

YAHYAPAŞA-OĞLU MEHMED PASHA'S *EVKAF* IN BELGRADE

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It was to Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha, *sancakbeyi* of Semendire (1527–1534, 1536–1543, 1548–1550?) and *paşa* 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 (*mülk*) 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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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 *kasabas*. And the most frequent way of rewarding his high officials was to grant them full ownership (*mülk*) 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 *şehir*. 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 *sancakbeyis* 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, *beylerbeyi* of Buda, and the Grand Vizier Köprülü-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 *evkaf* influenced significantly the development of Belgrade's new urban structure.

Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha (previously *bey*) is also referred to in documents as: Yahyalı 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 men who, through several generations, successfully led Ottoman élite 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 *sancakbeyi* of Bosnia (1480), repeatedly the *beylerbeyi* 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-

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.

² Kunt (1994, pp. 189–190); Barkan–Ayverdi (1970, pp. XVI–XIX).

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

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.⁴ 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 İskenderiye (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 *mütevelli* 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/Pojarefçe (*mescid*); in Sarajevo (a mosque, two *hamams*, a bridge, and a fountain); and in the *kasaba* of Červen/Černovi, *sancak* of Nikopol. For the sustainment of his Semendire *evkaf* he bequeathed the income from Požarevac and the surrounding villages he had been given as a *mülk*. When the *vakıfs* in the *sancak* of Semendire were deprived of their lands in 1741, the only exception were the *vakıf* lands of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Bali *bey*.⁵

⁴ Süreyya (1308–1311, Vol. IV, p. 632); Elezović (1937, pp. 161–178); Elezović (1940, pp. 367, 384–411, 420–526); Bojanić (1985, pp. 49–77).

⁵ In the abovequoted and exceedingly important paper by D. Bojanić, 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 Yahyapaşa-oğlu 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 hiş-i 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 (Bojanić 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 Peçuy/Pécs; 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 *akçes*, 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 Yanık/Győr, Gyula, and Pozsony/Bratislava. With his *akıncıs*, 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 Bečež/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 Ösek/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) (Bojanić 1985, pp. 62–63).

position he kept until January 1548. As the *paşa* of Buda, he distinguished himself in the 1544 conquest of Visegrád, Novigrad/Nógrád, 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*, *çifliks*, and other possessions throughout the *beylerbeyilik* 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 *mesjid* 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 *konaks* (guest houses) added. While in power, he built a *tekke* and a *türbe* on the grave of a famous *şeyh* of Bektaşî order, Gül Baba.⁸

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While he was the *sancakbeyi* of Semendire, Yahyalı Mehmed 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/Miriyeva, Gornje Slance/Gorne İslançe and Donje Slance/Dolne İslançe), and some on the other side of the Danube: Ovča/Ofça and Borča/Borça, subsequently to be included in the *nahiye* of Pančevo/Pançova, *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 *vakıfname* 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

⁶ Elezović (1940, pp. 480–484); *Peçevi Tarihi* (1968–1969, Vol. I, pp. 23–24, 76, 86–87, 109–111, 133, 138, 143–144); Süreyya (1308–1311, Vol. IV, p. 113); Kunt (1983, facsimile 109, the translation contains an error on p. 105); Šabanović (1964, p. 648); Stojanović (1929–1934, Vol. I, T. 2, pp. 484–485); Fodor (2000, p. 142); Barta (1994, pp. 104–105, 107, 116–117, 122); Dávid (2000, p. 275); Fotić (1991a, p. 106); Mehmed Pasha's *türbe*.

⁷ Dávid (1992, pp. 388, 394); *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije* (1960, Vol. II, p. 181); Cviko (1982–1983, pp. 275, 278); Cviko (1984, pp. 132, 134).

