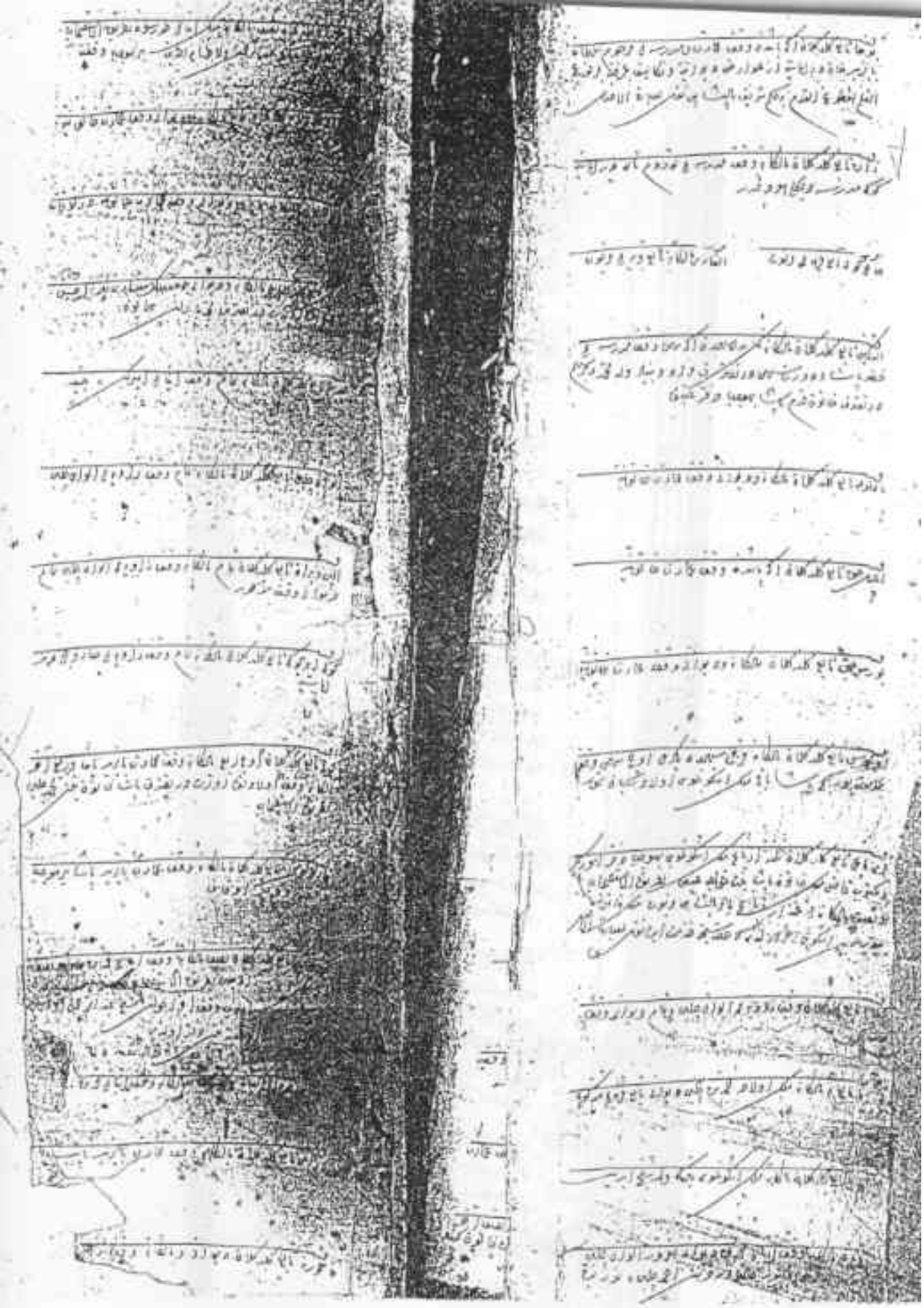
From the *evkāf* register ED 558 (Defter-i Evkāf-i Livā-i Ankara) (979 / 1571) p. 96b, 97a.



