YAHYAPAŞA-OĞLU MEHMET PASHA’S EVKAF
IN BELGRADE

ALEKSANDAR FOTIĆ*
(Belgrade)

It was to Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha, sancakbeyi of Semendire (1527–1534, 1536–1543, 1548–1550?) and pasha of Buda (1543–1548), that Ottoman Belgrade owed the erection of one of the biggest and most versatile vakıfs, which strongly affected the growth of the city’s new urban structure. Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf in Belgrade consisted of a mosque, a mekteb, a medrese, an ‘imaret, a karvansaray, a sebil, a çeşme, and Mehmed Pasha’s türbe (mausoleum), all constituting a well-structured architectural complex. Beyond the complex, it also included a musalla, a tekke, and shops and lots in the market place. By 1548 most of the structures had already been built, and they lasted till 1688. The state assisted in providing for the evkaf by granting Mehmed Pasha the full ownership (müllk) of a large number of vacant lots in the city, a few nearby villages, and subsequently, some estates in the sancak of Požega. The study of the composition and functioning of Mehmed Pasha’s Belgrade evkaf indeed confirms the assumptions about a well thought out state policy as regards the development of the urban structure of major Ottoman communities.

Key words: Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha, Vakıf (Endowment), Belgrade, Ottoman Empire, 16th–17th centuries.

Urban communities were the backbone of the Ottoman state, especially in the Balkans where Christians made up the majority of the population. They provided a firm foothold of the military, executive and judicial authorities, with a potentially great communicational, economic, and ideological significance. The vakıf was undoubtedly the institution decisively affecting the development of Muslim urban communities. Scholars have long been aware that the growth of the towns and cities for the most part was not spontaneous or dependent merely upon the initiative and wealth of individuals eager to secure a lasting memory in both worlds. Research into the origin of the urban structure of some towns and cities, and analyses of their intended growth

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* Aleksandar Fotić, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, Cika Ljubina 18–20, Belgrade, Serbia/Yugoslavia; Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Knez Mihajlova 35, Belgrade, Serbia/Yugoslavia, e-mail (work): balkinst@eunet.yu
testify to the long-term and thought-out policy of the Ottoman state, implemented in the name of the Sultan.1

In the newly conquered or newly founded urban communities it was often the Sultan himself who set the example by laying down the cornerstone of the first mosque, thereby instigating the foundation of vakıfs. He would sometimes order that vakıfs be built on specific places thereby founding kasbahs. And the most frequent way of rewarding his high officials was to grant them full ownership (muıık) of a considerable income, which as a rule entailed the endowment of that property for the purpose of sustaining their foundations. As most of the state (Sultan’s) revenue was secured in this way and as the state subsequently took care of the functioning of the endowments and appointment of their staff, it is no wonder that such policy may mislead one to identify the activity of high officeholders with the will of the state, and even to regard their evkafs as being state institutions.2

The developed medieval cities, such as Belgrade, began to change after the conquest so as to fit into a new, Oriental, urban civilisation. Although Belgrade formally became part of that sphere in 1521, the bases for its Oriental urban structure were laid down only several decades later, towards the middle of the century. Its particular strategic position (vital fortress), communicational importance (Istanbul yolu, the Danube) and economic potentials created the conditions for its fast state-forwarded growth into a big Ottoman sehir. The continuity of its development was first interrupted by the destruction of war in 1688.3

The Sultans’ endowments put aside, the biggest evkafs were founded by the Smederevo/Semendire sancak beyis and Viziers: in the 16th century – by the Grand Viziers Piri Mehmed Pasha and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha, and Bayram bey; and in the 17th – by Musa Pasha, beyler beyi of Buda, and the Grand Vizier Köprülı-zade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.

As one of the earliest, biggest, and most varied evkafs, those that became part of every aspect of day-to-day city life, Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha’s evkat influenced significantly the development of Belgrade’s new urban structure.

Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha (previously bey) is also referred to in documents as: Yahyali Mehmed Pasha and Yahyapaşa-zade Gazi Mehmed Pasha; and in a letter King János Szapolyai wrote in the Serbian language in 1537 – as Mehmed Beg Jahjapašić. He came from an illustrious family of military who, through several generations, successfully led Ottoman elite units in the battles decisive for the expansion of the Ottoman Empire on the European soil. The first Islamised member of this family and its patriarch, Yahya Pasha, the son of ‘Abd ul-Hay, won the glory in the field of battle as early as the age of Mehmed Fatih. He was the sancak beyi of Bosnia (1480), repeatedly the beyler beyi of Anadolu and Rumeli, and, finally, the Vizier and son-in-law of the Sultan Bayezid II. His successes, military rather than those in states-

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1 Handžić (1975, pp. 133–168); Handžić (1983, pp. 113–120); Fotić (1992, pp. 149–159); Kunt (1994, pp. 189–198). There are many other works dealing to some extent with these issues.


3 For that period, see: Šabanović (1970, pp. 5–40); Istorija Beograda (1974, pp. 323–461); Djurić-Zamolo (1977) to be used with caution.

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manship, paved the way for other legendary uc-families (border families), such as the already famous Evrenos-oğlu, Malkoç-oğlu, Mihal-oğlu and others. He died in 1509 leaving seven sons behind, the most prominent being Bali bey and Mehmed bey (Pasha). He had a big evkaf built in Skopje/Üsküp. Historiography has recently refuted the assertion linking Yahya Pasha’s sons with the imperial branch of his wife Hatice. The oldest son, Bali bey, called Küçük Bali bey by Ottoman chroniclers, started his career as a za‘im in Bosnia (1485). He took part in the 1498 campaign against Poland, led by Bali bey Malkoç-oğlu. Besides his short stature, one of the reasons for his nickname – Küçük (Short, but also Younger) – may have been the wish to differentiate more easily between the two namesakes. It is only in 1506 that he is first referred to as the sancakbeyi (of Valona). As the sancakbeyi of Semendire (1513–1515; 1517–1518; 1521–1523; 1524–1527) he grew into the famed leader of the gazi warriors in the European border zones. He was also head of the sancaks of Işkenderie (1519–1521), Bosnia (1521), and Vidin (1524). The highlights of his military career were the defence of Havale in 1515, his prominent role during the conquest of Belgrade in 1521, and the battle at Mohaç in 1526. He died sometime between February and April 1527, and was buried near Semendire, in a türbe by the Danube (existing until the late 19th century). Neither his tremendous military accomplishments nor the marriage with a princess (Bayezid II’s grand-daughter) could ensure him the title of paşa. His immoderation, arrogance, perhaps even villainy, may have been the reason, as testified by his contemporaries and numerous complaints lodged with the Porte. Those he did some harm, not so few, used to ascribe the same nature to the entire Yahyalı family. After his father’s death, Bali bey took over the duty of the mi‘tevelli of his evkaf in Skopje. He founded some endowments himself: in Semendire (a zaviye consisting of a mescid, an ‘imaret, and a tekke); in Požarevac/Požareviçe (mescid); in Sarajevo (a mosque, two hamams, a bridge, and a fountain); and in the kasaba of Červen-Černovi, sancak of Nikopol. For the sustenance of his Semendire evkaf he bequeathed the income from Požarevac and the surrounding villages he had been given as a mülık. When the vakıfs in the sancak of Semendire were deprived of their lands in 1741, the only exception were the vakıfs lands of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Bali bey.⁴


