

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN LIBRARIES FROM THE CONQUEST OF ISTANBUL (1453) TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE INDEPENDENT LIBRARY

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As is known, the mediaeval Ottoman education system relied upon scholars committing vast areas of knowledge to memory. Books were often merely a physical record of knowledge which was firmly held in the mind of the scholar. Gradually cupboards in mosques and colleges acquired more and more volumes, but these were seen as adjuncts to education and not as its basic. As the Ottoman court moved from Bursa to Edirne the State could still be considered nomadic to a certain extent; essentially it lacked a sense of permanent occupation which would have encouraged the educational infrastructure which we associate with the later period. This nomadism served the Ottomans well, for it allowed them to survive the catastrophe of the Battle of Ankara (1402), when the State was all but wiped out. When Murad II came to the throne in 1421 the Ottoman State was once more acquiring a sense of permanency and we begin to see the re-establishment of an educational infrastructure and the establishment of small libraries, be they only a collection of thirty or fifty volumes.

With the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, Mehmed the Conqueror acquired a city which truly befitted a world empire and this spurred him on to establish institutions which would be appropriate for the capital of this reinvigorated expanding Ottoman State. The city which Mehmed the Conqueror acquired was in a ruinous state.¹ He set about rebuilding the city by adopting various strategies. The first of these was the repopulation of the

* For the development of Ottoman libraries up to the time of Mehmed the Conqueror, see author's two previous articles: "Ottoman Libraries: A Brief Survey of Their Development and System of Lending", *Libri* 34/1 (Copenhagen 1984), pp. 65-76 ; "Medieval Ottoman Libraries", *Erdem* 1/3 (Ankara 1985), pp. 745-754.

¹ Halil İnalçık, "The Policy of Mehmed II Towards the Greek Population of Istanbul and Byzantine Buildings of the City", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23-24 (1968-1969), pp. 231-233.

city with Muslim settlers.² The existing Greek and Armenian population were organized into distinct minorities with their own laws under the leadership of their patriarch. As for the Muslim population, Mehmed the Conqueror had to create a complete infrastructure of institutions where none had existed before. He did this by taking over existing churches and monasteries and turning them into mosques and colleges.³ For example, the monastic cells in the Pantocrator Monastery became the Zeyrek College, with Molla Zeyrek appointed as its first teacher with a salary of 50 aspers *per diem*. Shortly afterward teaching began at Aya Sofya.⁴ Naturally books were donated to these institutions for the use of teachers and students.

There also began a vast programme of mosque and college building throughout the city. The most ambitious of these projects was the building of Mehmed the Conqueror's own complex of a mosque and associated colleges and institutions. In the foundation deeds of this complex we see that while the capture of the city was termed the minor holy war (*cihad-ı asğar*), the rebuilding of the City was referred to as the major holy war (*cihad-ı ekber*).⁵

The historian, Kritovolous, tells us that it was not only Mehmed the Conqueror who endowed religious institutions. He encouraged his statesmen to do likewise.

"Then he called together all the wealthy and most able persons into his presence, those who enjoyed great wealth and prosperity, and ordered them to build grand houses in the city, wherever each chose to build. He also commanded them to build baths and inns and marketplaces, and very many and very beautiful workshops, to erect places of worship, and to adorn

² This is explained in the foundation deed of Mehmed II thus: "Rumeli ve Anadolu taraflarından İstanbul'da karara rağbet iden ra'yyet men' olunmayup belki her taraf ashâb-ı sanâyi' ve ehl-i hiref, ehl ve iyâli ile payitahta ırsâl olına diyü ahkâm-ı muta' gönderilüp hasbe'l-me'mur şehri mezbur kemâ-kân ma'mur olmışdur. Beyt:

Hüner bir şehri bünyâd eylemekdür

Reâyâ kalbin âbâd eylemekdür

(*Mehmed II. Vakfiyeleri*, facsimile p. 36, Ankara 1938).

³ Ş. Tekindağ, "İstanbul; şehrin imar ve iskanı", *İA*, V/2, p. 1205.

⁴ Taşköprizâde, *eş-Şaka'ikü'n-nu'maniyye fi Ulemâi Devleti'l-Osmaniyye*, Beyrut 1975, pp. 74 and 71.

⁵ *Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938, facsimile p. 37.

and embellish the City with many other such buildings, sparing no expenses as each man had the means and the ability".⁶

With the new sense of permanency that the conquest of Istanbul afforded the Ottoman State, it was natural that the palace, the administrative center of the Empire, should be built in the center of the city in what is called now Beyazıt. It was very shortly afterwards relocated to the site of the present Topkapı Palace. The palace library was established there and books were brought from Edirne, the previous capital, to the new palace.⁷ To this library was appointed the leading scholar of the age, Molla Lütfi, who was charged with looking after the books. An interesting anecdote in the biographer Sehi's *Tezkire* records an exchange between Molla Lütfi and Mehmed the Conqueror:

"It is related that one day Sultan Mehmed came to the library for he wanted to read a book. To Molla Lütfi he said "bring down that book". The book was in a high place beyond the reach of Molla Lütfi. But there happened to be a block of marble stone on the library floor upon which Molla Lütfi attempted to stand in order to reach the book. The late Sultan Mehmed prevented him from stepping on the stone, maintaining that this was the very block of stone upon which Jesus the Prophet had been born. Molla Lütfi kept his peace and somehow produced the book for the Sultan. Later on he found in a corner of the library a dust cloth, moth-eaten, threadbare and extremely dirty. This cloth he took with great care and respect and placed on the Sultan's lap as he was reading. The Sultan was annoyed and asked the reason for Molla's behavior to which Molla replied: "why do you get angry, your Majesty, why, this is the very cloth in which Jesus the prophet was swaddled after his birth".⁸

It is accepted that the first Islamic library to be established in Istanbul after its conquest was the palace library, but there are a number of differing

⁶ Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, translated from the Greek by Charles T. Riggs, Princeton University Press 1954, p. 140.

⁷ İsmail Baykal, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Hususi Kütüphanesi ve Kitapları", *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (1958), p. 77.

⁸ *Heşt Behişt*, ed. by Günay Kut, Harvard 1978, f. 40a-b .

opinions as to which was the first foundation library. The foundation libraries in Mahmud Pasha College (1474) and in the Eyüb Complex (1459) are both claimed to be the first foundation library in Istanbul.⁹ However, a foundation deed indicates that a sufi sheyh by the name of Visali founded a *tekke* (dervish lodge) by the walls of the city at At Iskelesi and donated to this institution a library of 20 books in 1451, mainly on mysticism, but naturally it was not felt necessary to appoint a librarian for such a small collection.¹⁰

The library in the Eyüb Complex is however one of the earliest. In the foundation deeds of this complex there is provision for a librarian with a salary of one asper *per diem*.¹¹ In an account book for the years 1489-1491 we find a scholar, by the name of Fakih, holding the post of librarian and receiving one asper *per diem*.¹² The grand vizier of the period, Mehmed Pasha, donated two books in February of 1480 and made it a condition that they should be carefully checked on return to prevent fraud by substitution. He further stipulated that the books should not be transferred to another institution and that the books were not to be lent out for more than three months and never to the same person a second time.¹³

When Mehmed the Conqueror completed his own complex in 1470 after eight years of intensive building, he naturally endowed his colleges with books.¹⁴ Scholars have been misled by the scanty source material into believing that there were a number of libraries in the complex. Süheyl Ünver has written that there were several libraries, the first in the mosque itself, the second in a separate building attached to the Sahn-ı Seman colleges, while others were situated in the colleges themselves.¹⁵ Müjgan

⁹ For differing opinions about this see: İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II : Kuruluştan Tanzimata Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, Ankara 1988, p. 17.

¹⁰ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 625, p. 141.

¹¹ Şer'i Siciller Archive (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği no. 46, pp. 83-84.

¹² Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Ayasofya Camii ve Eyüp Türbesinin 1489-1491 Yıllarına ait Muhabese Bilançoları" *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XXIII/1-2 (1963), p. 375.

¹³ Süheyl Ünver, "Sadrazam Karamanlı Mehmed Paşa'nın Eyüp Sultan Medresesi Kütüphanesine Vakfettiği iki Kitaba dair", *Konya* no. 74-77 (1945), pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih Külliyesi ve Zamanı İlim Hayatı*, İstanbul 1946, p. 51 ; B. N. Şehsuvaroğlu, *İstanbul'da 500 Yıllık Sağlık Hayatımız*, İstanbul 1953, p.29 ; Müjgan Cunbur, "Fatih Devri Kütüphaneleri ve Kütüphaneciliği", *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* VI (1957), pp. 7-9 ; Cahid Baltacı, *XV,XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, İstanbul 1976, p. 351.

¹⁵ S. Ünver, *Fatih Külliyesi*, p. 51-57.

Cunbur and other scholars have adopted Ünver's view with minor changes.¹⁶ This misunderstanding arises from the fact that in various documents dating from various periods mention is made of a library which is situated in different places. Scholars have wrongly presumed that these are different libraries under discussion. However, more recent research would indicate that the documents refer to the same collection, which was housed in different places in the early history of the complex.