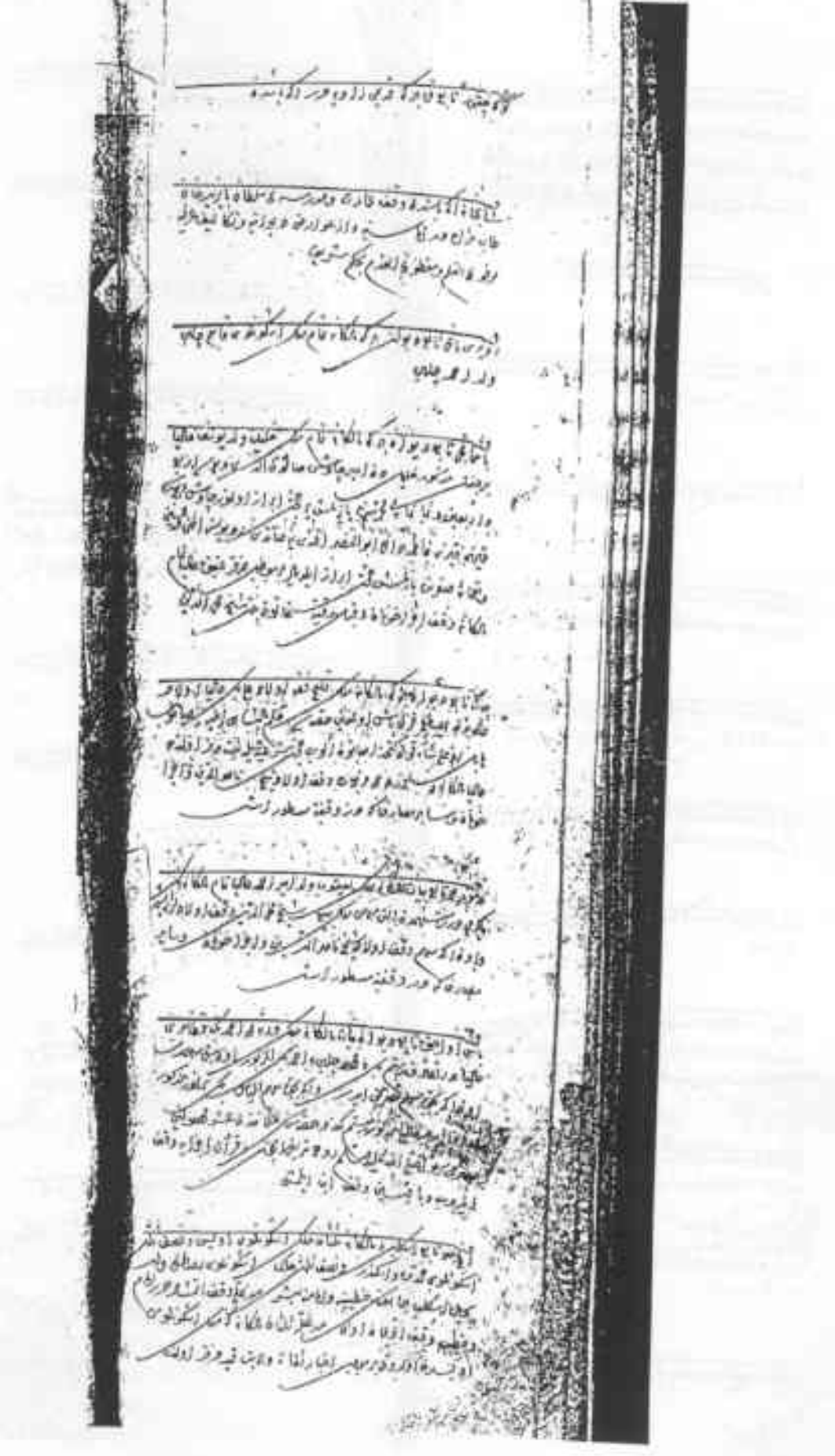
From the *evkâf* register ED 547 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Bolu) (Selim II) p. 259b.



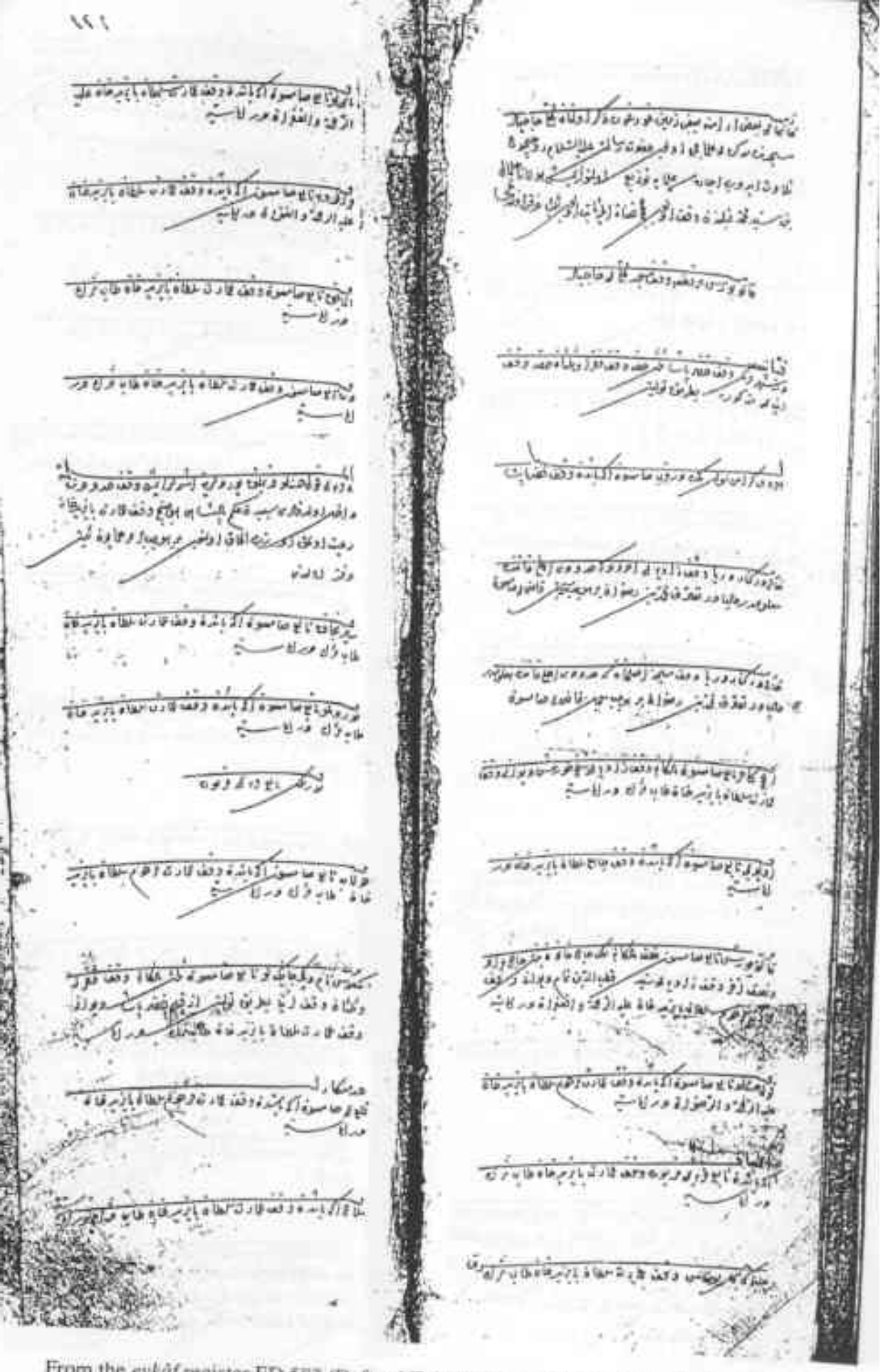
From the *evkâf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Rûm) (984 / 1576) p. 66a.



