

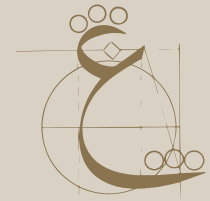
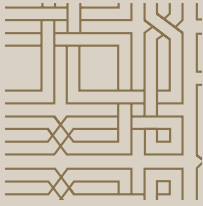


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07



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evvelin kimesne bilmeye”*

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Establishment and Continuity of the Rüstem Pasha Madrasa Library*

RÜSTEM PAŞA
KÜTÜPHANESİ'NİN
KURULUŞU VE GÜNÜMÜZE
GELİŞİ



ELİF DERİN**

ABSTARCT

This article aims to contribute to Ottoman book culture studies regarding collections and foundation libraries. It examines the book collection of Rüstem Pasha, one of the viziers of the Süleyman the Magnificent, in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. Rüstem Pasha's wealth of books is emphasized in historical sources. He established a high-grade madrasa in Istanbul in the mid-16th century and endowed a book collection necessary for education. This article compares the books specified in Pasha's endowment deed with the catalog of the collection issued during Abdulhamid II's reign, and its current state to reveal the formation of the collection and how it has survived to the present day. While the endowment deed provides detailed information about the first books endowed to the madrasa, the collection itself and the Hamidian-era catalog provide information about the books that were lost and added to the collection over time.

Keywords: Ottoman Manuscripts, Madrasa Books, 16th Century, Manuscript Culture.



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ÖZ

Osmanlı kitap kültürü çalışmalarına koleksiyonlar ve vakıf kütüphaneleri açısından katkı sağlamayı amaçlayan bu makale Kanûni Sultan Süleyman'ın sadrazamlarından Rüstem Paşa'nın Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesindeki kitap koleksiyonunu incelemektedir. Tarihsel kaynaklarda kitaplarının zenginliğine vurgu yapılan Rüstem Paşa 16. yüzyılın ortalarında İstanbul'da yüksek dereceli bir medrese kurarak medresenin ihtiyacı olan kitapları da vakfeder. Makalede medresenin vakfiyesi, koleksiyonun II. Abdülhamid döneminde hazırlanan kataloğu ve bugünkü durumu karşılaştırılarak koleksiyonun oluşumu ve bugüne nasıl ulaştığı ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Vakfiye, medreseye vakfedilen ilk kitaplar hakkında detaylı bilgiler sağlarken koleksiyonun kendisi ve Devr-i Hamidi kataloğu da zaman içinde eksilen ve koleksiyona eklenen kitaplar hakkında bilgi edinmemize yardımcı olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelime: Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü, Medrese Kitapları, 16. Yüzyıl, Yazma Kitap Kültürü.

INTRODUCTION

As a relatively recent field, Ottoman book culture studies face several methodological challenges. Foremost among these is the fact that while most book history studies focus on printed books, the majority of Ottoman studies focus on manuscripts. Although we have numerous historical sources such as library catalogs, endowment deeds (*waqfiyyas*), and estate records, conducting meaningful research in the field without a codicological background is impossible. Indeed, each element of the manuscript, including its physical characteristics, features, and extra-textual notes, can provide valuable information about the history and culture of the books.

Recent studies focus on manuscripts, particularly in the Islamic and Ottoman contexts, have been increasing and developing in terms of methodology. Among these studies, collection-based research is of particular importance to me. The first example of book collection studies is Berat Açı̇l's collaborative study on Carullah Efendi's (d.1738) personal library. Açı̇l comprehensively evaluates both the books and their non-text elements, e.g., marginalia. The biographical information obtained from marginalia about Carullah Efendi is an excellent example showing the content information that manuscripts can provide about their readers or owners.¹ In *The Treasure of Knowledge*,² different aspects of Bayezid II's (r. 1481-1512) library are investigated detailly as a result of a thorough investigation of the collection. The volume also examines the interior treasure collections of the palace, the status of the books in the collection, and the catalog available to scholars and visitors. One of the most recent studies is a project of the Şehid Ali Paşa (d.1716) collection. Tülay Artan's preliminary article about the study, makes it possible to learn about its scope and central questions. The project aims to shed light on the journey of the book collection, which was confiscated after the death of Şehid Ali Pasha, then dispersed, and finally partially reassembled.³ Artan's recent article not only provides information on the fate of the books but also evaluates the book culture of the period through the example of the *Şehid Ali Paşa* collection.⁴ This second article provides enlightening results for understanding the nature of collections and the efforts of collectors in the 18th century.⁵ These studies are usually projects where a group of scholars study extensive collections. What I propose to do in this article is a small-scale review of a smaller collection, similar to Berat Açı̇l's article on Habeşi Mehmed Ağa's books.⁶ Açı̇l makes the classification and evaluation of the books Habeşi Mehmed Ağa donated to the mosque that he built, based on his endowment and their current status.