Advocates of the thesis that there was more than one library have noted that in the earliest extant foundation deed, written in Arabic and dated 1470, mention is made of four libraries with stipends of 5 aspers *per diem*, appointed to the colleges.¹⁷ The list of the books donated to these four colleges can be found appended to another copy of the same foundation deed now located in the Ottoman (Başbakanlık) Archive.¹⁸ According to this deed we see that four libraries were founded in four colleges by Mehmed the Conqueror at the beginning. The next extant foundation deed used by Süheyl Ünver is from the period of Bayezid II, copied in 1496 and also in Arabic, in which no mention of the college libraries is made, but reference is made to books being located on the west side of the mosque and a 6 aspers *per diem* librarian and a 4 aspers *per diem* assistant librarian being appointed to look after them.¹⁹ In a further foundation deed which is a Turkish translation of the above-mentioned second Arabic deed, dating from the end of the 16th century, we find the same information remaining unaltered.²⁰

However, another interpretation of these references to the library is possible. It seems probable that in 1470 the books belonging to the complex were located in the four colleges and required four librarians to look after them. By 1496 the books had been brought together into the mosque where they were cared for by a single librarian and an assistant librarian. There remains the problem of establishing when the change took place. We are lucky enough to have a third version of this second deed, which precedes

¹⁶ See works in footnote 14.

¹⁷ Osman Ergin, *Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi*, İstanbul 1945, p. 13 and 63.

¹⁸ BOA. Ali Emiri Section, Fatih Devri no. 70. A reproduction of this document can be found in S. Ünver's *Fatih Külliyesi*, pp. 23-27.

¹⁹ Tahsin Öz, *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultan Mehmed II. Fatih*, İstanbul 1935, pp. 14-15 and 119-120.

²⁰ *Fatih Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938.

the other two copies, having been written in 1482. This copy was recently donated to the Süleymaniye Library by Nuri Arlases and has up to now not been available to scholars. This deed was written in the 2nd year of Bayezid II's reign and it was drawn up at his command when he was reorganizing his father's foundation.²¹ There it is mentioned that the books were to be found in one location, namely on the west side of the mosque, so it is clear that an amalgamation of the college libraries had taken place by that time. If we are to speculate, we could suggest that the libraries were amalgamated by Bayezid II on his accession for it was the customary for the sultan to reorganize and recatalogue the existing imperial foundations on his accession. Yet this can only remain surmise.

What is certain is that the collection referred to as being in the colleges in the first deed and in the Mosque in all three copies of the second deed, is one and the same collection. The evidence for this assertion lies in the list of books belonging to the library appended to the first deed and in a separate library catalogue prepared for the books lodged in the Mosque. In these two catalogues most of the titles belonging to the college libraries appear in the catalogue of the Mosque library. This proves at least that the same titles were to be found in both libraries, however it does not prove that they are the self same copy of the title. As many of the books were standard text books it is not unlikely that they could have been further copies of the same title. Fortunately it is the practice in the Ottoman cataloguing system to describe, often in some detail, the characteristics of the manuscripts in the library. A comparison of the books which had enough peculiarities to establish them as the self same manuscript showed that in several cases the peculiarities were too many to be accounted for as coincidence:

List of the College libraries: "The *Kitâbü'l-etrâf*, five volumes, only three exist".

Catalogue of the Mosque Library: "The *Kitâbü'l-etrâf* but only volumes III, IV and V (f. 11a)".²²

²¹ Süleymaniye Library, Nuri Arlases Section no. 242.

²² This catalogue is to be found in the Topkapı Palace Archive no. D. 9559. For a description of this catalogue see: İsmail. E. Erünsal, "Catalogues and Cataloguing in the Ottoman Libraries", *Libri* 37/4 (1987), pp. 338-341.

List of the College libraries: "Commentary on the *Kor'an* by Zemahşeri, incomplete".

Catalogue of the Mosque Library: "Commentary on the *Kor'an* by Zemahşeri, incomplete (f. 4a)".

List of the College libraries: "*Câmiü'l-usul*, but only first volume".

Catalogue of the Mosque Library: "*Câmiü'l-usul*, first volume (f. 9b)".

The list of the College libraries has a very rare book entitled *the History of Jenghiz Khan* which can also be found on folio 39b of the Catalogue of the Mosque Library .

In the Catalogue of the Mosque Library we also find a few books which have been transferred from Ayasofya and the Zeyrek College. This would seem to indicate that the Mosque Library was an amalgamation of books from various sources.

Hoca Sa'deddin, the author of the famous history *Tâcü't-tevârih*, writing about a hundred years later noted that the Conqueror's Mosque library had the peculiarity of containing many duplicate copies of the most popular text books. He came to the conclusion that Mehmed the Conqueror had provided for duplicate copies, so as not to keep students waiting for the popular books.²³ We however know that the reason that there were many duplicates is that the library situated in the Mosque was an amalgamation of books from the four colleges in the complex and books from Ayasofya and the Zeyrek College.

Finally, we have to accept the fact that in the many account books dealing with Mehmed the Conqueror's complex there is no mention of librarians in the colleges among the list of personnel²⁴, which would suggest that in the following centuries there were no books in the colleges. For 300 manuscripts, many of them valuable, to disappear without comment in these account books is hardly possible.

Having established his own Palace library and having endowed a library in his complex, Mehmed the Conqueror naturally looked to establishing a larger library network for a city the size of Istanbul. This he did by

²³ *Tâcü't-Tevârih* I, İstanbul 1279, p. 580.

²⁴ BOA, M. Müd. no. 5103, pp. 108-109 ; no. 5305, pp. 79 and 131; no. 5019, p. 49.

encouraging the richest and most powerful of his entourage to endow and build mosques and colleges and even to complete complexes to which books would eventually be endowed. One of Mehmed the Conqueror's grand viziers, Mahmud Pasha, founded a complex in Istanbul and endowed other cities in the empire with institutions and buildings. Both in his complex in Istanbul and in his college in Hasköy there existed libraries. The resumé of the foundation deeds for each of these institutions, dated 1474, indicate that he endowed the complex in Istanbul with 195 books and the College in Hasköy with 84 books. Unfortunately, the titles of these books were not recorded but classification headings are given with the number of books in each category. A librarian was appointed to his Istanbul complex with a stipend of 5 aspers *per diem*, but to the Hasköy College library there is no mention of a librarian.²⁵

From a survey of pious foundations in Istanbul we learn that Muslihiddin Mustafa, known as Şeyh Vefa, founded a library in his *tekke* in which there were a number of "bound and unbound books" and a librarian at a stipend of one asper *per diem*.²⁶ This survey was carried out 65 years after the death of Mehmed the Conqueror and leaves us in some doubt as to whether the library had been founded in his reign. Fortunately, an earlier document recently came to light in which we discover that in 1485, only four years after Mehmed the Conqueror's death, an inspector named Ala'addin was appointed to provide the endowment with a new foundation deed.²⁷ The inspector repeat records from the former foundation deed that a library existed and that the books had been endowed by Şeyh Vefa. In the list prepared by the inspector the number of books in each category was given. It was further noted that there was a catalogue of the books, bearing the seal of the Kazasker of Rumili, the second highest ranking religious functionary. The library was a lending library and the report gives interesting details about the conditions underwhich the books were to be lent.²⁸ Unfortunately, the collection of books in the library seems to have disappeared, the last

²⁵ S. Ünver, "Mahmud Paşa Vakıfları ve Ekleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (1958), pp. 65-76 ; Ömer L. Barkan - Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri , 953 (1546) Tarihli*, İstanbul 1970, pp. 42-45. (Hereafter İVTD).

²⁶ İVTD. p. 15.

²⁷ Şer'i Siciller Archive (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümeyun Muhasibliği no.150-151.

²⁸ See author's article : "Services Offered by the Ottoman Libraries: 1400-1839", *Libri* 43/1 (1993), pp.7-8.

reference to it being in a survey of pious foundations in Istanbul, carried out at the end of the 16th century, in which mention is made of the library and librarian.²⁹ The sole surviving book to have been identified was discovered by Abdülkadir Erdoğan in the Köprülü Library.³⁰

It was not only in Istanbul that libraries were built, but in fact throughout the whole empire. Edirne, the former capital, was particularly fortunate in its endowments at this period. Çandarlızade İbrahim Paşa, a vizier of Mehmed the Conqueror, endowed 99 books to a complex he had built in this city, and it has been noted that these consisted of texts on Kor'anic commentary, tradition, jurisprudence, mysticism, a book on medicine and a book which could not be identified.³¹ In a later survey from the period of Selim II (1566-1574) we see that a librarian continued to be employed to look after this collection.³²

In 1480 Mesut Halife, a teacher and sheyh, established a library in his *tekke* in Edirne. Among the conditions it was stated that the books were not to be restricted to the use of the members of the dervish order but were to be made available also to outsiders.³³ In the same survey, carried out in the reign of Selim II, we see that only 19 books had survived three of which were on mysticism, while the others were on standard Islamic sciences.³⁴

Another library in Edirne can truly be described as a local library. In 1470 Ali Fakih, the müezzın of Cami-i Cedid, or the New Mosque, established a library in his own house for the benefit of "himself, his family, students and scholars". The library was to be in his care during his lifetime, and thereafter in the care of the *imam* of the New Mosque. In the same survey from the period of Selim II (1566-1574) we discover that most of the books had disappeared and only 15 had survived.³⁵

In Bursa, the first Ottoman Capital, Molla Yegan, one of the most famous scholars of Mehmed the Conqueror's reign, founded a library which

²⁹ BOA. Tapu Defteri no. 670, p. 450.

³⁰ Abdülkadir Erdoğan, *Şeyh Vefa, Hayatı ve Eserleri*, İstanbul 1941, pp. 8-9.

³¹ M. Tayyib Gökbiğın, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, İstanbul 1952, pp. 417-428.

³² BOA. Tapu Defteri no. 1070, pp. 434-435.

³³ BOA. Tapu Defteri no. 1070, p. 19.

³⁴ BOA. Tapu Defteri no. 1070, p. 19.