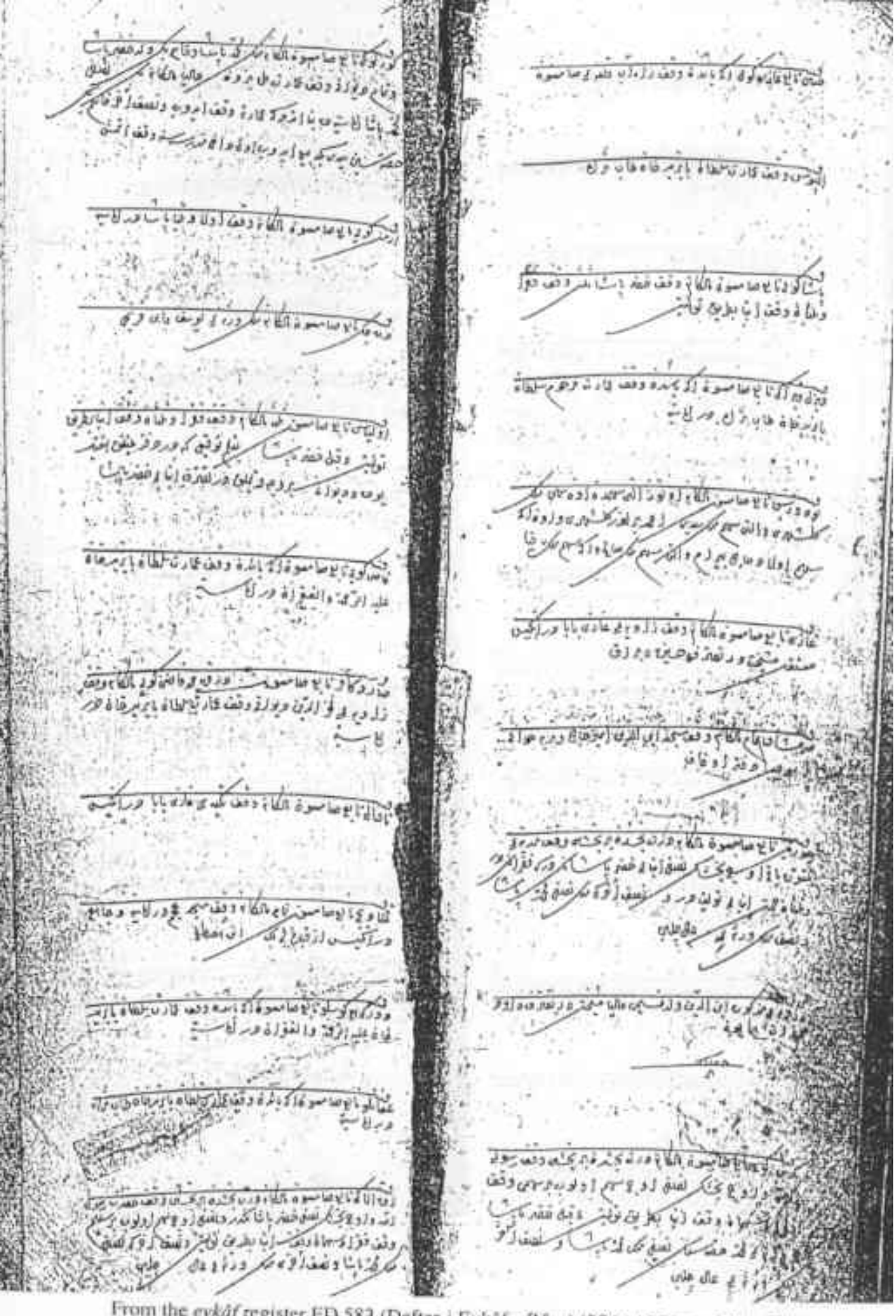
From the *evkāf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkāf-i Rūm) (984 / 1576) p. 84b, 85a.