⁵ In the abovequoted and exceedingly important paper by D. Bojanic, full of precious information, all the knowledge gained so far has been summed up and many open questions of Bali bey’s biography successfully solved, and his activity as the founder of endowments has also been elucidated. Before her work appeared, a special problem was the confusion between YahyaPasapoğlu Bali bey and Bali bey, a relative of Yahya Pasha’s, also often called Küçük so as to be distinguished from his older namesake and relative (Küçük Bali his-ı Yahya Pasha). This other Bali bey became the beylerbeyi of Buda (1542–1543), with the title of paşa. He began as a za‘im in the sancaks of Trikala (1514) and Semendire (1514–1516), where he found himself under the wing of his relative. He ran his career as the sancakbeyi of Prizren (1526–1527), Zvornik (1528–1530), Alacahisar (?) and Hersek (1537–1541), just before his appointment to the post of the paşa of Buda (Bojanic 1985, pp. 62–63). The name of his father is also known: Hamza (Römer 1989, p. 24). Bali Pasha had several sons: Derviş bey (timar-holder in the sancak of Zvornik 1528–1530; the sancakbeyi of Szeged (1544) and Peç/Mécs; the builder of the mosque and other buildings in Yagodine);
Belgrade owed most to Mehmed bey/Pasha, Bali bey’s younger brother and his successor as the sancakbeyi of Semendire. Although Yahya Pasha’s other sons will not be discussed on this occasion, it should be borne in mind that some of them were high officials themselves. In his father’s vakıfname of 1506 Mehmed is signed as Çelebi, which means he was not yet responsible for any duty. The date of his first appointment as a sancakbeyi is not known, but it probably was rather early owing to his father’s influence, to his already famous brother, but also to his own indubitable abilities. The earliest information comes from the year 1517, when he is referred to as the sancakbeyi of Malatya. With Sultan Suleyman’s ascension to the throne, he became the first sancakbeyi of the newly founded sancak of Mosul. After Bali bey had been transferred to Semendire, Mehmed bey became the sancakbeyi of Vidin (1524–1527). Thus the two brothers, in two neighbouring sancaks, controlled most of the Danubian border zone (serhadd). After his brother’s death, sometime between February and April 1527, he was appointed the sancakbeyi of Semendire, with the annual income of 500,000 aḵes, almost half that of Bali bey’s. He retained the position until the beginning of 1534. The area of his jurisdiction at the time comprised Sirem and then expanded to embrace the newly conquered regions of Slavonia. Early in 1528 he took part in the siege of Jajce/Yayça in Bosnia, and he also took part in almost every major battle north of Belgrade. Leading the avant-garde of the Ottoman army against Vienna in 1529, he distinguished himself in the battles at Yanik/Győr, Gyula, and Pozsony/Bratislava. With his akıncis, he penetrated as far as Regensburg and Brünn. In keeping with an agreement between the Sultan Süleyman and János Szapolyai, Mehmed bey helped the latter by taking Bečej/Becse and Bečkerek/Becskerek. He also showed excellence in fulfilling peacetime tasks. He had deserted Sirem repopulated by the people from the interior of the sancak of Semendire, thereby satisfying the basic prerequisite for the full implementation of Ottoman power. He was rather successful in winning the Serbs over for the martolos and river flotilla (şayka) units, and at the time they played an important role in the Hungarian army. The operation of recapturing Koron was a new trial, and in order to accomplish the task he was reassigned as the sancakbeyi of Morea at the beginning of 1534. He completed it successfully and, with new changes, was transferred back at the head of the sancak of Semendire early in 1536. On that occasion he became the serdar of the whole serhadd. His achievements were crowned by the successful defence of Ōsek/Eszék and, in continuation of that action, by the great victory over the Christian army at Goryan in 1537. After the battle, János Szapolyai sent his congratulations in Serbian addressing him as: “The famous and able master of the Serbian land, sancak of Semendire; the master of Belgrade, Danube, Sirem, and Sava, and of other more border cities.” In 1538 he took part in the pacification of Moldavia. From November 1540, as serdar over some ten border sancaks, he helped the defence of besieged Buda. This success won him the title of paşa and the promotion to the position of the beylerbeyi of Anatolia. He was appointed beylerbeyi of Buda in May 1543, which

Ahmed (timar-holder in Zvornik 1528–1530; za‘im in Semendire 1543/1544); Mahmud (za‘im in the nahiye of Niş 1543/1544); and Mehmed (timar-holder in Semendire 1544) (Bojančić 1985, pp. 62–63).

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position he kept until January 1548. As the paşa of Buda, he distinguished himself in the 1544 conquest of Visegrád, Novigrad/Nőgrád, Hatvan, and Simontornya. According to a newly found source, he does not seem to have died as the beylerbeyi of Buda, but as the sancakbeyi of Semendire, between January 1548 and April 1550. The relocation may be explained by his serious illness, or weakness, having in mind his age. It is self-evident that he could have been nursed best in his Belgrade evkaf. He was buried in a türbe within his endowment.6

Mehmed Pasha enjoyed high incomes from his hasses, çiflikis, and other possessions throughout the beylerbeyiliği of Buda, in the sancaks of Buda, Sirem, Semendire, Požega/Pozsega, in the Transdanubian border areas where sancaks were not formed, and probably in some other areas on which we have no data.7 He bequeathed a large part of his private property to the sustenance of his evkaf. His major endowments were built in Belgrade. As far as it is known, in addition to an evkaf in Belgrade, he had a mešicid built in Valjevo (sancak of Semendire), round which in October 1536 a quarter (mahalle) bearing his name grew up. He left a trace in Buda as well. He had the spa of Buda renovated and some konak (guest houses) added. While in power, he built a tekke and a türbe on the grave of a famous şeyh of Bektaşi order, Gül Baba.8