The madrasa was a high-ranking institution founded in the 16th century, which contains a small collection of manuscripts donated by Rüstem Pasha for the use of students and scholars of the madrasa. The collection grew from 150 volumes at its foundation to 186 volumes today,

1 Berat Açı̇l (ed.), *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları* (İstanbul: İlem Kitaplığı, 2015).

2 Gülru Necipoğlu et al. (ed.), *Treasure of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3-1503/4)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

3 Tülay Artan, "On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Başında Osmanlı Bilgi Üretimi ve Dağılımı: Yazma Eser Koleksiyonları ve Koleksiyonerler Arasında Şehid Ali Paşa'nın Yeri", *Müteferrika* 58 (2020), 5-40.

4 Tülay Artan, "Şehid Ali Paşa'nın Sük-1 Sultânî'de Satılan Kitapları, Sahaflar ve Koleksiyonerler (1719)", *Osmanlı Kitap Koleksiyonerleri ve Koleksiyonları: İtibar ve İhtiras*, eds. Tülay Artan - Hatice Aynur (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2023), 281-407.

5 Artan, "Şehid Ali Paşa'nın Sük-1 Sultânî'de Satılan Kitapları".

6 Berat Açı̇l, "Habeşi Mehmed Ağa'nın (ö. 1590) Vakfettiği Kitaplar ve Akıbetleri", *Turkology* 5 (2020), 67-83.

a testament to its expansion over time. Today, the collection is preserved in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, where the manuscripts' stories can be uncovered through examination. Moreover, we are fortunate that Rüstem Pasha's endowment deeds are accessible today, and a list of the donated books is recorded there. Thus, it is possible to gain insight into both the functioning of the madrasa and library, and to compare the donated books with the current state of the collection. Despite the abundance of similar historical sources, studies on the formation or continuity of Ottoman libraries are relatively scarce. I hope that this study will serve as an example of how a madrasa library was established and maintained in the Ottoman Empire.

1. Rüstem Pasha (d.1561)

Rüstem Pasha was one of the most well-known grand viziers of Ottoman history. He served as the grand vizier between 1544-1553 and 1555-1561 before passing away in 1561.⁷ Pasha was a devşirme (recruited) like many other bureaucrats of the 16th century, and various sources point out to his Balkan origin, although some different cities are mentioned.⁸ He was married to Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of Süleyman I. Then, he was appointed as grand vizier two times. Pasha did not have a good reputation, due to the allegations of his role in the execution of prince Mustafa, the son of Süleyman I.⁹ Nevertheless, envoys described him as a keen and far-sighted man.¹⁰ Ottoman sources also portray him as an intelligent but avarice and penchant for money.¹¹ While there are no official records of Rüstem Pasha's estate, the famous Ottoman historian Mustafa Âli cites a list of Rüstem Pasha's properties that he found in a compilation by Sinan Pasha, the Governor of Cyprus. While not an official document, this list serves as an indicator of the Pasha's wealth. Âli reports that Ali Pasha possessed more than 5,000 books covering a wide range of disciplines, along with around 8,000 Qur'an manuscripts.¹² Mustafa Âli states that around 130 of the mentioned Qur'ans are precious and unique manuscripts.¹³ Even if these numbers are exaggerated, they indicate Pasha's interest in manuscripts. In addition, the Qur'an manuscripts belonging to Rüstem Pasha, which are currently in the collections of the Mevlana and Turkish Islamic Art Museums, support Âli's narrative of precious and unique Qur'an manuscripts. These Qur'an manuscripts are among the finest in museum collections.¹⁴

7 Erhan Afyoncu, "Rüstem Paşa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Access 11 May 2023).

8 Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators", *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 319.

9 Zahit Atçıl, "Why Did Süleyman the Magnificent Execute His Son Şehzade Mustafa in 1553?", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 48 (January 2016), 69.