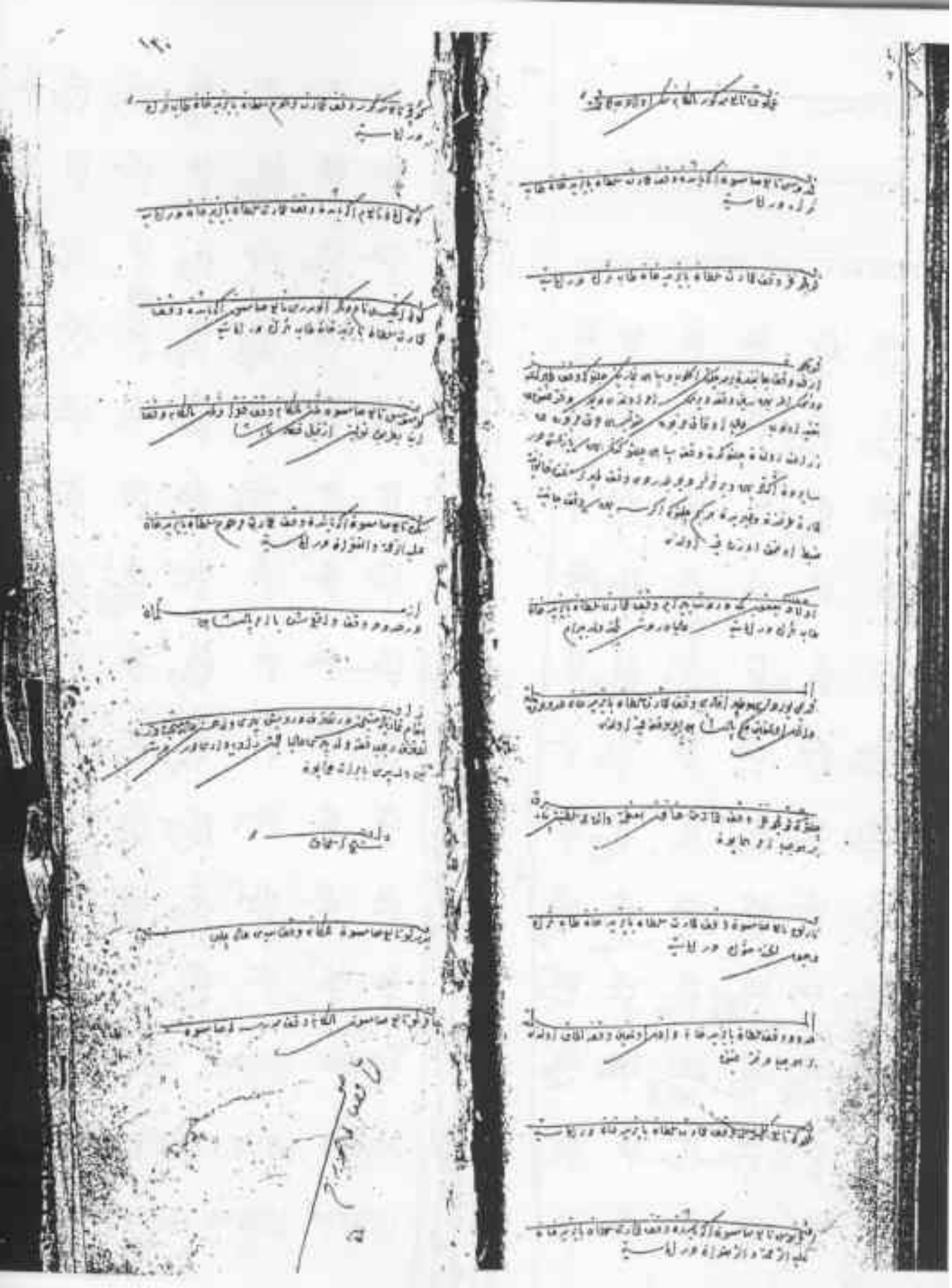
From the *evkâf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Rûm) (984 / 1576) p. 120b.



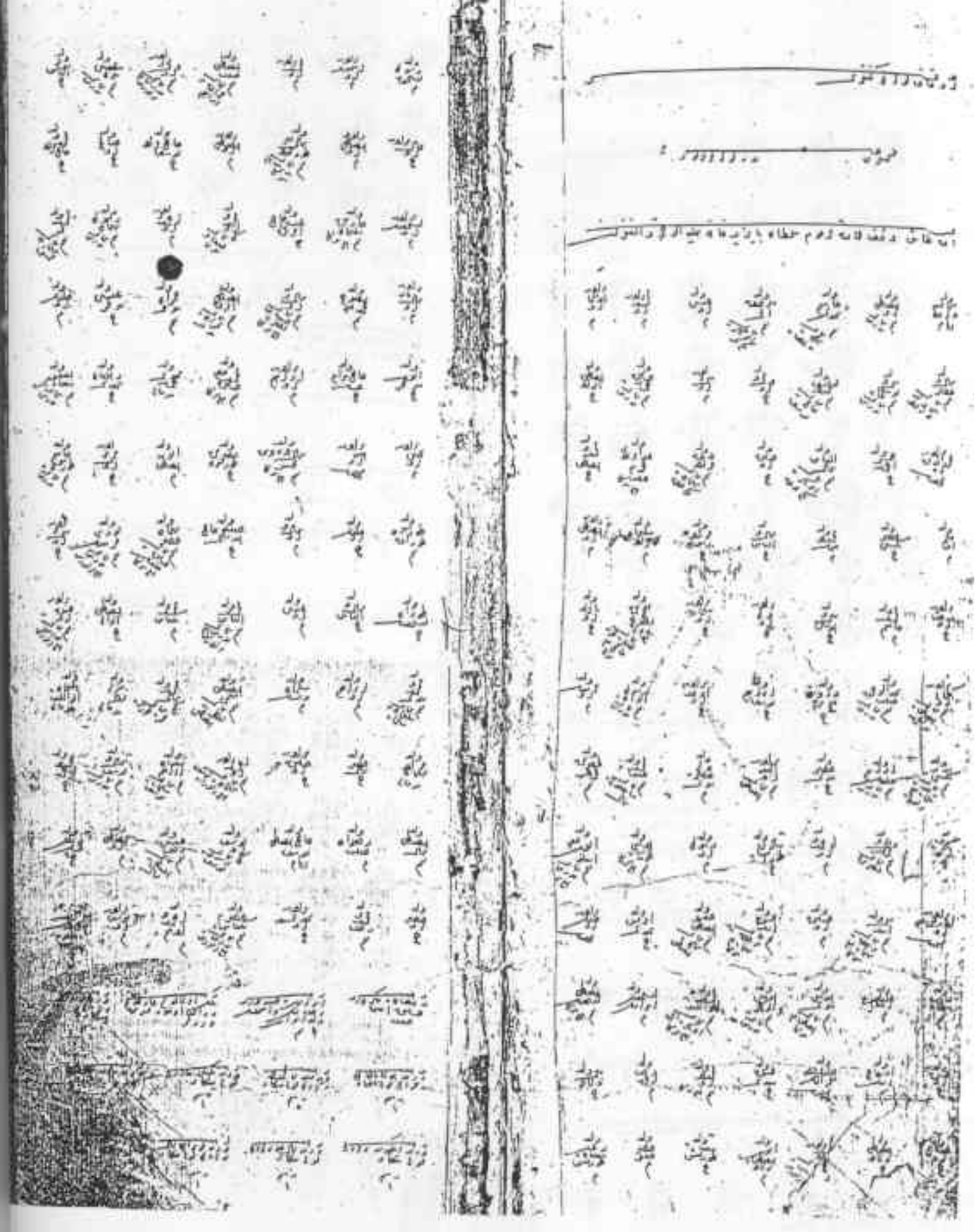
From the *evkâf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Rûm) (984 / 1576) p. 127b, 128a.