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While he was the sancakbeyi of Semendire, Yahya Pasha announced his intention to build a large endowment in Belgrade. His design was backed by the state and, between 1528/30 and 1536, the Sultan Süleyman gave him as a mülk (full ownership) a number of lots in the city of Belgrade, some villages in the nahiye of Belgrade (Mirijevo/Mirijevo, Gornje Slance/Gorna Islanče and Donje Slance/Dolne Islanče), and some on the other side of the Danube: Ovča/Ofça and Borča/Borça, subsequently to be included in the nahiye of Pančevo/Pančova, sancak of Temesvár. The villages constituted a round whole bordering on the sinors of Belgrade city to the north and east. The date is unknown of the formation of the Belgrade endowment from the mülk property, nor has Mehmed Pasha’s vakifname been found yet, but it is known that most buildings had been constructed by about 1548. After the conquest of Slavonia in 1537, Mehmed bey was rewarded again. He was given as a mülk several estates disseminated across the sancak of Požega and some vacant lots in the town of

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8 Fotić (1992, pp. 149–159); Bojanić (1985, p. 65); Elezović (1940, pp. 484); Fekete (1955, pp. 1–18); Fekete (1976, p. 94).
Požega, where he had some shops built. The incomes from the *sancak* of Požega were also intended for sustaining his Belgrade endowment.9

Mehmed Pasha’s *evkaf* in Belgrade consisted of a mosque, a *mekteb*, a *medrese*, an *‘imaret* (soup-kitchen), a *karvansaray*, a *sebil* (public fountain), a *çeşme* (a drinking fountain) and of his *türbe* (mausoleum), all constituting a well-formed architectural complex, while beyond that whole, there were also a *musalla* (*namazgah*, open public place for prayer), a *tekke* (dervish lodge), and shops and lots in the market place. Later on, in the 17th century, the *evkaf* management also purchased the large *Çakar han*. The *evkaf* complex occupied the space presently bounded by the streets Cara Dušana, Dubrovačka, Škender-begov and Knićinova. The quarter became known as the *‘Imaret mahalles*. The principal buildings were the *‘imaret*, which lent the name to the entire *vakif* (*‘Imaret vakfi*), the mosque (*‘Imaret cami’i*), the *medrese* (*Medrese-i ‘Imaret*), and the *karvansaray* (called *‘Imaret han*).10

Yahyali Gazi Mehmed Pasha’s mosque falls among those the most often written about. Partly because of a somewhat more generous description by Evilya Çelebi, and partly because, renovated and under two names – the old one: *‘Imaret cami’i*, and the similar name of another *vâkip* (Yahya Pasha Hâtib-zade) – it existed from 1739 until the 1870s, and thus was remembered by the elderly citizens of Belgrade. Evilya Çelebi says it was built from booty. In the mid-17th century the construction date (955, i.e. 1548/49) was still legible in the inscription above the entrance. Evilya stressed that it was much frequented and described it as “the pride of the *şehir* of Belgrade”. The central dome was not built of solid materials, but all of the four lateral domes, the vestibule and the side porches were covered with lead. Under the *mihrab* of the mosque was buried, in May 1656, *‘Abdurrahim Efendi, müfti of Belgrade, the great Ottoman scholar and former şeyh ül-islam*.11

It has only recently been found out that Mehmed Pasha was buried in Belgrade, next to his endowments. It is interesting that not even Evilya Çelebi makes any mention of his *türbe*. All doubts about the issue have, however, been removed by an *‘arz* that the *mütevelli* Ahmed addressed to the Porte in 1687. He requested that a *berat* be issued for a new *çizâh* (Kuran reader) in the “mausoleum of the late endowment founder” (*vâkip-i merhumun türbesinde*).12

Among the structures built for religious purposes, there were also a *musalla* and a *tekke*. It has long been known that the Muslims of Belgrade had the advantage

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10 Šabanović (1970, pp. 15, 29–32); Fotić (1991b, pp. 60–72); Fotić (1991a, pp. 104–110); Fotić (1992, pp. 151–153). Certain buildings of Mehmed Pasha’s *evkaf* have already been discussed, but the analyses are mostly based on the long-known sources (Evilya Çelebi) and contain numerous mistakes and incorrect assumptions.