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 *Çukur han*. The *evkaf* complex occupied the space presently bounded by the streets Cara Dušana, Dubrovačka, Skender-begova and Knićaninova. The quarter became known as the *'Imaret mahallesi*. The principal buildings were the *'imaret*, which lent the name to the entire *vakıf* (*'Imaret vakfi*), the mosque (*'Imaret cami'i*), the *medrese* (*Medrese-i 'Imaret*), and the *karvansaray* (called *'Imaret han*).¹⁰

Yahyalı Gazi Mehmed Pasha's mosque falls among those the most often written about. Partly because of a somewhat more generous description by Evliya Çelebi, and partly because, renovated and under two names – the old one: *'Imaret cami'i*, and the similar name of another *vākıf* (Yahya Pasha Hatib-zade) – it existed from 1739 until the 1870s, and thus was remembered by the elderly citizens of Belgrade. Evliya 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. Evliya 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 Evliya 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 *cūzhan* (Kuran reader) in the “mausoleum of the late endowment founder” (*vākıf-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

⁹ Šabanović (1964, pp. 70, 239–240, 395–397, 529–533); BBA, TD 290, p. 288 (I am grateful to Dr. Olga Zirojević for the data from this *defter*); Halasi-Kun (1987, pp. 108–109, 111, 125–127); Cviko (1982–1983, pp. 275, 278); Cviko (1991?); Fotić (1992, pp. 150–151, 155–156).

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 (Evliya Çelebi) and contain numerous mistakes and incorrect assumptions.

¹¹ *Evliya Çelebi* (1315, Vol. V, p. 377); BBA, Cevdet, *Evkaf*, 4.555, 13.616, 31.881; BBA, İbn ül-Emin, *Evkaf*, 4.292, 4.664; Veselinović (1955, pp. 99–106); Nikić (1958, pp. 173–176); Djurić-Zamolo (1977, pp. 33–36); Tričković (1973, pp. 63, 77–78).

¹² BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehmed, 4.207; Fotić (1991a, p. 106).

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 Evliya Çelebi also makes mention of it. However, it has only recently been established that it was Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha to be given the credit for its construction.¹³ Outside the complex of Mehmed Pasha's *evkaf* there was also the *derviş* Mehmed Horasani's *tekke*, as testified by Evliya Çelebi. The convincing assumption that it belonged to the Bektaşî *derviş* order is questioned by the *fodila* defter of Mehmed 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 *derviş* lodge built by Mehmed 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*¹⁵ and *medrese*. Yahyalı Mehmed 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, Mehmed Pasha's *medrese* is referred to under the name of Mehmed'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 *vakıf* 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-*akçe medrese* in Belgrade, the famous *'Imaret medresesi*, or Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's *medrese*. It was attended by 40 students and 12–13 *danişmends* (higher level students). Its *müdürrises* were the second highest members of the Belgrade *'ulema* after *mollas*. Their importance was still greater because they concurrently were the *müftis* of Belgrade. The reference to the following *müdürrises* has survived: *mevlana* Mehmed (1580–?); Mahmud Efendi (?–1584); Fazlullah Efendi (1604/1605–?); Nurullah İbrahim, the son of İskender, much better known under his literary pseudonym Muniri Belgradi (?–1617?); Fazıl Müfettiş Süleyman (1648–1652); and Kapudan-zade Timur Efendi (1656–1660). About the appointment of Fazlullah Efendi a certain Ahmed Çelebi from Tuzla composed a *tarih* (chronogram). To judge by a verse, the *medrese* had been closed “for quite some time” before this appointment. Muniri Belgradi 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 unbound, 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 Mehmed Pasha's *medrese*, it is

¹³ BBA, İbn ül-Emin, Ensab, 262; Fotić (1991a, pp. 104–105).

¹⁴ *Evliya Çelebi* (1315, Vol. V, p. 378): (it reads in fact: “*banisi* ‘Abali Mehmed Paşadır”, which H. Šabanović has correctly taken as an erratum assuming that there should be “Yahyalı” instead of “Abali”, see: Evliya Çelebi (1967, p. 87); Fotić (1991b, pp. 59–64, 71).

¹⁵ Fotić (1991b, pp. 60–64); BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehmed, 4.117.

reasonable to assume that most of them stemmed from the cultural circle that was formed round the most influential school.¹⁶

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 *fodıla* (a sort of small flat bread the weight of which was specified in the *vakıfname* and commonly was 100 *dirhems*, i.e. 320 g), in 1660 the *'imaret*'s daily output was about 180 *fodılas*, both "big" and "small", intended for some 120 persons. The *muderris* and two *imams* were entitled to the biggest apportionment: 4 big double *fodılas* each. Of the total number of persons receiving their share almost a half were the students and *danişmends* (40+12). It is interesting that the city poor were allotted only 6 big double *fodılas* 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).¹⁷