³⁵ BOA. Tapu Defteri no. 1070, p. 220.

had an extraordinarily rich collection for that period. According to the foundation deed the library had 2,900 books the names of which were recorded in an appendix to a Kor'anic commentary, in the hand of Molla Yegan himself.³⁶ Unfortunately this huge collection seems to have been broken up and most of the books have found their way into other collections.

Other provincial towns also acquired libraries in this period. In Amasya, Hızır Pasha endowed a library in a building next to his college³⁷. In Üsküp, Isa Bey endowed 300 books to a college he founded in 1469, and appointed a librarian with a stipend of 2 aspers *per diem*.³⁸ Another grand vizier of Mehmed the Conqueror, Gedik Ahmed Pasha, founded two complexes, one in Istanbul, no doubt at the behest of the Conqueror himself, and one in Afyon, his hometown. It was to the Afyon complex that he endowed a library.³⁹

With the expansion of the Ottoman state southwards into Anatolia existing libraries in beylicats became part of the Ottoman library network. With the conquest of Konya, the former capital of the Karamanoğulları beylicate, the library of the dervish lodge of the famous sufi, Sadreddin Konevi,⁴⁰ the library of the Sü Başı mosque in the district of Beyşehir and the library of the Hoca Ferruh Mosque⁴¹ can be considered to have become Ottoman libraries.

³⁶ Şer'i Siciller Archive (Bursa), no. A. 156/208, p. 24b.

³⁷ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi* v. I, İstanbul 1327, p. 261; BOA, Cevdet-Maarif no. 340.

³⁸ The Foundation deed of Isa Bey's Library is to be found in Glisa Elezovic's *Turski Spomenici* v. I/2, Beograd 1952, between pages 13-29. Hasan Kaleşi gave subject-headings of this collection and the number of books under each subject-headings: "Yugoslavya'da İlk Türk Kütüphaneleri", *Türk Kültürü* v. IV/38 (1965), pp. 41-42.

³⁹ Uzunçarşılıoğlu İsmail Hakkı, *Kitabeler*, İstanbul 1929, p. 25; BOA, M. Müd. 626, p. 230 and 5455 p. 240.

⁴⁰ Belediye Library (now Atatürk Library) n. Mc. O. 116/1, pp. 6b-8b .

⁴¹ Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih Devrinde Karaman Eyaleti Vakıfları Fihristi* , Ankara 1958, p. 20 and 38.

Libraries founded in the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) and Selim I (1512-1520)

After the period of expansion that the empire witnessed in the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, the reign of Bayezid II can be characterized as a period of consolidation, in which he avoided conflict with external forces and attempted to win over those members of society who had been alienated by the harsh measures of Mehmed the Conqueror.⁴² The period of peace allowed Bayezid II to promote his interests in patronizing scholarship and literature. Latifi, the biographer of the poets, praised Bayezid II's patronage of the arts and noted that he would invite any scholar, even from as far as India and China, to come to Istanbul, using all necessary persuasion and inducements.⁴³

The Palace library, founded by Mehmed the Conqueror, was expanded greatly by Bayezid II. In a record book from this period we see many entries giving the name of persons who presented books to the Sultan and received in return several gifts.⁴⁴ This indicates that Bayezid II most appreciated the books. It is related that from time to time Bayezid II himself would go through his collection and apply his seal to the front and back fly pages and would in his own hand inscribe his name as owner.⁴⁵ An account book from this period mentions that there was a librarian employed in this library and he was called *hafız-ı kütüb-i hassa* (keeper of the privy books).⁴⁶ In the Palace in Galata there was a school in which the palace staff were trained. It is related that in this school Bayezid II founded another library.⁴⁷

In 1488 when Bayezid II founded a complex in Edirne, the foundation deed notes that the library was an integral part of the complex. Among the

⁴² Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481-1512*, Urbana 1948, p. 5; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, v. I, Cambridge 1976, p. 70; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London 1973, pp. 30-33.

⁴³ *Tezkire-i Latîfî*, İstanbul 1314, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁴ For the content of this record, book called *İn'âmât Defteri*, see: İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Arşivlerin Değeri", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XIX (1980), pp. 213-222.

⁴⁵ Süheyl Ünver, "İkinci Selim'e Kadar Osmanlı Hükümdarlarının Hususi Kütüphaneleri Hakkında", *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1952), pp. 309-311.

⁴⁶ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XV (1954), p. 308.

⁴⁷ İsmail Baykal, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kitaplıkları", *Güzel Sanatlar* VI (1949), p. 75.

usual text-books donated to this library there were medical books, probably for the use of staff of the hospital which was a part of the complex.⁴⁸ Bayezid II's keen interest in books was demonstrated in the following condition placed in the foundation deed, where he tried to eradicate some of the sloppy practices which had endangered previous collections:

"Whenever a student in the college wishes a book he should present himself to the librarian, who should summon witnesses and in front of them count the fascicles and the pages and record them together with the size of the book and the quality of binding, as well as recording the nature of borrower and the witnesses, all this so that fraud by substitution be avoided".⁴⁹

Bayezid II's interest in libraries can be seen even before he ascended the throne. While governor of Amasya, Prince Bayezid founded a complex to which he donated a collection of books and appointed a librarian with a stipend of 2 aspers *per diem*.⁵⁰

Bayezid II built his complex in Istanbul between 1500 and 1505.⁵¹ However it is not clear that he endowed it with a library. The historian, Ata, claims in his history that Bayezid II founded a library in his mosque in Istanbul, but as he wrote in the 17th century we cannot rely on him.⁵² However, in an account book for the foundation covering the period 1583-1595 we observe that a librarian was working for a stipend of 3 aspers *per diem*.⁵³

Many prominent people of this period emulated the Sultan by founding their own libraries: Alâiyelü Muhyiddin donated 71 books to an unnamed institution and these were later transferred to the Mosque of Mehmed II.⁵⁴ Atik Ali Pasha founded a college at Çenberlitaş in the centre of Istanbul and

⁴⁸ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, İstanbul 1952, facsimiles p. 16.

⁴⁹ Belediye Library (now Atatürk Library), no. Mc. O. 61, p. 44a.

⁵⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi* v. I, İstanbul 1327, p. 261 ; BOA, M. Müd. 5455, pp. 76 and 210.

⁵¹ R. Melül Meriç, "II. Sultan Bayezid Zamanı Binaları, Mimarları, Sanat Eserleri ve Sanatkarları", *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* II (Ankara 1958), p. 8.

⁵² *Tarih-i Atâ*, v. I, İstanbul 1291, p. 76.

⁵³ BOA, M. Müd. 5103, p. 273 and 5761, pp. 61 and 98.

⁵⁴ İVTD, p. 338.

donated 119 books and appointed a librarian at a stipend of 3 aspers *per diem*.⁵⁵ Efdalzade Ahmed Çelebi founded a college near the Mosque of Mehmed II to which he donated 42 books and appointed a librarian with a stipend of one asper *per diem*.⁵⁶ A scholar, Muslihiddin Çelebi Yegani, donated 100 books with the provision that he should care for them in his own lifetime and thereafter his family should look after them. When this was no longer possible the books should be deposited in Ulu Cami in Bursa.⁵⁷ According to the famous biographical work *Şakaik*, Ahi Yusuf, a scholar of this period, donated many books to a mosque he had built close to his house.⁵⁸

Koca Mustafa Pasha, the grand vizier of Bayezid II, founded a mosque in Istanbul. By 1606 there is mention of a library in some archival documents, but we can not be sure that it was established during the lifetime of the founder.⁵⁹

A library was founded by Ishak Pasha, another grand vizier of Bayezid II in the complex he built in 1489 in Inegöl. To this complex a librarian was appointed with a stipend of 1.5 aspers *per diem*.⁶⁰ In 1492 in Edirne Şeyh Mehmed b. Yusuf, donated 37 books, mainly on the subject of mysticism, to his *tekke*.⁶¹ In 1485 another sheyh, Abdurrahim Karahisarî, mentioned in the foundation deeds for his complex at Afyon that he had donated 159 books.⁶²

The most interesting library to be found in this period, in terms of the founder and the books making up the collection, is certainly the library that Küssahan Muslihiddin founded in the village of Çavlı Hacı Köy in the vicinity of Izmit.⁶³ Küssahan Muslihiddin was story-teller to Bayezid II and when he

⁵⁵ İVTD, p. 69.

⁵⁶ İVTD, p. 199.

⁵⁷ İVTD, p. 172.

⁵⁸ Taşköprizâde, *eş-Şaka'ikü'n-nu'maniyye fi Ulemâi Devleti'l-Osmaniyye*, Beyrut 1975, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Hüseyin Ayyansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmî*, v. I, İstanbul 1281, p.162 ; Osman-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadikatü'l-Vüzerâ*, İstanbul 1271, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Vehbi Tamer, "Fatüh Devri Ricalinden Ishak Paşa'nın Vakfiyeleri ve Vakıfları", *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (1958), facsimile p. 12.

⁶¹ BOA, Tapu Defteri no. 1070, pp. 270-272.

⁶² Edip Ali Baki, *Mısırloğlu Abdurrahim Karahisarî*, Afyon 1953, pp. 101-103.

⁶³ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 579, p. 218.

retired after a long life, covering the reigns of three Sultans, he retired to his village and there founded two mosques and rooms for students. He donated 210 books to these mosques and set conditions for their use and protection. The collection includes the usual standard college textbooks in Arabic, but what is far more interesting, it includes books by Muhyiddin ibni Arabi, the famous mystic philosopher, Feridüddin-i Attar, the poet and author of many works on ethics, Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, the mystical poet and Kuşeyri, the great mystic. There are also common Turkish works and 5 books on mathematics and astronomy and 9 books on medicine.⁶⁴ This library is not the library of a college teacher, but the collection of a widely-read person who was obviously collecting books as an aid to his profession as story-teller to the Sultan. It would seem that he retired with his books to the peace and quite of his village, where he donated them to the mosque so that others could benefit from them.