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of having for their prayers in the summertime on Fridays and holidays an enclosed open area called the musalla. It is depicted in every known plan of Belgrade, and Eviya Celebi also makes mention of it. However, it has only recently been established that it was Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehməd Pasha to be given the credit for its construction.13 Outside the complex of Mehməd Pasha’s evkaf there was also the derviš Mehməd Horasani’s tekke, as testified by Eviya Celebi. The convincing assumption that it belonged to the Bektashi derviš order is questioned by the fodila defer of Mehməd Pasha’s ‘imaret, where just one tekke is referred to: the Hindi tekkesi. The reference in a fodila (bread) defter does not necessarily mean that that was the derviš lodge built by Mehməd Pasha himself; however, as there is no other information, such possibility should not be ruled out readily.14

Concern for education was one of religious duties. It was a responsibility of the mekteb and medrese. Yahyali Mehməd Pasha’s excellent reputation must have been one of the reasons the medrese he founded was ranked as high (50 akçes) as a medrese outside Istanbul and not built by the imperial family could get. In some 16th-century sources, Mehməd Pasha’s medrese is referred to under the name of Mehməd’s son Arslan Pasha (Medrese-i Arslan Pasha der Belgrad). This should not throw us into any confusion. Arslan Pasha was an illustrious person and he ran his father’s vakif for nearly twenty years. It is no wonder then that this medrese sometimes was, though inaccurately, associated with his name. There was only one 50-akce medrese in Belgrade, the famous ‘Imaret medresesi, or Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehməd Pasha’s medrese. It was attended by 40 students and 12–13 danışmends (higher level students). Its müderrises were the second highest members of the Belgrade ‘ulema after mollahs. Their importance was still greater because they concurrently were the müftis of Belgrade. The reference to the following müderrises has survived: mevlana Mehməd (1580–?) Mahmut Efendi (1584); Fazlılah Efendi (1604/1605–?); Nurullah İbrahim, the son of Iskender, much better known under his literary pseudo-nym Munirı Belgradlı (?–1617?); Fazıl Müfettis Süleyman (1648–1652); and Kapudan-zade Timur Efendi (1656–1660). About the appointment of Fazlılah Efendi a certain Ahmed Celebi from Tuzla composed a tarih (chronogram). To judge by a verse, the medrese had been closed “for quite some time” before this appointment. Munirı Belgradlı was one of those well-known teachers and scholars who considerably influenced the cultural life of the Muslim population of Belgrade. He was a versatile man: in addition to his works of religious and literary character, he was the author of a writing, yet unfound, on ancient geography, and in 1615 he made a copy of a universal world history and added his own observations. There is no doubt that the activity of copying was fostered in Belgrade. Although only four of some thirty currently known works contain notes referring to Mehməd Pasha’s medrese, it is

14 Eviya Celebi (1315, Vol. V, p. 378); (it reads in fact: “banisi “Abali Mehməd Pașadır”, which H. Sabanović has correctly taken as an erratum assuming that there should be “Yahyalı” instead of “‘Abali”, see: Eviya Celebi (1967, p. 87); Fotić (1991b, pp. 59–64, 71).
15 Fotić (1991b, pp. 60–64); BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehməd, 4.117.
reasonable to assume that most of them stemmed from the cultural circle that was formed round the most influential school.\(^6\)

Although the ‟imaret undoubtedly is the most famous institution within Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf, very little is known about it. In the ‟imaret meals were prepared for the stipendiary and dependents of the vakıf (mürtezika), and for karvansaray guests. The term mürtezika did not include only the vakıf staff, but also the students of the medrese, all those who in one way or another contributed to the vakıf, their families, and a number of the city poor. According to two known defters recording the allotment of födila (a sort of small flat bread the weight of which was specified in the vakıf name and commonly was 100 dirhems, i.e. 320 g), in 1660 the ‟imaret’s daily output was about 180 födilas, both “big” and “small”, intended for some 120 persons. The mütellâris and two imams were entitled to the biggest apportionment: 4 big double födilas each. Of the total number of persons receiving their share almost a half were the students and danışmendis (40+12). It is interesting that the city poor were allotted only 6 big double födilas a day, a surprisingly small quantity considering the important social function of a public kitchen (‟imaret). In the expenditures of Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf, that on food and other kitchen necessities was the largest: 66,000 akçes a year, or about 43% of the total expenses (not including the staff’s salaries).\(^7\)