From the *evkâf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkâf-i Rûm) (984 / 1576) p. 128b, 129a.

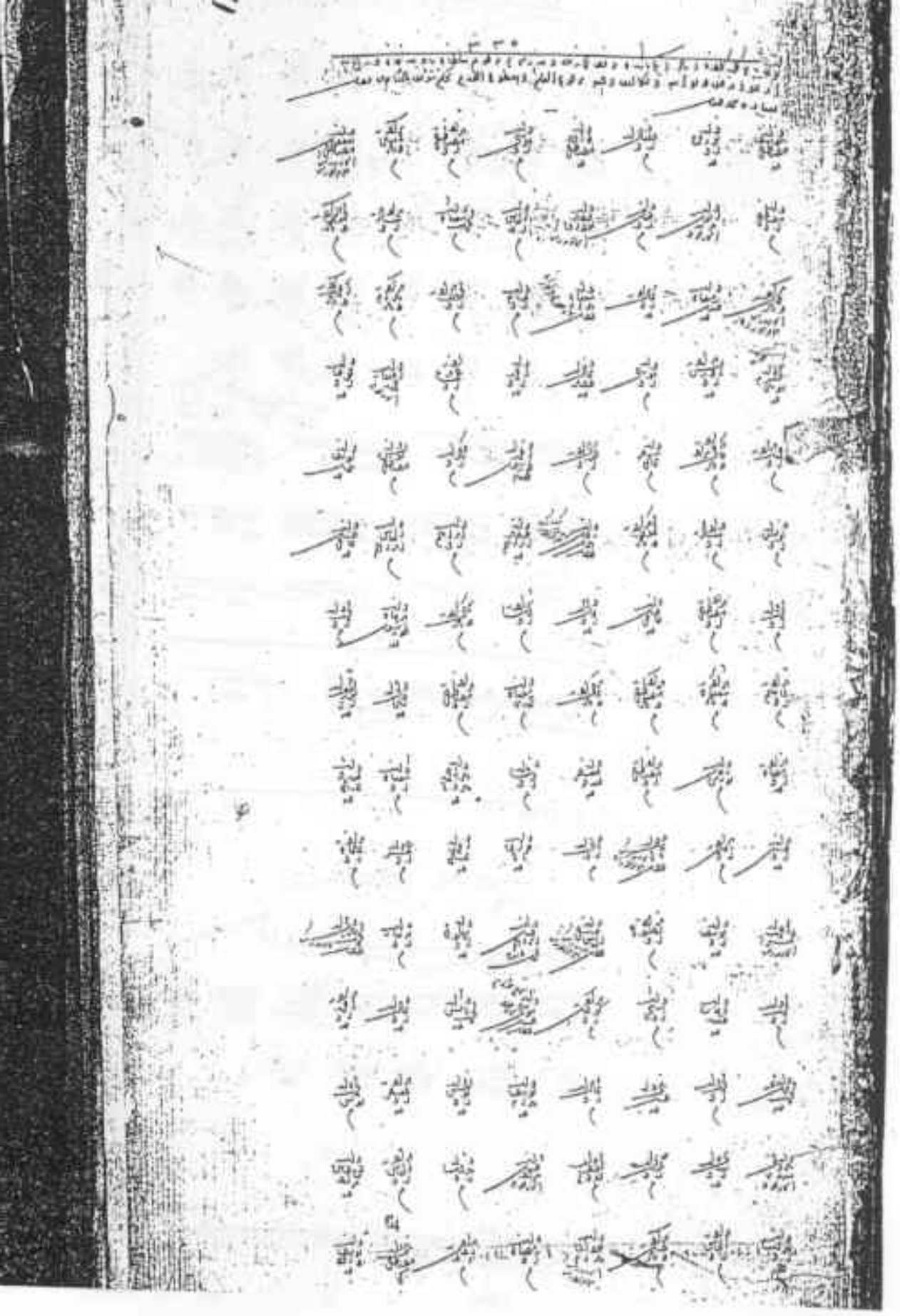


From the *evkâf* register ED 583 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Rûm) (984 / 1576) p. 129b, 130a.