One of Bayezid II's wives, Hüsnü Şah, built a mosque in Manisa in 1490, while her son, Şehinşah, was the governor of the city.⁶⁵ Şehinşah donated 140 books to the library which his mother had established in the mosque.⁶⁶

Libraries were also established in the Balkans in this period. In 1506, Abdullah Yakup Pasha, one of Bayezid II's viziers, donated 135 books to an institution he built in Salonica.⁶⁷ However, no mention is made in the foundation deed of a librarian. In the same year, the judge of Salonica and Manastur, a certain Ishak Çelebi, established a library in the college which he had previously founded.⁶⁸ This is the earliest Ottoman library to be established in Manastur. Another library was established by Sûzî Çelebi, a Turkish poet, in the mosque which he had built in Prizren.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 579, pp. 224-227.

⁶⁵ Çağatay Uluçay, Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları, Ankara 1980, p. 23; İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, "Manisa Kütüphaneleri", *TKDB VIII/I* (1959), p. 18.

⁶⁶ Şer'i Siciller (Manisa), no. 113, pp. 237-238.

⁶⁷ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 740, pp. 305-312.

⁶⁸ Hasan Kaleşi, "Ishak Çelebi von Bitola und seine Stiftungen" in *La Macedonia et les Macedoniens dans la Passe*, Skopje 1970, pp. 149-162; Dr. Hasan Kaleşi, *Najstariji Vakufski Dokumenti u Jugoslaviji Na Arapskom Jeziku*, Pristina 1972, pp. 172-185; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, *Yugoslavya*, v.III /3, İstanbul 1981, pp. 100-101; Hasan Kaleşi, "Yugoslavya'da İlk Türk Kütüphaneleri", *Türk Kültürü IV/38* (1965), p. 170.

⁶⁹ BOA, Tapu Defteri no. 495, p.417; Hasan Kaleşi, "Oriental Culture in Yugoslav Countries from the 15th Century till the end of the 17th Century", in *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Prague 1978, p. 391; Agah Sırrı Levend, *Ga-*

Quite apart from foundation libraries which were in the public domain, there were also examples of private libraries. One of Mehmed II's viziers, Sinan Pasha, a famous author and an esteemed scholar, died, having apparently willed his very rich collection of books to a foundation. Another equally esteemed scholar, Molla Lütüfi had the responsibility of ensuring that the books reached the foundation to which they had been endowed. Whether or not Molla Lütüfi delayed the process so as to allow himself exclusive use of the collection is not certain, but he was accused of doing so by Sinan Pasha's brother, Ahmed Pasha, in two letters addressed to the Sultan. Ahmed Pasha even went as far as to accuse Molla Lütüfi of selling some of the books.⁷⁰ Bayezid II's son, Prince Korkud, a renowned poet and scholar, also had a very rich collection which required a camel caravan to move it from one location to another.⁷¹ The Prince's şarabdar, that is the chief taster of drinks, a certain Piyale Bey, had a private collection and left the books to an elementary school which he had founded in Manisa.⁷² One of the books from this collection can now be found in the Atuf Efendi Library (no. 1835) and it bears the seal of Piyale Bey which consists of the following Persian couplet:

Piyale, the slave of Prince Korkud

Had nothing in this world save his chosen friends⁷³

An extremely important private library was that belonging to a famous scholar, Müeyyed-zade Abdurrahman Efendi, who if the author of the *Şakaik* is to be believed, had a library of over 7,000 books, quite apart from duplicates. The author of the *Şakaik* goes on to note that not only had he not read many of these works, he had not even heard of their names.⁷⁴ The famous historian, Hoca Sadeddin, wrote that this collection consisted of

zavatnameler, Ankara 1956, pp. 203-204; Olga Zirozeviç, "Prizren Şehri", *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler v. V* (Ankara 1994), p. 2116.

⁷⁰ İsmail E. Erünsal, "Fatih Devri Kütüphaneleri ve Molla Lütüfi Hakkında Birkaç Not", *Tarih Dergisi* XXXIII (1980-1981), p. 74-78.

⁷¹ Feridun Bey, *Münşe'ât-ı Selâtin*, v. I, İstanbul 1274, p. 373; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, v.II, Ankara 1972, p. 644.

⁷² BOA, Tapu Defteri 398. p. 27.

⁷³ Atuf Efendi Library no. 1835.

⁷⁴ *Şaka'ik*, p. 179; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1965, p.232.

"precious and rare books, and apart from the duplicates it is well known that there are more than 7,000 works" in the collection.⁷⁵

We do not know if this reputed 7,000 book collection was an exaggeration or the literal truth. However it seems that the collection was extraordinarily rich, even if it did not amount to 7,000 works. Müeyyed-zade during his lifetime had apparently incurred enormous debts in building up this collection and upon his death in 1516 the books went to his family, who apparently sold some of them. The Sultan, Selim I, decided to confiscate this library and he appointed one of his servants, a certain Aydın, to appropriate as many of the books as he could lay his hands on. Aydın duly did so and noted the names of the books which he could find; these amounted to 2,112. The titles of these books are noted in an account book now housed in the Topkapı Palace Archive. The Sultan took the rarest of the books into his own palace collection and had the remainder sold in order to clear Müeyyed-zade's debts.⁷⁶

We have from Bayezid II's reign two proper independent catalogues which have survived. Up to this period there were inventories appended to the foundation deeds which functioned as catalogues. The first is not dated, but from external evidence we can say that it was prepared at the beginning of the XVIth century.⁷⁷ It belongs to the library of the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror. This catalogue, which consists of 56 folios, has an introduction covering two pages the first of which has unfortunately been torn and the bottom half lost. In the remaining part of the page the cataloguer advises the reader that the catalogue has been drawn up on the order of the reigning Sultan, whose specific orders were to inspect the library which the late Sultan, Mehmed the Conqueror, had endowed. After this missing section, page two begins with a discussion of how the books were to be shelved. We know that Mehmed the Conqueror endowed books to four of the seven colleges (Semaniye) that surrounded the mosque he built. His successor, Bayezid II, relocated the books to a single location in the mosque, probably for ease of administration and better protection. It would seem that the compiler of the catalogue may have been involved in physically

⁷⁵ *Tâcu't-Tevârih* v. II, İstanbul 1279, p.556.

⁷⁶ Topkapı Palace Archive, no. D.9291/1-2.

⁷⁷ BOA, HMH. SFTH. no. 21 941/B.

allocating space to the books, and that this preoccupation was foremost in his mind when he drew up the catalogue.⁷⁸

The second catalogue, which is dated 1502, belongs to the Palace library and consists of 340 folios.⁷⁹ The first two folios contain a list of contents, followed by five folios containing a Turkish introduction, which lays down the principles by which the catalogue was set out and the rules of classification. This is followed by a single folio containing a preface in Arabic, which says that this catalogue has been prepared on the orders of Sultan Bayezid II. In the Turkish introduction, the problems confronting all librarians of the time in classification are dealt with in some detail as, for example, how to deal with several books bound together and how to classify a book in which two distinct categories overlap. In this catalogue classification is the over-riding priority; no importance is given to the physical description of the books. It would seem that the reason for classification needs being so important was that the Palace library was built to house a collection which was intended for the court. If information was needed it was important that the necessary book could be found quickly. In order to ensure this, an efficient system of classification was needed.

Selim I's reign is extraordinary in that, despite lasting only 8 years, 1513-1521, it witnessed the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into Syria, Egypt and the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina. This allowed Selim I to buy and confiscate books whenever the opportunity arose. By the end of his short reign the palace had become much richer, and these books were, in later reigns, to become the core of foundation libraries. Selim I's reign was too short to allow him to found institutions bearing his name, but we do have evidence for his love of books and reading. Hoca Sadeddin recounts in his history, that while on the Egyptian campaign (1516) he took many books with. One night in the desert some camels carrying equipment became detached from the main column and were stolen by Bedouins. Among the equipment was a chest of books among which was Vassaf's History, which the

⁷⁸ For a description of this catalogue see author's article: "Fatih Camii Kütüphanesine Ait En Eski Müstakil Katalog", *Erdem (Aydın Sayılı Haura Sayısı- Baskıda)* and "The Oldest Extant Ottoman Library Catalogues", *61st IFLA General Conference, Booklet 7* (1995), pp. 58-62.

⁷⁹ Magyar Tudományos Akademia Künyvtara Keleti Gyűjtement, Török F. 59. I related the discovery of this catalogue in the following article: "The Catalogue of Bâyezid II's Palace Library", *Kütüphanecilik Dergisi, Belge, Bilgi Kütüphane Araştırmaları*, no. 3 (1992), pp. 55-66.