Mehmed Pasha's *karvansaray*, shops and lots, and subsequently his *Çukur han* as well, contributed considerably to the economic development of Belgrade. They all were located along the Main, or Long, shopping avenue (*Uzun Çarşu*), the business and commercial artery of Ottoman Belgrade. Moreover, the buildings of the *'Imaret vakfi* 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.¹⁸

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 (*vakfiyye*) 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*)

¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi (1315, Vol. V, p. 377–378, 381, 384); Šabanović (1970, pp. 29–30); Djurić-Zamolo (1977, pp. 108–109); Tričković (1974, pp. 253–254): so far the best documented presentation of this *medrese*, with clarifications concerning the use of the name Arslan Pasha; Özergin (1974, pp. 268, 281); Baltacı (1976, pp. 155–156, 504, 581): according to BBA, K. Kepeci, Ruus Kalemi, 238, p. 163, calls it Arslan Pasha's *medrese*; Uğur (1985, pp. 315–316); Fotić (1991b, pp. 60–64, 69, 72); Fotić (1992, pp. 152–156); Ždralović (1988, Vol. I, pp. 133, Vol. II, 29, 34, 39, 41–42, 46, 52, 56, 58, 60, 63, 68, 71–72, 74–75, 77, 79, 95, 114, 334). On Muniri Belgradi, see: Šabanović (1973, pp. 193–201); Tahir (1972, Vol. II, pp. 25–26); Ždralović (1988, Vol. II, pp. 29, 39); Clayer (1994, p. 56).

¹⁷ Fotić (1991b, pp. 57–73); Fotić (1992, pp. 152–156); Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photo 25 (*İcmal defteri* of the *sancak* of Semendire from 1572).

¹⁸ Fotić (1992, p. 156).

specified that the maintenance and repair costs, not at all an insignificant amount of money, were to be met by the *vakıf*.¹⁹

The *Çukur han* almost certainly does not belong among the structures listed in Mehmed Pasha's *vakfiyye*. 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 *mütevelli* prolonged the lease to Hüseyin odabaşı 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 *vakıf* of *kızlar ağası* Hacı Beşir Ağa (13 *mağazas*, 20 shops in the basement and 58 rooms upstairs).²⁰

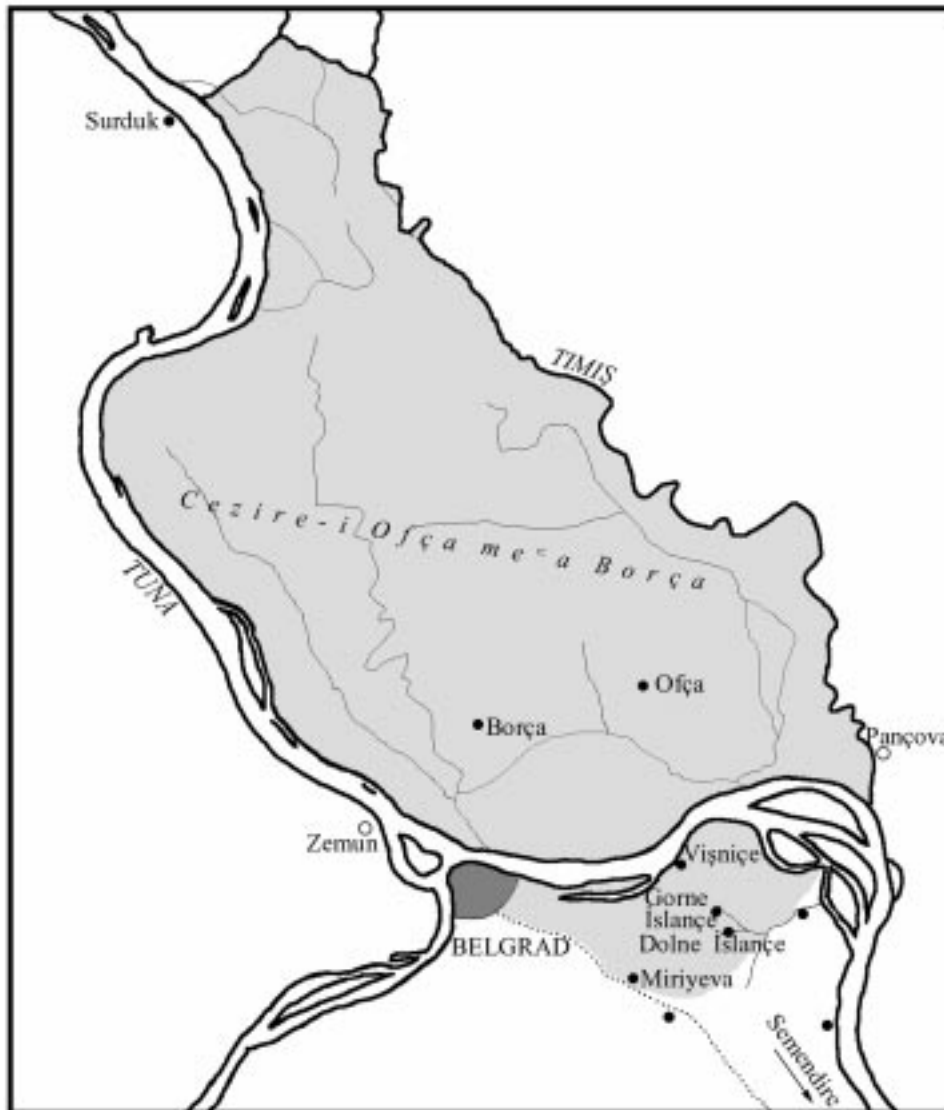
Yahyalı Mehmed Pasha intended the duty of the *mütevelli* of his endowment for his descendants. After his death in 1548, it was his son Arslan *bey* who gained the right of *tevlîyet*. Just like his father before him, he actually controlled all of the three large family endowments (his grandfather's in Skopje/Üsküp, his uncle's in Požarevac, 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 *mütevelli*. 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 *vakıf* in Požarevac. Until the *mütevelli* 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 *vakıfs*. The duty of *mütevelli* was hereditary on both male and female sides. It appears that for a while the position, perhaps in female line, was held by Kaçanıklı 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). Unfortunately, there is not enough room here to deal with the line of *mütevellis* in more detail.²¹