Mehmed Pasha’s karvansaray, shops and lots, and subsequently his Çekir han as well, contributed considerably to the economic development of Belgrade. They all were located along the Main, or Long, shopping avenue (Uzun Çarşı), the business and commercial artery of Ottoman Belgrade. Moreover, the buildings of the ‟Imaret vakıf took part in its formation. To judge by the annual income in 1572, the evkaf may have held up to 70 shops on this attractive location.\(^8\)

The karvansaray, also called the ‟Imaret han, belonged among the evkaf’s lucrative possessions. It must be an overstatement when Evliya Çelebi says that a traveller could take a one-month stay free of charge, his only obligation being to pray regularly for the benefactor’s soul. In most karvansarays, provided that the charter of endowment (vakıfiye) specified it at all, free accommodation was limited to three days. The evkaf management used to rent out (mukata’a) the karvansaray. In the second half of the 16th century, that brought them a safe and high annual income of 45,000 akçes, more than a third of the total Belgrade income. The lease (mukata’a)

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\(^7\) Fotić (1991b, pp. 57–73); Fotić (1992, pp. 152–156); Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photo 25 (leme defteri of the sancak of Semendire from 1572).

\(^8\) Fotić (1992, p. 156).

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specified that the maintenance and repair costs, not at all an insiginificant amount of money, were to be met by the vakif.\footnote{Evliya Çelebi (1315, Vol. V, p. 379); Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photo 24; Šabanović (1970, pp. 33); Fetić (1992, pp. 152–153, 156).

The Çukur han almost certainly does not belong among the structures listed in Mehmەd Pasha’s vakifyye. It was built or purchased long after the evkaf had been founded, perhaps only in the 17th century. The earliest reference to it is to be found in Evliya Çelebi (1660), while the first and the only reliable information of its belonging to the evkaf falls only in the year 1674: the mütelleli prolonged the lease to Hüseyn odabası by another three years and for no less than 240,000 akçes to be paid in rentals of 20,000 akçes a quarter. In those years the Çukur han brought 80,000 akçes a year. There is indirect information about its size from the period of Austrian occupation: from 1728 (7 mağazas, 25 kitchens [shops?] and 47 rooms), and from 1739, when it was taken over by the newly founded vakif of külâr ağası Hacı Beşir Agha (13 mağazas, 20 shops in the basement and 58 rooms upstairs).\footnote{Acta Orient. Hung. 54, 2001}

Yahyah Mehmed Pasha intended the duty of the mütelleli of his endowment for his descendants. After his death in 1548, it was his son Arslan bey who gained the right of tevliyet. Just like his father before him, he actually controlled all of the three large family endowments (his grandfather’s in Skopje/Üsküd, his uncle’s in Pozarevac, and his father’s in Belgrade). Arslan Pasha’s sons, Yahya and Ahmed, were not of age when their father died in 1566, which means they were not eligible for the duty of mütelleli. Exactly ten years later, in 1576, Yahya came of age, but it gave him much trouble to realise his right, at least as regards the vakif in Pozarevac. Until the mütelleli from the family came of age, the endowments were managed by the freed slaves of the Yahyapaşa-zade family. The same rule was applied to the other vakifs. The duty of mütelleli was hereditary on both male and female sides. It appears that for a while the position, perhaps in female line, was held by Kaçankılı Mehmed Pasha (died ca. 1608), as it seems the son of Koca Sinan Pasha (not of Arslan Pasha, as suggested by some evidence), and much later, in the second half of the 17th century, by the Vizier Kethüda Ahmed Pasha, also known as Sarhoş Ahmed Pasha (died in 1691). Fortunately, there is not enough room here to deal with the line of mütellellis in more detail.\footnote{As the mütellellis often resided outside Belgrade, they appointed their deputies: kaimmakams, also called vekil-i mütellellis, na ‘ib-i mütellellis, or mütellelli ağas. In order to stimulate active participation in the realisation of the vakif’s income, they used to lease out that duty (iltizam ile). Such practice, however, opened innumerable possibilities of abuse. Kaimmakams tended to embezzle the vakif’s money or to cause}
other sorts of damage, and they mistreated the inhabitants of the evkaf villages. Complaints about such behaviour even reached the Porte, for instance in 1646 and 1686.\textsuperscript{22}