Sultan was reading at the time. When he arrived in Egypt he had one of the palace teachers, Mevlana Şemseddin, famous for the speed at which he could copy (he could copy, it was claimed, a whole Koran in 10 days), write another copy of the History of Vassaf for him.⁸⁰ There are some documents which show his keen interest in books. A document dated 1517 takes the form of a report on the books housed in the citadel of Aleppo, the first part of which is a list of books which the anonymous author believes should be sent to the Palace Library. The second part of the report deals with those books which although not very valuable may be acquired by the Palace, while the third section gives the titles of books which are of no interest to the Palace and should be disposed of on the open market. The report requests that the Sultan should make his decision clear.⁸¹

Another document is a letter from the governor of Egypt, who had found some books which Selim I had lost while in Damascus. The governor mentions that he had sent one book already, and now he had found another four, but as the letter was going by sea he was not sending the books with it, lest they become damp, but would await the first opportunity to send them by land.⁸²

Selim I's short reign witnessed some foundation libraries, but comparatively few. One of these was founded by Mevlana Bali in his mosque in Istanbul. Attached to the mosque were rooms for scholars and students, for the benefit of who he endowed, in 1519, a library of 620 books to be kept by the imam of the mosque.⁸³ The author of *Şakaik* tells us that Ahmed Pasha, who has been seen complaining to the Sultan about the disposal of his brother's library, donated some books to his college in Bursa and thus established a library.⁸⁴ In a survey of the foundations of Edirne it has been noted that a certain Hasan Halife left 19 books, his house and some money with the provision that after his death his descendants should look after the books, and thereafter they should be entrusted to the judge of the city. On no account were the books to leave the house. Trustees were appointed to manage the foundation.

⁸⁰ *Tâcu't-Tevârih* v. II, p. 610.

⁸¹ Topkapı Palace Archive no. D. 9101.

⁸² Topkapı Palace Archive no. D. 5596.

⁸³ İVTD, p. 243.

⁸⁴ *Şaka'ik*, p. 109 ; Şer'i Siciller (Bursa), A. 83/97 , p. 48a ; Tahsin Özalp, *Sivrihisar Tarihi* , Eskişehir 1960, p. 124.

Ismet Parmaksızođlu, in his article entitled "The Libraries of Manisa" reports that Süleyman the Magnificent's mother built a mosque and dispensary in Manisa and founded a library in both institutions.

Libraries founded in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent and from his Death Until the End of 16th Century

In the first years of Süleyman I's reign, as in the whole reign of his father, Selim I, there was a recession in the development of libraries. This may perhaps be attributed to the enormous social and economic dislocation witnessed in the reign of Selim I.⁸⁵ Although we see several libraries established in Edirne during the early years of Süleyman I's reign, there is no evidence of such activities in the capital, Istanbul. Most of the libraries founded by statesmen and scholars of the period happened in the latter part of his reign, due mainly to political and economic stability, which in turn encouraged development in culture and scholarship.

In Edirne, the tradition of establishing small collections for the use of the local inhabitants, which began in the reign of Murat II, continued. This is demonstrated in the case of a collection of 114 books, mainly to do with religion, donated by Haji Hasan b. Ali to the schoolhouse he founded, by means of an endowment deed dated 1521. In the deed Haji Hasan b. Ali includes the condition that "the books should be lent freely to the teacher of the school house and to anyone who is able to read them, but they should not be given to anyone from outside the mentioned locality".⁸⁶

Again in Edirne, a library was founded by Kasım b. Abdullah in January 1528, similar to that of Haji Hasan b. Ali's library, but containing in the foundation deed the further stipulation that the teacher should not lend a book without first obtaining a pledge from the borrower.⁸⁷ In both foundation deeds, we can observe that, as in previous periods, the teacher is responsible for conserving and administering the collection, there being no specific post of librarian.

⁸⁵ M.Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Süleyman I", *İA*, v. XI, p. 149.

⁸⁶ BOA, Tapu Defteri 1070, pp. 239-241. Although the library was located in a school house and could be considered a school library, when we look up at type of books in it and the stipulation in the foundation deed, it is best to view this library as a local public library.

⁸⁷ BOA, Tapu Defteri 1070, p. 211.

At the beginning of Süleyman I's reign a library was founded in Gebze, near Istanbul, by Çoban Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Egypt, in a complex which he completed in 1522.⁸⁸ The collection, consisting of 165 books mainly on religion, with some works on medicine,⁸⁹ was to be cared for by a librarian, who was to receive a daily stipend of three aspers.⁹⁰ In the complex founded by Çoban Mustafa Pasha, as in most complexes and colleges of this period, a library was considered a necessary constituent of the educational organization. For this reason, throughout Süleyman I's reign, we see a library established in each of the following colleges: Hayreddin Pasha College in Istanbul (founded 1534)⁹¹, Abdülvasi b. Hızır's college in Edirne (before 1538)⁹², Kasım Pasha's colleges in Istanbul (1544) and in Bursa (1553)⁹³, Rüstem Pasha's colleges in Istanbul (1547) and in Tekirdağ (1553),⁹⁴ Sofu Mehmed Pasha's college in Sofia (1547),⁹⁵ Sultan Süleyman I's college in Rhodes,⁹⁶ İbrahim Pasha's college in Istanbul (1549),⁹⁷ Sekban Kara Ali's college in Istanbul,⁹⁸ Hüseyin Ağa's college in Amasya,⁹⁹ Şehzade Mehmed's college in Istanbul¹⁰⁰ and Semiz Ali Pasha's college in Istanbul (1556).¹⁰¹

Records indicate that books were not only donated to the colleges but also to mosques. Thus we see Makbul İbrahim Pasha, one of Sultan Süleyman I's grand viziers, donating some books and appointing a librarian

⁸⁸ Muallim Cevdet, *Zeyl ala fasli'l-ahiyeyi'-fityâni't-Türkiyye fi Rihleti İbni Batuta*, İstanbul 1932, p. 211.

⁸⁹ Süheyl Ünver, *Tıp Tarihimiz Yıllığı*, İstanbul 1966, p. 18.

⁹⁰ BOA, M. Müd. 22, p. 151 ; M.Müd. 5455, p. 29 ; M. Müd. 5070, pp. 4, 24, 114, 126.

⁹¹ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 571, p. 185.

⁹² *Şaka'ik*, p. 234.

⁹³ İVTD, pp. 431-432 ; BOA, Ruus no. 1, p. 145 ; Ruus no. 80, p. 446 ; M.Müd. no.626, p. 174 ; Şer'i Siciller (Bursa), no. A. 82/96, p. 43b.

⁹⁴ BOA, Ruus no. 66, p. 5 ; Ruus no. 80, p. 546 ; Ruus no. 82, p. 230 ; İ. Aydın Yüksel, "Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın Vakıfları", in *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Haura Kitabı*, İstanbul 1995, pp.219-281. The historian Peçevi, in his history claims that on Rüstem Pasha's death 5000 volumes were among his effects. (*Tarih-i Peçevi*, v. I, İstanbul 1283, p. 23).

⁹⁵ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 988pp. 51-64.

⁹⁶ BOA, M. Müd. no. 626, p. 189.

⁹⁷ BOA, Ruus no. 78, p. 10 ; BOA, Cevdet-Maarif no. 580 ; In a Mühimme Record dated 20 Zi'l-ka'de 992/ Kasım 1584, it is mentioned that İbrahim Paşa had endowed some books to Cami-i Ezher in Egypt. (BOA, Mühimme Defteri no.55, p.48).

⁹⁸ BOA, Cevdet-Maarif no. 5465.

⁹⁹ BOA, M. Müd. no. 22, p. 125 ; BOA, İbnü'l-emin-Evkaf no. 718.

¹⁰⁰ Topkapı Palace Library no. EH. 3003, pp. 100b-106a.

¹⁰¹ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 585, pp. 16-20.

to his mosque in Hezargrad¹⁰², as did Hüsrev Pasha in Diyarbakır¹⁰³ Kiremitçizade Sinan Bey in Bursa¹⁰⁴ and Tercüman Yunus¹⁰⁵, Ferruh Kethüda¹⁰⁶ and Cihan Bey¹⁰⁷ in Istanbul. According to a foundation record, Çadırcı Hayreddin established a position of librarian with a daily stipend of one asper at the Bezzaz-ı Cedid Mosque at Mercan in Istanbul.¹⁰⁸

Besides local and college libraries, there are particular libraries which are worthy of note: the library in the mausoleum complex of Caliph Ali and Musa Kazım in Baghdad¹⁰⁹, the library of Yorganî Dede in his *tekke* (1564) near the Gül Mosque in Istanbul¹¹⁰ and Feridun Bey's library located in the primary school bearing his name, also in Istanbul.¹¹¹

The libraries we have come across so far all fit within the established classification of libraries: libraries found in colleges, mosques, schools, *tekkes* and mausoleums.¹¹² However, there is a further type of library, examples of which can only be seen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one instance in Mehmed the Conqueror's reign, and one in Selim's, and several in Sultan Süleyman I's reign. These are the libraries founded by members of the ulemâ (clergy) in their own houses or in small buildings, the deeds for which stipulate that the founder will have priority in the use of the books, thereafter his family, scholars of the locality, righteous persons and, finally, anyone able to profit from the books.

One example of such libraries is the one donated by Mevlana Emir Hüseyin b. Mehmed, a teacher at the Darülhadis college in Edirne, who, by means of an endowment deed, dated February 1535, stipulated that his 77

¹⁰² BOA, Cevdet-Maarif no. 100 ; BOA, Ruus no. 84, p. 201.

¹⁰³ BOA, Ruus no. 84, p. 110 ; Ruus no. 85, p. 95 ; İbnü'l-Emin , Tevcihat no. 1010.

¹⁰⁴ Şer'i Siciller (Bursa), no. A. 83/97, p. 82a.

¹⁰⁵ BOA, Kepeci-Ruus no. 217, p. 161.

¹⁰⁶ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 570, p. 60 ; BOA, Ruus no. 9, Ruus no. 32, p. 308; BOA, Cevdet-evkaf, no. 711; BOA, İbnü'l-Emin-Evkaf no. 5990.

¹⁰⁷ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Muhasibliği no. 7, p. 23b ; BOA, Cevdet-Evkaf no. 24 290 ; BOA, Ruus no. 33, p. 11, Ruus no. 91, p. 168.