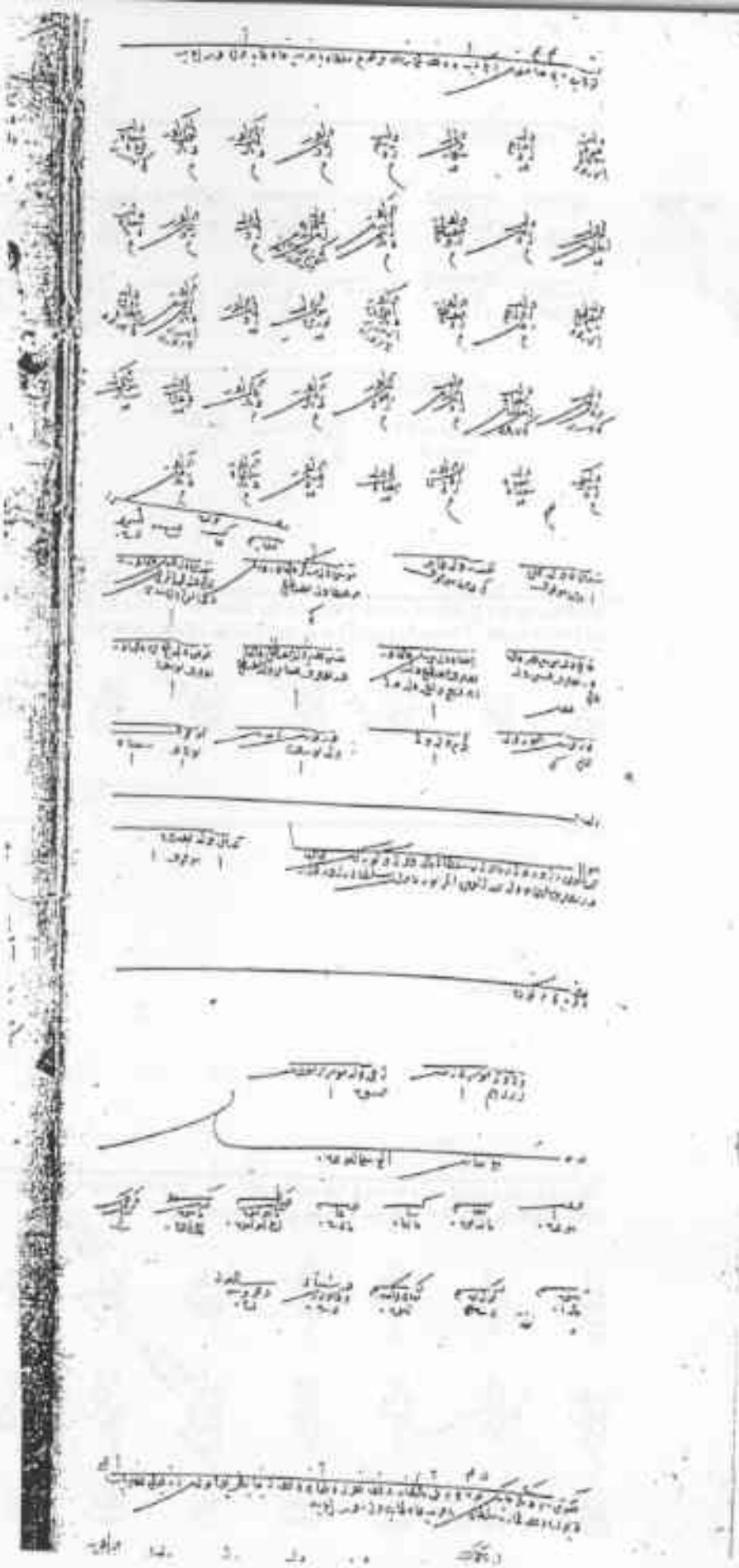


From the *evkâf* register ED 578 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Kangırı) (987 / 1579) p. 4b, 5a.

From the *evkâf* register ED 554 (Defter-i Evkâf-ı Livâ-i Kastamonu) (990 / 1582) p. 94b, 95a.