The total number of the vakif staff can only be established approximately. The abovementioned fodila defters, completed with other sources, permit us to identify


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some 50 different employees. It is pointless to list all of them the composition of every larger vakif being more or less similar and quite well known from the numerous published vakıfnames. Their salaries were rather high for the middle of the 16th century. That of the müderris was the highest: 50 akçes a day (18,000 a year). There follow the mütevelli with 35 akçes (12,600); two imams and a hatib with 20 akçes (7,200); a va’iz, a mû‘ezzin and a cabi of mukata’as (revenue collector) with 15 akçes (5,400); two kayıms, a cabi for the villages and a hatib of the musalla with 10 akçes (3,600), etc. Danişmends were paid 2 akçes a day. Some employees had more than one responsibility (e.g. that of a cüzhan, paid 3 akçes a day, was usually supplementary), which added to their incomes. Besides all being given free meals, they enjoyed many other privileges.23 An analysis of the staff’s social structure should take into account the fact that the best-paid of the ʻulema were the least dependent on the vakıf economically. They were engaged in trade, rented out shops, parcels of land, vineyards and gardens, or they lent money at a rate of interest, etc. For instance, in addition to his duty of a cabi (revenue collector), Kadi-zade Mustafa Çelebi held at least two shops in the city, as well as six (36-day-work) fields, and two vineyards in the vakıf villages of Mirijevo and Višnjića. He also gave interest-bearing loans. His experience as the cabi of one of the largest Belgrade evkafı recommended him for similar affairs – many people used to authorise him to effect their unsettled claims in cash and kind from the debtors throughout the sancak of Semendire.24

The total annual expenditures of the evkaf, according to the 1572 data (icmal defteri of the sancak of Semendire), were 154,360 akçes and exceeded the income from Belgrade and four villages in the nahiye of Belgrade by some 35,000 akçes:25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf in Belgrade</th>
<th>1572</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For the salaries of the müderris and danişmends</td>
<td>27,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the salaries of people serving in the mosque, türbe, and kitchen</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For food and other kitchen necessities</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the repair of the karvansaray, firewood, and other expenses</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expenditure</strong></td>
<td><strong>154,360</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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Having in mind the number of staff necessary for the functioning of such a large vakif, the sum that went to the persons servicing the mosque, türbe, and 'imaret seems to be rather low. The income yielded by the very city of Belgrade considerably increased with the building, or purchase, of the Çukur han, probably sometime in the 17th century. Anyway, the difference between the income from the nahiye of Belgrade and the total expenses was met by the income from the vakif villages across the Danube, from 1552 within the nahiye of Pančevo/Pančova (sancak of Temesvár), and from the estates in the sancak of Požega.

The evkaf villages in the nahiye of Belgrade constituted a territorial whole bordering on the city limits (sunur). As they belonged to the vakif, the villages of Mirijevo/Mirijeve, Gornje Slance/Gorne Islançe and Donje Slance/Dolne Islançe, as well as Višnjača/Višniće (which was granted the rank of a village only after the formation of the mülkname), were linked economically and in other ways with Belgrade and its inhabitants. That fact inevitably makes them a topic of interest for the study of the past of Ottoman Belgrade. Regrettably, despite the existence of interesting documents referring to their past, we cannot pay them much attention here.\(^{26}\)

Although across the Danube and administratively linked with the sancak of Temesvár, the spacious territory of the evkaf was functionally linked with Belgrade. It constituted a geographical whole between the rivers Danube and Tamiš/Timiş, called “The Island of Ovča with Borča/Cezire-i Ofça me’a Borçá”. Despite its large-

\(^{26}\) *Ibidem*; Šabanović (1964, pp. 21, 25, 70, 239, 395–397, 529–533); Halasi-Kun (1987, pp. 125–127). The evkaf villages, analysed in my M.A. thesis (Fotić 1991c, pp. 58–67), will be discussed in a separate paper. The registration of the entire sunurname of the villages of Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf, besides the villages of Borča and Ofça in the nahiye of Pančevo/Pančova (sancak of Temesvár), does not at all mean that the nahiye extended across the Danube, as T. Halasi-Kun has assumed (Halasi-Kun 1987, pp. 126–127). There is no doubt that Mirijevo, Gornje Slance, Donje Slance and Višnjica always belonged to the nahiye of Belgrade, sancak of Semendire (Šabanović 1964, pp. 21, 25, 70, 239, 395–397, 529–533); Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photos 24–25; BBA, TD 517, 217–219, and other sources).