¹⁰⁸ BOA, İbnü'l-Emin-Evkaf no. 97 ; Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Muhasibliği, no.7,p.28a,no. 9, p. 39b

¹⁰⁹ BOA, Bağdad Tapu Defteri no. 386, pp. 117-118 , 124-127 and 161.

¹¹⁰ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Rumeli Sadareti, no. 8, p. 55a-b.

¹¹¹ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive, no. 570, p. 198.

¹¹² Özer Soysal, "Cumhuriyet Öncesi Dönemi Türk Kütüphaneciliği" (Unpublished Habilitation Thesis, Ankara University, Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi 1973), pp. 17-21.

books should be available not only to himself but to scholars, students and any person able to profit from them. Although the deeds do not stipulate where the books are to be housed, when the extant copy of the deeds was made it was noted that the books were currently in the hands of Muslihiddin Dede in the district of Sevündük Fakih. A clause in the deeds shows that the founder expressly wished the books to be used as widely as possible:

"The books are not to be lent without a deposit or pledge and it is a condition that they must not remain in the hands of a person for an extended period. Indeed when a person has finished with a book, the librarian should take it from him and give it to another person so that the books do not go out of use and do not become lost."¹¹³

Similarly, Mevlana Alaaddin b. Hacı Sinan donated 25 books in 1545 and placed similar conditions in his deed, but also added that upon his death the *imam* of the Haseki district Mosque was to look after the books and that the congregation of the mosque was to act as supervisor.¹¹⁴

Another example appears in the foundation deeds, dated November 1562, in which Kadı Alaaddin b. Abdurrahman donated his house in the district of Balat in Istanbul, together with his books and a sum of money. Here it is stipulated that the local *imam* or someone appointed by him would live in the house, read every day one *cüz* (a thirtieth) of the Koran for the soul of the founder and maintain the books.¹¹⁵

In a document, dated 1536, we see a certain Sinan Bey and a Mehmed b. Sinan, co-owners of a collection of books, donating their books in a similar way: that the books be for the use of their sons and the scholars of the district and those who may profit from them. However what is different in this document is that the price of every book is entered after each title. This is explained thus:

"As for the one who has need of a book, it shall not be given to him without taking the full value of the book or a pledge which should not be worth less than the value of the

¹¹³ BOA, M. Müd. no. 557, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁴ İVTD, p. 341.

¹¹⁵ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Balat Mahkemesi no. 2, p. 5a.

book. Books should thus be lent and should a book be lost then it should be replaced with the money or pledge taken."¹¹⁶

When Sheyh İshak b. Abdürrezzak endowed 41 of his books, mainly on mathematics, medicine and astronomy, for the use of himself, his sons and his friends who could benefit from them, he stipulated that the books should not leave the confines of Istanbul.¹¹⁷

Despite the fact that many a locality could boast a library, no matter how small, and that the libraries were established in the complexes Sultan Süleyman I built for his son Şehzade Mehmed and his daughter Mihrimah Sultan, it is ironic that no collection was endowed when his own vast complex was built at the Süleymaniye. However, according to the Süleymaniye foundation deed, probably drawn up in 1557, it was planned that a library should exist at some future date:

"Thus it is stipulated that when the books are provided for the above-mentioned colleges a librarian and assistant librarian are to be appointed by the grand vizier and their duties to be determined by him."¹¹⁸

We do not know when the library was founded in the Süleymaniye complex nor when the staff were appointed. Müjgan Cunbur has claimed that a library was operating soon after the completion of the complex, relying on a list of books appended to the foundation deeds¹¹⁹, but it is apparent that this list was appended at a later date. It is not therefore possible, on the basis of this document, to claim categorically that the library was functioning shortly after the deeds were drawn up. However, in a document found in the Topkapı Palace Archive, dated 1561, it is recorded that some books were sent from the Palace to the college of the Sultan, i.e. to the Süleymaniye.¹²⁰ In another document in the same archive, dated 1565, there is a list of the titles of 55 books under the heading: "The list of books given to the teachers, which were needed by the colleges of Süleymaniye, by

¹¹⁶ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive, no. 578, p. 318.

¹¹⁷ İVTD, pp. 439-440.

¹¹⁸ Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfıyesi*, Ankara 1962, facsimile pp. 151-152.

¹¹⁹ Müjgan Cunbur, "Kanuni Devrinde Kitap Sanatı, Kütüphaneleri ve Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi", *TKDB XVII/3* (1968), p. 139.

¹²⁰ Topkapı Palace Archive no. E. 861/1.

order of the Sultan".¹²¹ With these documents we can presume that within a few years of the completion of the Süleymaniye complex, books began to come to the library from the Palace.

The oldest reference so far noted for the appointment of a librarian and assistant librarian to this library is dated 1583. In an account book of the Süleymaniye foundation, it is found that among the staff there was a librarian by the name of Sheyh Şemseddin Mahmud, with a daily stipend of 6 aspers and an assistant librarian at 4 aspers. In the same account book, a record, dated 1589, shows that the above mentioned Şemseddin had resigned and on the petition of the Judge of Istanbul a certain Osman b. Hüdaverdi was appointed.¹²² From the account books of later years it is seen that these salaries remained static¹²³ until 1649, when the librarian started to receive ten aspers and the assistant librarian seven.¹²⁴ Apart from the daily stipend, the staff of the Süleymaniye library were entitled to receive one meal a day from the kitchen of the complex.¹²⁵

Similarly, when Gazi Hüsrev, the son of Selçuk Sultan and grandson of Sultan Bayezid II, founded a complex in Sarajevo he stipulated in an endowment dated 1537 that a library was to be established at a future date with the moneys remaining after the building was completed.¹²⁶ We are informed that another library was established in 1550 in the town of Foça on the river Drina.¹²⁷

A library built in 1559 in Kayseri by a scholar, Bedreddin Mahmud b. Mevlana Süleyman b. Alaaddin Ali, has attracted the attention of researchers because of its peculiar location. It has been claimed that this was the prototype of a new category of library, namely the "bedesten" or "bazaar

¹²¹ Topkapı Palace Archive, no. E. 2803/1.

¹²² BOA, M. Müd. no. 5103, p.4.

¹²³ BOA, M. Müd. no. 2056, p. 6 , M. Müd. no. 5761, p. 26, M. Müd. no. 1018, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁴ BOA, M. Müd. no. 994, p. 10 , M. Müd. no. 5019, p. 88.

¹²⁵ BOA, M. Müd. no. 19 342, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Kasım Dobruca, *Katalog Arapskih, Turkish ı Perzijskih Rukopisa*, Sarajevo 1963, pp. XXI-XXIV ; M. Tayyib Okıç, "Saraybosna Gazi Hüsrev Beğ Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Katalođu", *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara 1964), p. 144 ; İlhan Polat, " Saray-Bosna'da Gazi Hüsrev Bey Kütüphanesi", *TKDB*, v. XVIII/4 (1969), pp. 244-248 ; Lamija Hadziosmanovic, *Biblioteke u Bosni ı Hercegovina Za Vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine*, Sarajevo 1980, pp. 64-69.

¹²⁷ Kasım Dobruca, *Katalog Arapskih...* p. XXI.

library".¹²⁸ However we should examine the establishment of this library more closely before accepting this new category of "bazaar library". In the foundation deeds, dated 1559, Bedreddin Mahmud stipulated that the books were to remain in his possession until his death and, thereafter, in the possession of his children and brother's children, to be used both for their benefit and that of students, and thus they were to remain in the hands of his descendants until they died out, whereupon the books were to be placed in a place in a bazaar called the Bezzazistan, or cloth bazaar. Furthermore, it is clearly stipulated that this collection, which comprised 400 volumes mainly in Arabic and dealing with religious sciences or the Arabic language, was to be used by "seekers of knowledge", in other words, students.¹²⁹ It is therefore a collection appropriate to a college library, although it is located in the bazaar. A "bazaar library", we would assume, would be for the benefit of the merchants, and would be a completely different type of collection.

We know that another collection was endowed during the period of Sultan Süleyman I's reign. According to the famous biographer of Ottoman scholars, Atâî, a certain Şah Ali (d. 1553) was reputed to have performed his morning prayers for forty years in the first line in Ayasofya mosque. He is said to have left his books for the benefit of students. Where he donated them is not mentioned and therefore we do not know if he donated them to Ayasofya mosque or to some other institution.¹³⁰ From a record in Şer'i Siciller we learn that a teacher called Kasım b. Habil donated 65 books to the library of Mehmed the Conqueror and stated in his foundation deed that his books might be lent out in return for a pledge.¹³¹

The period from the death of Süleyman I till the end of XVIth century saw the spread of libraries throughout the Empire, as the reigning sultans and their statesmen endowed libraries to institutions they had founded in large cities, or in places to which they had been appointed, or to their place of birth. With the exception of the Selimiye Mosque Library, the libraries were comparatively small and had just a single librarian, but these were to

¹²⁸ Özer Soysal, *op. cit.* p. 110 ; M. Cunbur, "Tarihimizde Anadolu'da kütüphane Kurma Çabaları", *TKDB XV/3* (1966), p. 130 ; M. Cunbur, "Kayseri'de Raşit Efendi kütüphanesi ve Vakfiyesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi VIII* (1969), p. 185.

¹²⁹ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 581/1, pp. 31-33.

¹³⁰ *Hadaikü'l-Haka'ik I*, İstanbul 1268, p. 72.

¹³¹ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Balat Mahkemesi no. 2, pp. 81b-82a.

become the core collection of libraries, which were to expand in the following century as the numbers of students increased, creating a necessity for more books.