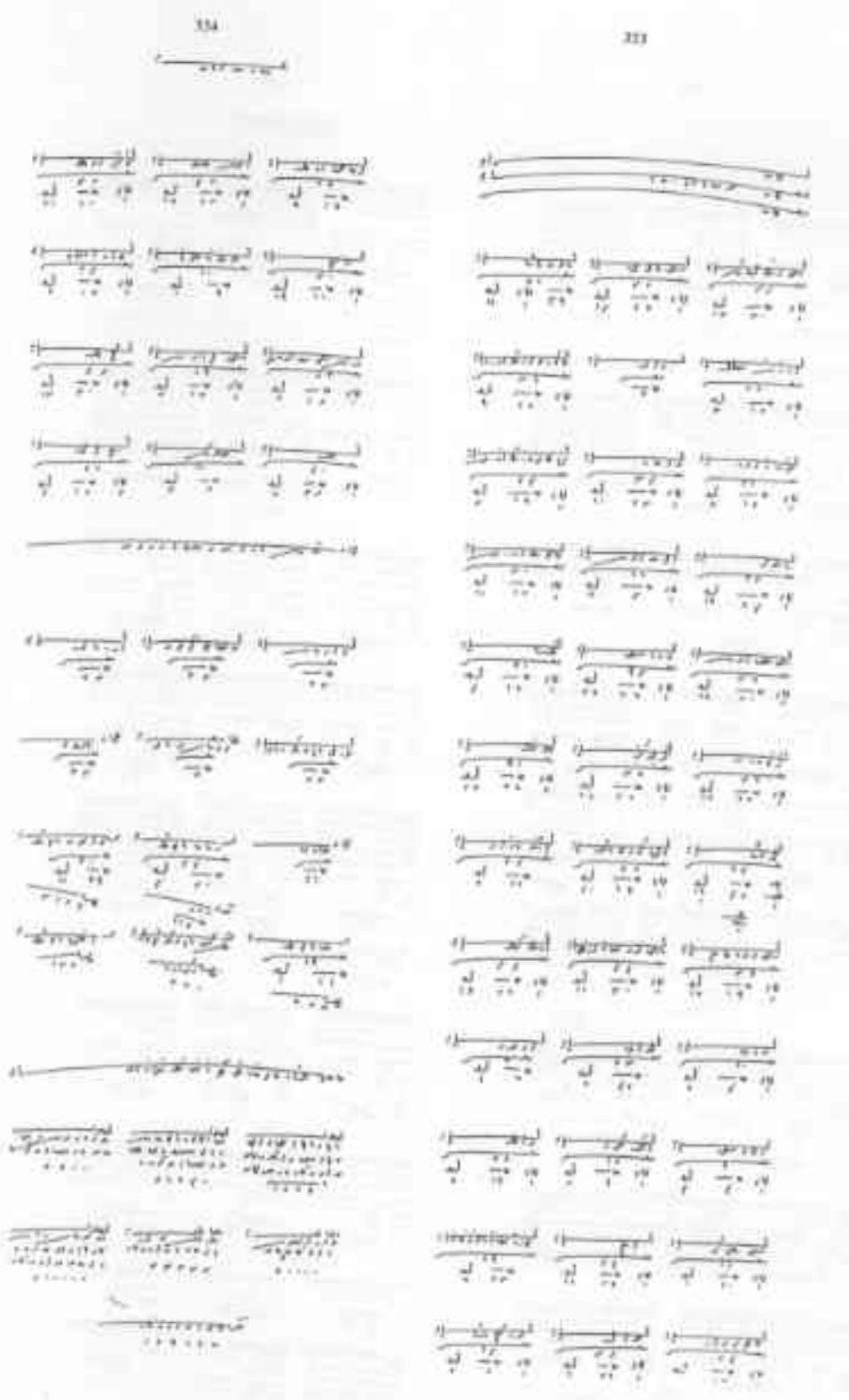


From the *mufassal* register TD 26 (Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Amasya) (984 / 1576-77) p. 108a.

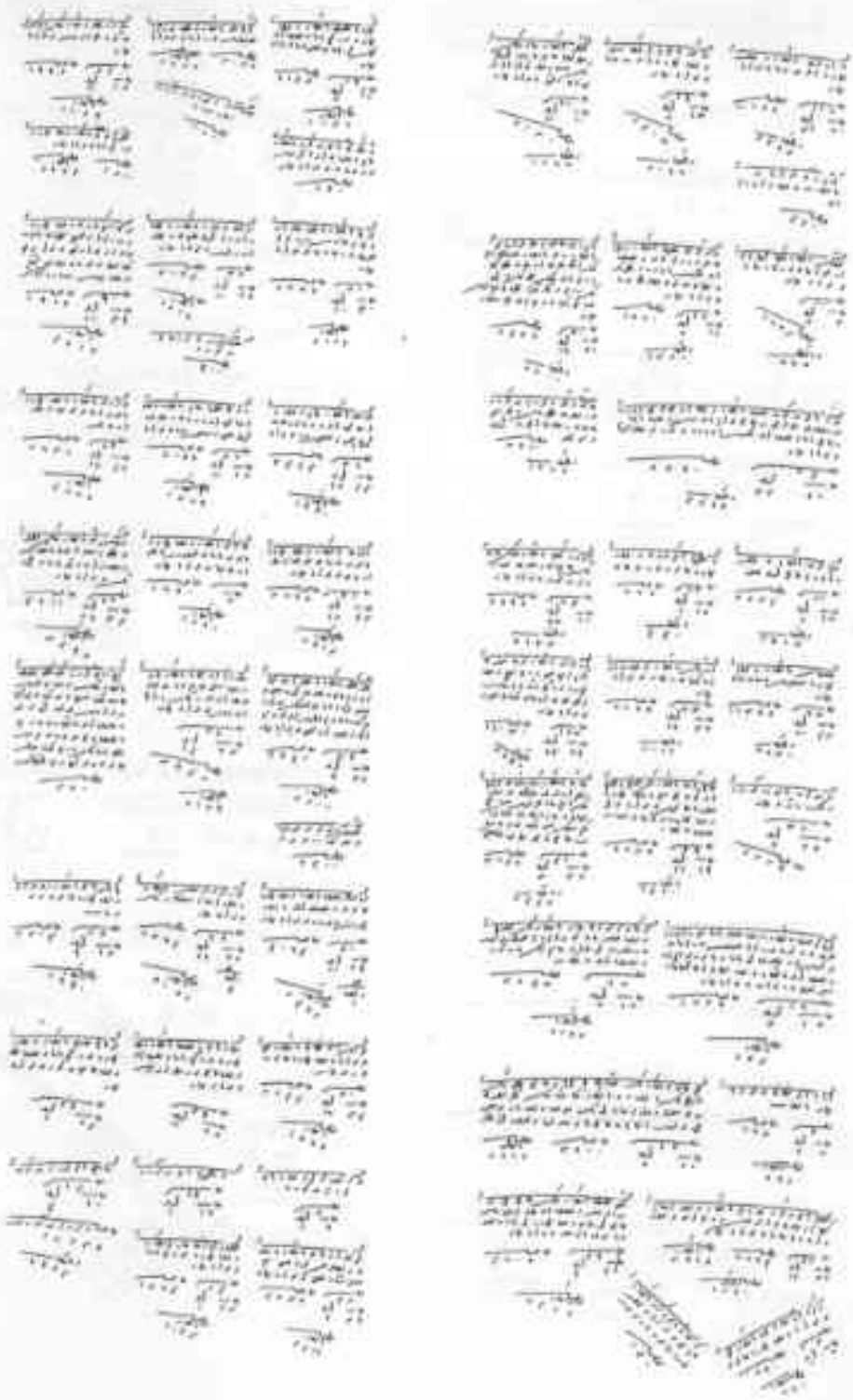


From the *mufassal* register TD 33 (Defter-i Livâ-i Mufassal-ı Canik) (984 / 1576-77) p. 8b.