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Income of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf in Belgrade</strong></th>
<th><strong>1572</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the <em>mukata’a</em> of the <em>karvansaray</em></td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the <em>mukata’as</em> of shops</td>
<td>12,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the <em>mukata’as</em> of the land</td>
<td>3,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from the village of Miriyeva</td>
<td>17,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from the village of Gorne Islançe</td>
<td>9,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from the village of Dolne Islançe</td>
<td>7,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from the village of Višniće</td>
<td>23,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total income</strong></td>
<td><strong>119,491</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ness, the swampy soil did not permit more than two settlements to develop: Ovča and Borča. The latter brought rather small income to the vakif; a little more than 5,100 akçes in 1554.27

What generated income in the sancak of Požega, according to the 1579 data, were the leasing out of 92 shops (75 in 1551), the mills both in Požega itself and in other places, and three çiftlikts (in the kazas of Požega, Brod, and Gorjan/Goryan). The annual income yielded by the çiftlikts and mills amounted to no more than 650 akçes, while the renting out of shops must have brought an incomparably larger amount of money.28 If some shops were leased out at usual periodic rent (icare-i mü‘accele) of ½–1 akçe a day, that would make 16,560 to 33,120 akçes a year, not including the amount paid on concluding a lease (icare-i mü‘accele).

*

The beginning of the war between the Ottomans and the Holy League in 1683 marked the beginning of the decline of Yahyapaşa-zade Gazi Mehmed Pasha’s Belgrade evvakif. In 1684/85 the Ottomans were expelled from the Požega region hitherto bringing a considerable part of the ‗Imaret vakfi‘s income. In 1688–1690, when Belgrade was bombed and set on fire, many vakif buildings were either entirely destroyed or considerably damaged. During the twenty years of their rule over Belgrade (1717–1739), the Austrians did their best to annihilate any sign of Islamic origin on material monuments. They rearranged the buildings and changed their purpose completely. It should not be doubted that the same fate befell the complex of the ‗Imaret vakfi. When the Ottomans regained Belgrade, it was themselves that made it impossible for this large vakif to recover. In 1741 the Sultan annulled all the vakif lands in the sancak of Semendire, except those belonging to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Yahyapaşa-oğlu Bali bey. Deprived even of its villages round Belgrade, the ‗Imaret vakfi‘ was doomed to ruin. After 1739 there only occur references to the mosque. All that the state did for the vakif amounted to a partial renovation of the mosque and the transference of a part of the revenue collected by the Belgrade customs. A few years later the mosque was completely renovated by the muhafız of Belgrade, Vizier Yahya Pasha Hatibzade, who also assumed the responsibility to cover the salaries of a number of its officials and servants. From that time the mosque officially had two names (‘Imaret cami‘i and Yahya Pasha’s cami‘). The use of either of them depended on the source from which a given employee received his pay-packet. Three drawings of the mosque from about 1870 have survived. Their comparison with Evliya Çelebi’s description shows that Yahya Pasha’s mosque was not at all similar to earlier, Mehmed Pasha’s building. The last reference to the mosque, by then already torn down, falls in the year 1878. Although the ‗Imaret vakfi‘ had actually been long gone by 1904, the mü-

tevellis were still receiving their salaries, but from the evkaf of Yahya Pasha (Mehmed Pasha’s father) in Skopje/Üsküp and the evkaf of Kaçanıklı Mehmed Pasha.29

A study of the composition and functioning of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha’s evkaf in Belgrade certainly confirms the assumption about a thought-out Ottoman policy of urban development. All the data indicate a prosperous economic and intellectual life of Ottoman Belgrade during a period as poorly investigated as that between 1521 and 1688. At the same time, the topic inspires consideration of the activity and influence of famous and long-standing border families from the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries throughout the Balkans and Hungary. The Yahyapaşa-zade family left a deep imprint due to their military accomplishments, their years-long administration of different sancaks, and their numerous endowments (Skopje, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Semendire, Požarevac, Požega, Valjevo, Yadgina, Buda, a few places in Bulgaria, etc.).

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