İsmihan Sultan, the daughter of Selim II and wife of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, founded a college at Eyüp in Istanbul to which she donated some books with the provision that they be kept in a cupboard in her mausoleum.¹³² As in the case of Bedreddin Mahmud's library in Kayseri, the books were placed in the mausoleum purely for convenience. Some scholars have, in an attempt to classify libraries according to the location of the books, invented the phrase "mausoleum library", analogous to mosque libraries or *tekke* libraries. It must be emphasized that in the absence of a purpose-built library, books were placed in a convenient and secure location. The mausoleum was as secure as any building in a complex. The catalogue of this library is a particularly good example from this period, giving a detailed physical description of each book in the collection.

The grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, established three libraries, one in his college in Istanbul another in a *tekke* he had established, also in Istanbul, and a third in his college in Bergos.¹³³ As in the case of his wife's endowment, the catalogue of these libraries is very detailed in the physical description of the books. He makes a further provision for necessary precautions to be taken to prevent fraud by substitution, and provides money in order to replace any book which becomes worn out through overuse.¹³⁴

Selim II established a library in the college which he built in Izmir, a few years after ascending the throne.¹³⁵ When he completed his complex in Edirne in 1575, he naturally endowed it with a library and we see from the foundation deed (dated 1579) that not only is the catalogue and the richness of the collection of great interest, but so are the provisions for staffing the library.¹³⁶ He provides for three librarians, two of whom were to be trained calligraphers and ornamentors and whenever necessary they were

¹³² Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 572, p. 141.

¹³³ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü no. 572, pp. 27-63 and Kasa no. 103.

¹³⁴ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive . Kasa no. 103, pp. 1-80.

¹³⁵ Münir Aktepe, "İzmir Şehri Osmanlı Devri Medreseleri Hakkında Ön Bilgi", *Tarih Dergisi*, s. 26 (1972), p. 114 and 117; Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 741, p. 84.

¹³⁶ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 1395, pp. 87-114.

to repair the books and replace missing text and ornamentation.¹³⁷ We learn from the introduction to the catalogue, which is appended to the foundation deed, that unlike the Süleymaniye, where the books were donated to the complex some years after its completion, in the case of Selimiye the books were collected beforehand and were ready to be used as soon as the complex opened.¹³⁸

Nurbanu Sultan, the senior wife of Selim II and mother of Murad III, built a complex in Üsküdar. From an account book we see that a library was located there in the mosque with a librarian at a stipend of 2 aspers *per diem*.¹³⁹

Koca Sinan Pasha, the grand vizier responsible for the conquest of Yemen, used much of his wealth in building numerous pious foundations,¹⁴⁰ four of which were endowed with libraries. An endowment deed dated 1586 tells us that he endowed books to four separate institutions, a college in Ishak Pasha Mahallesi in Istanbul, a college in Aydın and a college in Malkara where he had been exiled on several occasions, and a *tekke* in Kulaksız in Istanbul. The college in Istanbul provided for the head reciter of Koran to be given the responsibility for looking after the books with an extra salary of one aspers *per diem*, while the others had not particular provisions in terms of a librarian.¹⁴¹

As for Sinan Pasha's personal library, that was housed after his death in his mausoleum in Divan Yolu in Istanbul. An account book notes that a librarian there received a salary of 8 aspers *per diem* which suggests that the collection may have been quite sizable.¹⁴² As his mausoleum is located in the vicinity of several colleges we may also presume that the library was for the use of students there.

¹³⁷ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive , Kasa no. 169, pp. 76-77 ; M. Cunbur, "Osmanlı Çağı Türk Vakıf Kütüphanelerinde Personel Düzenini Geliştirme Çabaları", *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1973), p. 679.

¹³⁸ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no.1395, p. 91.

¹³⁹ BOA, M. Müd. no. 5455, p. 91 , M.Müd. 6483, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Şerafettin Turan, "Sinan Paşa", *İA X*, p. 674.

¹⁴¹ BOA, Haremeyn Dosyası no. I (Süleymaniye); M. Cevdet, *op. cit.* p. 188.

¹⁴² BOA, Ruus no. 25, p. 161.

Towards the end of the century three prominent men, the Sheyhülislam Zekeriyya Efendi,¹⁴³ the chief eunuch Gazanfer Ağa¹⁴⁴ and Hadım Hafız Ahmed Pasha,¹⁴⁵ founded colleges each endowed with a library. Zekeriyya Efendi's library was located in his mausoleum and his son Sheyhülislam Yahya Efendi augmented the librarian's salary by 3 aspers *per diem* in 1638.¹⁴⁶

Besides college libraries, there were a number of mosque libraries founded for the benefit of teachers and students and the congregation. In 1568 Ali b. Recep founded a library in his mosque in Yenice Vardar, in the deeds of which he placed an interesting stipulation for lending: the librarian should obtain from the reader a deposit twice the value of the book, and refuse to lend to inhabitants of other cities or the surrounding villages.¹⁴⁷ Hemşinzade donated some books to Ulu Cami in Bursa in 1585 and provided that books might be lent on deposit of a pledge and with a known person standing as guarantor.¹⁴⁸ Pertev Pasha drew up an endowment deed providing money for a mosque to be built in the town of İzmit wherever it was felt necessary and endowed 21 books for the use of congregation. The mosque was completed in 1579 and a librarian with a stipend 1 asper *per diem* appointed.¹⁴⁹ In 1584 Mehmed Efendi b. Abdullah Molla Çelebi endowed a library to the mosque in Fındıklı in Istanbul. The purpose was to serve the needs of the students of a college which he intended to build nearby.¹⁵⁰ Another library was endowed in 1591 by Mehmed Ağa for his mosque in Çarşamba in Istanbul. The books were exclusively for the use of

¹⁴³ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 571, p. 165 ; Şer'i Siciller (Bursa), no. B. 63/259, pp. 95a-97a.

¹⁴⁴ Şer'i Siciller Archive, Davud Paşa Mahkemesi no. 129, pp. 33-34 ; Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 571, pp. 11-22 ; BOA, Ruus no. 92, p. 353.

¹⁴⁵ Hüseyin Ayvansaraylı, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, I, İstanbul 1281, pp. 87-88 ; Mübahat Kütüköglü, "1869'da Faal İstanbul Medreseleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* no. 7-8 (1977), p. 53.

¹⁴⁶ İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, İbnü'l-Emin section no. 3151, p. 10b.

¹⁴⁷ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Rumeli Sadareti no. 3, p. 38.

¹⁴⁸ Şer'i Siciller (Bursa), no. A. 143/170, p. 240.

¹⁴⁹ Beyazıt Umumi Kütüphanesi, no. 5157, pp. 62a-b ; BOA, M. Müd. no. 626, p. 351 ; Abdülkadir Erdoğan, "Kanuni Süleyman Devri Vezirlerinden Pertev Paşa ve Eserleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942), pp. 235-236.

¹⁵⁰ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 624, p. 5 ; Cengiz Orhunlu, "Fındıklı Semtinin Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma", *Tarih Dergisi* VII/10 (1954), pp. 66-68.

college teachers, a condition clearly stated not only in the endowment deed, but also on the seal attached to each book.¹⁵¹

One of the most interesting mosque libraries was endowed in 1593 by a certain Mahmud Bey whose 39 book library was given to the Cihangir Mosque in Istanbul. With a few exceptions all the books are in Turkish and most of a non-religious nature, consisting of anthologies of folk tales, famous love epics. The books were to be lent, but the loan was restricted to a period of a month. Although housed in a mosque, it is clear that this is a public library intended for the use of the local people.¹⁵²

Cerrah Mehmed Pasha founded a library in his mosque in 1594¹⁵³ and it may be guessed from the nature of the books that the library was intended for the two colleges, Gevher Sultan and Haseki, situated near at hand.

Although there is no archival record, recent research indicates that the following mosques and colleges had libraries endowed towards the end of the 16th century. These endowments were made by the following benefactors: Zal Mahmud Pasha in Eyüp (1570), Karagöz Bey in Mostar (1570)¹⁵⁴, Abdurrahman Pasha in Tosya (1584)¹⁵⁵, Mesih Pasha in Istanbul in Eski Ali Pasha's mosque (1586)¹⁵⁶, Murad III in Muradiye mosque in Manisa (1586)¹⁵⁷, Lala Mustafa Pasha in Ilgın (1591)¹⁵⁸, and Derviş Pasha in Mostar (1593).¹⁵⁹

Two specialist collections are noted in this period. The first is the collection of the chief physician to the palace. In a document of 1576 we

¹⁵¹ Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, no. EH. 3028 ; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Mehmed Ağa Camii no. 134.

¹⁵² Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Galata Mahkemesi no. 17, pp. 187-188.

¹⁵³ Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *op. cit.* v. I, p. 71 ; Belediye Kütüphanesi, no. Mc. O. 70, p. 446.

¹⁵⁴ Hafzija Hasandedic, "Muslimanske Biblioteke u Mostaru", *Annali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke I* (Sarajevo 1972), pp. 107-108 ; Lamija Hadziosmanovic, *op. cit.* pp. 73-75.

¹⁵⁵ A. Gökoğlu, *Paphlogonia*, Kastamonu 1952, pp. 228-229.

¹⁵⁶ Halit Dener, *Süleymaniye Umumi Kütüphanesi*, İstanbul 1957, p. 43; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Mesih Paşa no. 37.

¹⁵⁷ İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, "Manisa Kütüphaneleri", *TKDB VIII/1* (1959), p. 19 . From a record in Şer'i Siciller (Manisa no. 113, pp. 237-238). it is learnt that a survey of book was carried out in September 1657. The author like to thank Dr. Feridun Emecen for providing this information.