As the *mütevellis* often resided outside Belgrade, they appointed their deputies: *kaimmakams*, also called *vekil-i mütevellis*, *na'ib-i mütevellis*, or *mütevelli ağas*. In order to stimulate active participation in the realisation of the *vakıf*'s income, they used to lease out that duty (*iltizam ile*). Such practice, however, opened innumerable possibilities of abuse. *Kaimmakams* tended to embezzle the *vakıf*'s money or to cause

¹⁹ Evliya Çelebi (1315, Vol. V, p. 379); Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photo 24; Šabanović (1970, pp. 33); Fotić (1992, pp. 152–153, 156).

²⁰ Evliya Çelebi (1315, Vol. V, p. 379); BUB, MS. 3574, 41; Fotić (1991a, pp. 105–106); Popović (1935, p. 240); Tričković (1973, p. 71).

²¹ Römer (1994, pp. 297–298). On Arslan *bey*, subsequently *paşa*, there is a multitude of scattered data, but his biography has never been written; Bojanić (1985, pp. 65–66, 73–74); BBA, Cevdet, Evkaf, 11.712; BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehmed, 4.113, 4.187, 4.207, 11.105; BUB, MS. 3574, 102, 188; Süreyya (1308–1311, Vol. I, p. 226; Vol. IV, p. 139); Elezović (1937, p. 177); Kaleši–Mehmedovski (1958, pp. 5–8); Silahdar (1928, Vol. I, p. 664; Vol. II, pp. 16, 24, 61, 76, 95, 100, 141–142, 169, 170, 183, 217, 223, 226, 248, 266, 450–252).



Map 1. Land possessions of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's Belgrade *evkaf*

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 1686.²²

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

²² Šabanović (1964, p. 440); BUB, MS. 3574, 23, 30, 35, 41, 51, 64, 67, 77, 92, 138, 150; BBA, İbn ül-Emin, *Evkaf*, 7.616; BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehmed, 4.116, 4.118, 4.187, 11.105; *Mühimme Defteri* 90 (1993, No. 28).

some 50 different employees. It is pointless to list all of them the composition of every larger *vakıf* 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 *muderris* 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 *mü'ezzin* and a *cabi* of *mukata'as* (revenue collector) with 15 *akçes* (5,400); two *kayyims*, 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 *'ulema* 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), Kadı-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 Višnjica. He also gave interest-bearing loans. His experience as the *cabi* of one of the largest Belgrade *evkafs* 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