From the *mufassal* register TD 38 (Defter-i Mufassal-ı Livâ-i Çorum) (984 / 1576-77) p. 208b.



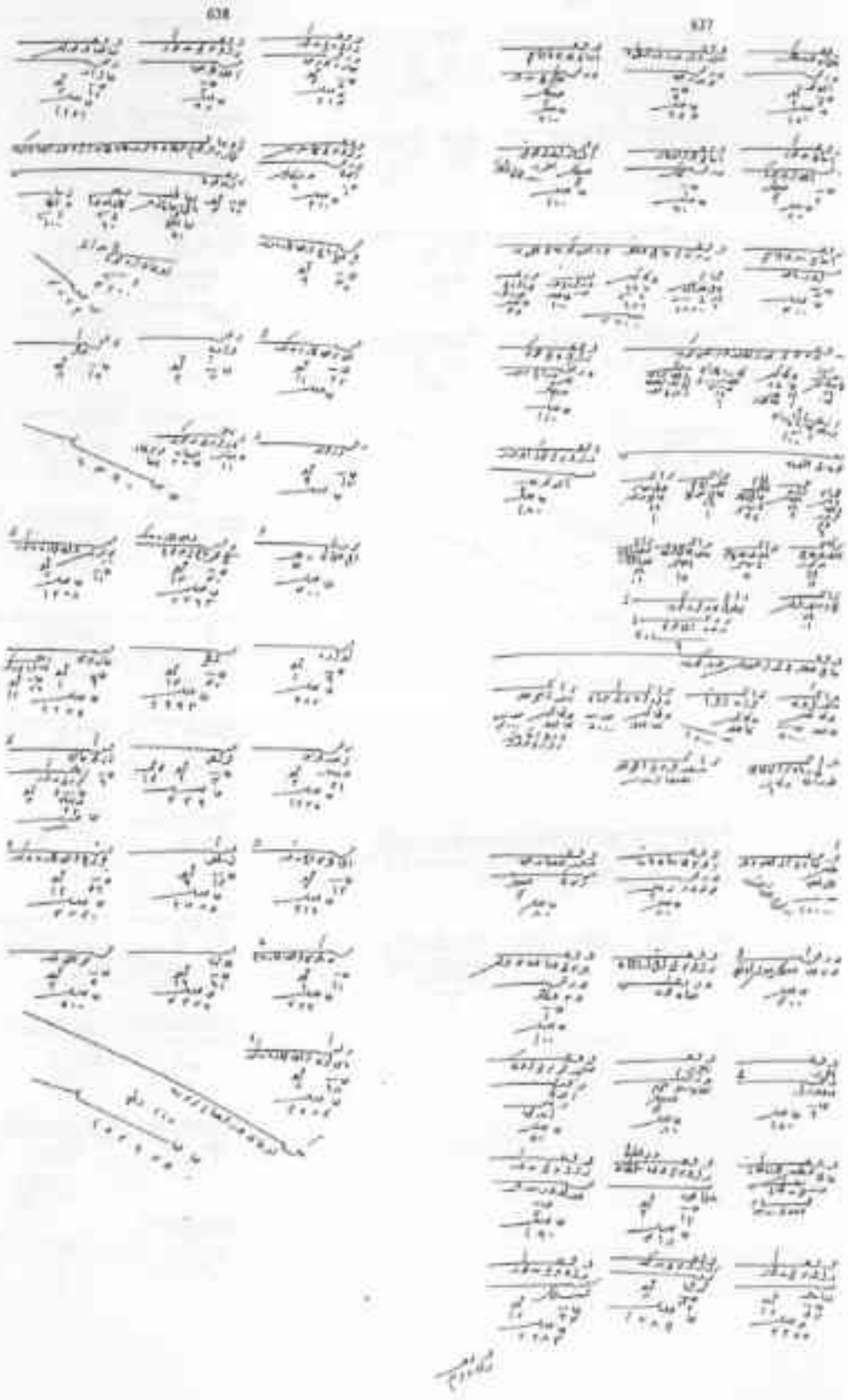
From the *muhāsebe-icmāl* register MID 387-II (937 / 1530) p. 353-354.



From the *muhâsebe-icmâl* register MID 387-II (937 / 1530) p. 357-358.

From the *muhâsebe-i cemâl* register MID 438-1 (937 / 1530) p. 377-378.

From the *muhâsebe-icmâl* register MID 438-I (937 / 1530) p. 395.



From the *muhâsebe-icmâl* register MID 438-II (937 / 1530) p. 637-638.

From the *muhâsebe-i-emvâl* register MID 438-II (937 / 1530) p. 691-692.

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicil* (SS. 1 p. 158b) (1034 / 1624)

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicil* (SS. 1 p. 129c) (1035 / 1626)

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicil* (SS. 1 p. 104b) (1036 / 1627)

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicill* (SS. 2 p. 85c) (1043 / 1634)

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicil* (SS. 2 p. 93c) (1043 / 1634)

From Amasya *ser'iyye sicil* (SS. 3 p. 74c) (1045 / 1635)

From Amasya *şer'iyye sicil* (SS, 4 p. 24b) (1053 / 1643)

BOA, Cevdet Evkaf no: 1514