¹⁵⁸ M. Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphane Vakfıyesi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi I/1* (1963), p. 206.

¹⁵⁹ Hafiza Hasandedic, *op. cit.* p. 108.

have list of the books given to the chief physician Molla Kasım and in 1580 we see the same books passed onto Molla Kasım's successor on his retirement.¹⁶⁰ While not a library in the strict sense of the word, it is a collection for the use of the Chief Physician. A second specialist collection was that attached to the observatory built by Takiyüddin (died 1585) in Istanbul while he was the Sultan's chief astronomer.¹⁶¹ We see that the Sultan took special interest in the collection and augmented it whenever an opportunity arose. A certain Lutfullah left some books on astronomy to be cared for by the müezzin and imam of the mosque in the Mimar Sinan district in Istanbul. Sultan Murad III ordered that these books be placed in the observatory for the benefit of the chief astronomer.¹⁶² Another decree commanded that the books of the astronomer, Kurd, should be sent with all due haste by the Governor of Saruhan and Judge of Manisa to Istanbul, presumably again to be added to the collection at the observatory.¹⁶³

The Expansion of the Ottoman library system

From the beginning of the seventeenth century all the major cities of the empire were well-endowed with mosques, colleges and institutions associated with religious and cultural institutions, among which we include libraries. It was now the turn of the smaller cities and towns to develop libraries. At a first glance, this expansion of the libraries throughout the Balkans and Anatolia may suggest an increase in literacy, but the contents of these library are mainly college texts, Arabic books and commentaries and translations into Turkish which would suggest that the expansion of the library system merely reflects the expansion of the college system. The libraries were established to meet the needs of the students. Some of these small town libraries were established by the following benefactors: Mustafa Dede in his *tekke* the island of Midilli (1602)¹⁶⁴, Müeyyed-zâde Pîrî Çelebi in Amasya in the vicinity of Hatuniye Mosque (1609)¹⁶⁵, Kaçanikli Mehmed

¹⁶⁰ Topkapı Palace Archive, no. D. 8228.

¹⁶¹ Aydın Sayılı, "Alauddin Mansur'un İstanbul Rasathanesi Hakkındaki Şüirleri", *Belleten* XX/79 (1956), pp. 411- 428; Süheyl Ünver, *İstanbul Rasathanesi*, Ankara 1965, pp. 47-48.

¹⁶² Ahmet Refik, *Onaltıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553-1591)*, İstanbul 1935, p. 36.

¹⁶³ BOA, Mühimme Defteri no. 49, p. 44.

¹⁶⁴ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümeyun Müfettişliği no. 8, p. 105.

¹⁶⁵ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, v. I, İstanbul 1327, p. 262.

Pasha in his mausoleum in Üsküp (1608)¹⁶⁶, the chief eunuch Ali Ağa b. Yahya in his college in Mostar¹⁶⁷, Tavlasunlu Halil Pasha in the village of Tavlasun in Kayseri (1617)¹⁶⁸, Sheikh Hüsameddin in his *tekke* in Bursa (1612)¹⁶⁹, the chief eunuch Bosnalı Ahmed Ağa in his college in Mostar (1653)¹⁷⁰, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in his mosque in Bozcaada (1660)¹⁷¹, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha in his mosques in Merzifon (1668)¹⁷² and İncesu (1670)¹⁷³, Mehmed IV in his mosque in Girid¹⁷⁴ and the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha in his complex in Erkilet in Kayseri (1671)¹⁷⁵.

In the seventeenth century established institutions also began to receive collections through gifts and endowments which were usually documented in an endowment deed.¹⁷⁶ When a small endowment of, for example a single book or two-three books, was made it was more usual to record the endowment on the fly leaf of the book.

In Istanbul until the establishment of independent libraries, beginning with the Köprülü Library in 1678, it was the rule that all major colleges would have their own libraries. Indeed the founders of new colleges did not, as in previous times, found a college in the hope that a library would be donated at a later date, or that the students of the college would benefit from the collections of other institutions nearby, but ensured that the college was provided with its own library from the outset. Thus we see new

¹⁶⁶ BOA, Ruus no. 78, p. 152 ; Hasan Kaleşi-Mehmed Mehmedovski, *Tri Vakufnami na Kacanikli Mehmed Paşa*, Skopje 1958, pp. 20-21; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, v. III/3, İstanbul 1981, p. 259.

¹⁶⁷ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği no.50, p. 149.

¹⁶⁸ Kazım Özdoğan, *Kayseri Tarihi*, Kayseri 1948, pp. 107-108.

¹⁶⁹ Kamil Kepeci, *Bursa Şer'iye Sicilleri Kütüphaneler Defteri*. According to a record made in 1622 , upon the death of Hüsameddin, these books were moved to the Tenmiye Mosque (Bursa Şer'iye Sicilleri no. B. 41/235, p. 160a.

¹⁷⁰ Hafzija Hasandedic, "Muslimanske Biblioteke u Mostaru", *Anali Gazi Hüsrev-begove biblioteke* , v. I (1972), p.108.

¹⁷¹ Köprülü Library, Vakfiye no. 1, p. 15b.

¹⁷² Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği no. 63, p. 28. For an appointment of a librarian to this mosque see: BOA, Ruus no. 16, p. 351.

¹⁷³ BOA, Cevdet-Maarif no. 404 ; BOA, Ruus no. 84, p. 471 ; Abdullah Kuran, "Orta Anadolu'da Klasik Osmanlı Mimarisi Çağın Sonlarında Yapılan İki Külliye", *Vakıflar Dergisi* v. IX (1971), pp. 239-243.

¹⁷⁴ BOA, Süleymaniye no. 2918, pp. 1b-2a.

¹⁷⁵ Kazım Özdoğan, *op. cit.* p. 108.

¹⁷⁶ For the examples see author's book: *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II : Kuruluştan Tanzimata Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* , Ankara 1988, p. 56.

colleges being founded with a library : Kuyucu Murad Pasha (1610)¹⁷⁷, Sultan Ahmed I (1617)¹⁷⁸, Kazasker Hasan Efendi (1630)¹⁷⁹, Sheikhülislam Abdurrahim Efendi (1650)¹⁸⁰, Yeni Cami (1663, 1666)¹⁸¹, Mimarbaşı Kasım Ağa¹⁸², Abbas Ağa b. Abdüsselam (1670)¹⁸³, Mustafa Efendi b. Abdü's-selam (1677)¹⁸⁴ and Bayram Pasha (1636).¹⁸⁵

In the middle of the seventeenth century two libraries were established in existing mosques. These collections were not endowed by means of an endowment deed, but were gifted in the will of the deceased donator. The conditions attached to the administration of these collections are extremely unusual and worth mentioning. The first of these was a donation of 71 books made to Üsküp mosque in Cibali in Istanbul by Mehmet Pasha on behalf of a certain Mustafa Efendi. The will, dated 1667, stipulates that the books should only be lent out to poor scholars and that the supervision of the endowment should be in the hands of the whole congregation of the mosque acting as a committee.¹⁸⁶ Another library was established in Iplikçi Mosque in Konya by a teacher Ali Efendi, acting as the executor of Mahmud Efendi's will. The will, dated 1672, provided for 78 books to be donated on condition that they be lent out to poor students and scholars of Iplikçi college for a period not exceeding six months on the deposit of a pledge, and should the book be lost the pledge was to be sold and a "reliable version" of the book should be bought. Again the supervision of the collection is in the hands of the congregation, who were not to receive payment for their efforts.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁷ Şemim Emsem, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Devrinde Türkiye Kütüphanelerinin Tarihçesi", *TKDB IX/1-2* (1960), p. 32.

¹⁷⁸ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği no. 57, pp. 49-50; BOA, M. Müd. no. 6888, pp. 6 and 66-67; Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 71, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ BOA, Süleymaniye no. 2864, p. 14b; BOA, Ruus no. 55, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰ BOA, Ruus no. 80, p. 220 and Ruus no. 82, p. 84.

¹⁸¹ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive no. 744, pp. 23-24 and 112-135.

¹⁸² BOA, Ruus no. 89, p. 184.

¹⁸³ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği no.63, pp. 16-22.

¹⁸⁴ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Bab Mahkemesi no. 26, pp. 103b-105b and Bab Mahkemesi no. 29, pp. 129b-131a.

¹⁸⁵ M. Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.* s. 32; Zeynep Nayır, "İstanbul Haseki'de Bayram Paşa Külliyesi", *Ord. Prof. İsmail Hakk Uzunçarşılıya Armağan*, Ankara 1976, pp. 397-410.

¹⁸⁶ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi no. 19, pp. 36b-37a.

¹⁸⁷ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi no. 29, pp. 23a-b.

The attitude of the religious authorities to the donation of books is well exemplified in the following, rather unusual, case. A certain Abdülkadir Efendi died intestate with a private collection of books. Two persons appeared in front of the judge in Istanbul responsible for dealing with the estates of deceased persons and claimed that Abdülkadir Efendi had orally pledged his collection in front of witnesses to the dervish lodge which he founded in Karagümrük in Istanbul. This oral testament had apparently been made in a remote town while he had been traveling to Istanbul. The judge found in favor of the dervish lodge rather than the other beneficiaries of his estate, and the books were sent to his *tekke*.¹⁸⁸

From its humble beginnings the Ottoman library system had by the end of the seventeenth century developed into a large sophisticated entity which provided for libraries not only in the major cities of the empire but also in many small towns. With the establishment of the independent library the Ottoman library system was to take a new direction.

¹⁸⁸ Şer'i Siciller (İstanbul), Kısım-i Askeriye no. 8, pp. 62a-b.