10 Busbecq, *Türk Mektupları*, trans. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın (İstanbul: Remzi, 1939), 43.

11 Zahit Atçıl, *State and Government in The Mid-Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Grand Vizierates of Rüstem Pasha (1544-1561)* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2015), 27.

12 Mustafa Âli emphasizes Pasha's interest in Qur'anic recitation and calligraphy in reference to the large number of Qur'an manuscripts. However, it should be noted that owning this number of Qur'an manuscripts was a sign of wealth, just like owning five hundred saddles.

13 "130 mücellled murassa hüsn-i hatt Kuran-ı Kerim..." (130 Qur'an with precious binds and calligraphes).

14 Hacı Ahmet Arslantürk, *Bir Bürokrat ve Yatırımcı Olarak Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Veziriazamı Rüstem Paşa* (İstanbul: Marmara University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2011), 111.

Rüstem Pasha, like most other Ottoman viziers, was very generous in establishing charitable and religious foundations. Hacı Ahmet Arslantürk examines the legacy of Pasha in five categories in his dissertation; one of them is his manuscripts. Pasha established many foundations in the Balkans, Anatolia, Egypt, Medina, and Jerusalem, such as madrasas, mosques, schools, fountains, and *hân* (rest houses).¹⁵ He built five madrasas in different cities of the empire (Istanbul, Hayrabolu, Rodoscuk, Kütahya, and Madina); two of them are works of the famous imperial architecture Sinan. The madrasa, which is the subject of this article, is the one in the Cağaloğlu district of Istanbul. Pasha had built this madrasa near his palace, known to be in this region. Unfortunately, his palace has not survived. The madrasa is a remarkable work - with its square plan on the outside and octagonal inside, it is often praised for its uniqueness. There are twenty-two student rooms and a large classroom in the madrasa. There is no separate library room in the complex, since the collection was not large enough to merit a separate room for storing books. The manuscripts found here can easily be placed in the cupboards made in the niches of the classroom walls. It was clearly stated by the *waqfiyya* that the books would be kept in bookcases in the classroom.¹⁶ Although the epitaph of the madrasa says it was built in 957 AH (1550 CE), Nev'izâde Ataî (d.1635) states in his work that Rüstem Pasha appointed a professor to the madrasa for fifty *akçe*, in 1547.¹⁷ This expression indicates that the construction of the madrasa began, or was it least intended, on this date.

Among the five madrasas he built, Pasha appointed bookkeepers to the ones in Cağaloğlu, Medina, and Rodoscuk. In addition, it is seen that the *juzhân* he assigned to Masjid al-Aqsa was also assigned the duty of bookkeeping. Although there is no mention of book collections sent to Rodoscuk and Madina in his endowments, the fact that he appointed bookkeepers to these places can be interpreted as a sign that he endowed books. Indeed, a dictionary that came from the madrasa in Rodoscuk to the collection Cağaloğlu indicates that there were books in Rodoscuk. We have no information about the fate of the books he sent to other madrasas, it is written in his endowments that he also endowed books to some other places. For example, the precious Qurans in the Mevlana Museum today are manuscripts he endowed to the Mevlana Lodge.¹⁸ For the time being, we do not know what happened to the many manuscripts in his estate. However, since Pasha made a will to convert some of the items in his estate into foundation income, it is possible that the Quran manuscripts he endowed to his mosque and tomb, which his wife Mihrimah Sultan completed after his death, were from his estate.

The article on a history book that was attributed to Pasha until recently also provides clues about Pasha's cultural personality. This book, which was thought to be written by Pasha, was written by Matrakçı Nasuh and dedicated to Pasha. This situation shows that although Rüstem Pasha did not write a history book, he patronized Matrakçı Nasuh to write one.¹⁹ He may also owe a large number of books in his inventory to some extent to these patronage relations and the gifts he received due to his powerful position.

15 Arslantürk, *Rüstem Paşa*, 108.

16 "...mahrûse-i Kostantiniyye'de binâ olunan medrese-i müsmineün dershânesinde vaz' olunan dolâblarda vakf olunan kitâblar konur..."; Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA) defters (d.) nr. 635/2, s. 160.

17 Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), 60.