Expenditure of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's <i>evkaf</i> in Belgrade	1572
For the salaries of the <i>muderris</i> and <i>danişmends</i>	27,360
For the salaries of people serving in the mosque, <i>türbe</i> , and kitchen	49,000
For food and other kitchen necessities	66,000
For the repair of the <i>karvansaray</i> , firewood, and other expenses	12,000
Total expenditure	154,360

²³ Fotić (1991b, pp. 57–73); Fotić (1992, pp. 153–155); BBA, Cevdet, Evkaf, 3.751, 4.555, 6.445, 13.616, 29.889, 31.881, 33.344; BBA, İbn ül-Emin, Ensab, 262, BBA, İbn ül-Emin, Evkaf, 4.292, 4.664; BBA, Ali Emiri, IV. Mehmed, 3.781, 4.113, 4.115–4.118, 4.207; Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photo 25.

²⁴ Fotić (1992, pp. 155); Fotić (1991a, pp. 109–110); BUB, MS. 3574, 15, 35, 41, 43, 51, 64, 67, 73, 77, 84, 86, 88, 95, 102, 111–113, 214, 218; BBA, Cevdet, Evkaf, 6.445, 33.344. Similar inferences have been drawn from the analysis of the population structure in 17th-century Bursa (Gerber 1988, pp. 166–167).

²⁵ Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Mxt 158, photos 24–25; Fotić (1992, pp. 155–156).

Income of Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's <i>evkaf</i> in Belgrade	1572
From the <i>mukata 'a</i> of the <i>karvansaray</i>	45,000
From the <i>mukata 'as</i> of shops	12,684
From the <i>mukata 'as</i> of the land	3,300
Income from the village of Miriyeva	17,564
Income from the village of Gorne Āslançe	9,591
Income from the village of Dolne Āslançe	7,997
Income from the village of Višniçe	23,355
Total income	119,491

Having in mind the number of staff necessary for the functioning of such a large *vakıf*, 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 *vakıf* villages across the Danube, from 1552 within the *nahiye* of Pančevo/Pançova (*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 (*snır*). As they belonged to the *vakıf*, the villages of Mirijevo/Miriyeva, Gornje Slance/Gorne Āslançe and Donje Slance/Dolne Āslançe, as well as Višnjica/Višniçe (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 Borça*". 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 *snırname* of the villages of Mehmed Pasha's *evkaf*, besides the villages of Borča and Ofça in the *nahiye* of Pančevo/Pançova (*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).

ness, the swampy soil did not permit more than two settlements to develop: Ovča and Borča. The latter brought rather small income to the *vakıf*: 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 *çiftlik*s (in the *kazas* of Požega, Brod, and Gorjan/Goryan). The annual income yielded by the *çiftlik*s 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'eccele*) 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 mu'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 *evkaf*. In 1684/85 the Ottomans were expelled from the Požega region hitherto bringing a considerable part of the *İmaret vakfi*'s income. In 1688–1690, when Belgrade was bombed and set on fire, many *vakıf* 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 *İmaret vakfi*. When the Ottomans regained Belgrade, it was themselves that made it impossible for this large *vakıf* to recover. In 1741 the Sultan annulled all the *vakıf* 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 *İmaret vakfi* was doomed to ruin. After 1739 there only occur references to the mosque. All that the state did for the *vakıf* 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 (*İmaret cami'i* and Yahya Pasha's *camii*). 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 *İmaret vakfi* had actually been long gone by 1904, the mü-

²⁷ Halasi-Kun (1987, pp. 108–109, 111, 125–127, 151 map); Tomović (1997, pp. 91–92); BBA, TD 290, p. 288.

²⁸ Cviko (1982–1983, pp. 275, 278); Cviko (1991?); Močanin (1994, p. 175).

tevellis were still receiving their salaries, but from the *evkaf* of Yahya Pasha (Mehmed Pasha's father) in Skopje/Üsküp and the *evkaf* of Kačanıklı 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, Yagodina, Buda, a few places in Bulgaria, etc.).

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- BBA: Başbakanlık Arşivi (İstanbul); TD: Tapu Defteri; Ali Emiri Tasnifi, IV. Mehmed; Cevdet Tasnifi, Evkaf; İbn ül-Emin Tasnifi, Ensab, Evkaf; K. Kepeci Tasnifi.
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²⁹ Tričković (1973, pp. 77–82); Tričković (1970, p. 185); Nikić (1958, pp. 153, 176–177); Popović (1950², p. 95); *Kanuni i fermani* (1990, p. 448).

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