18 Arslantürk, *Rüstem Paşa*, 111.

19 Göker İnan, "Tarih-i Âl-i Osmân (Rüstem Paşa Tarihi) Üzerine Notlar", *Kadım* 1 (Nisan 2021), 11-35.

2. The *Waqfiyya*

The easiest and the surest way of having information about the establishment of a foundation is to consult its *waqfiyya*. The *waqfiyya* provides detailed information about the functioning and purpose of the foundation and the donated goods. Ahmet Arslantürk who studied the endowments of Rüstem Pasha determined that there are eight *waqfiyyas* of him. Six *waqfiyyas* are found in the Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA), and five of these six can be found in a single book. The madrasa in Cağaloğlu is mentioned in two of these *waqfiyyas*. In the first *waqfiyya* dated 1560, there are provisions regarding the *dârulkurrâ* in the madrasa and its employees.²⁰ The latest and longest *waqfiyya* dated 1561 contains provisions regarding the functioning and employees of all foundations. In this long *waqfiyya*, the books donated to the madrasa and how books should be preserved and loaned.²¹

Besides the endowment rules, *waqfiyya* also includes the list of manuscripts endowed to the madrasa. However, determining the main collection is not as straightforward as comparing two catalogs. For instance, the first manuscript in the *waqfiyya* is called *Tefsîr-i Kebîr*, but today, this book is registered in the Süleymaniye Library catalog as *Mefâtîhu'l-Gayb*. Given that there was no standardized practice in the pre-modern period to record books by their names in catalogs, not all books were documented with their titles; some were recorded by the names of their authors, while others were recorded with no names. However, including physical details became essential for those who would later inspect these manuscripts, aiding in distinguishing one manuscript from another. The manuscripts' descriptions have primarily been listed in this order: the book's volume, the type of paper, the number of lines and style of calligraphy, and finally, information about the binding.²²

Besides aiding in the identification of the initially donated manuscripts, *waqfiyya* also contains highly valuable information about Ottoman book culture. For instance, the terms provided are crucial for codicology studies and the exploration of historical concepts.²³ Moreover, understanding the characteristics and names of the papers can offer insights into the dating and production processes of manuscripts, particularly when the copy dates or locations are unknown. For example, the use of various types of paper, such as *Dimeşkî*, *Semerkindî*, *Hindî*, *Hâmevî*, and *Devletâbâdî*, is detailed in the manuscripts, providing valuable information on their production processes.²⁴ The *waqfiyya*'s information on calligraphic styles reveals that the nesh style was the most commonly used font in manuscripts. Only one manuscript was written in the reyhanî style, while three of them were in ta'lik. However, nesh is not described in one way – sometimes referred to as Arabî, and other times as hurde-nesh (thin-nesh). The script that did not fit any style was described as *perişan*

20 Arslantürk, *Rüstem Paşa*, 61; VGMA d. nr. 635/2, no: 14, s. 145-149.

21 Arslantürk, *Rüstem Paşa*, 63; VGMA d. nr. 635/2, no: 17, s. 153-167.

22 "...tefsîr-i Şeyh tamâmı iki cildde evvel cildi sûre-i Meryemê dek Dimeşkî kâğıd üzre yirmi üç satıra ta'like mâylî hattla evvelinden iki sahîfe altun cedvel ile aşâğası sûre-i Nisâ'ya dek yektâ sûrh cedvel ile evvelinden yedi varak muhaşşâ âyât-î kerime siyâh mürekkeble ve üstüne sûrh cedvel ile altun küşelu kırmızı sahtiyân ve içi maktâ' turancalu ve küşelu kırmızı sahtiyân cild ile."; VGMA d. nr.635/2, s. 162.

23 For example, details about bindings can provide information about the binding tradition of the period, as bindings are the most changed parts of manuscripts.

24 Papers were usually named according to where they were produced or where they came from. Papers differed in quality and size according to their type. For more detailed information on paper production, see: Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

(irregular). Beyond calligraphy, additional physical details, such as *mistâr*, *cedvel* (lines drawn with a ruler), or *tezhib* (ornaments) help define the manuscripts. These features were implemented for the convenience of subsequent counting and controlling of the collections. For researchers, these details are vital in identifying books, especially when specialized or detailed knowledge about the book's content is lacking. Personally, these identifications allowed me to find the equivalents in the current collection for manuscripts whose names were not provided in the *waqfiyya*.

According to the foundation deed, Rüstem Pasha donated 46 books to the madrasa. However, as one of these books is a compilation, the actual number of works is 49. Additionally, since most of these books were multi-volume, the total number of volumes donated to the library is 150. In the *waqfiyya*, some of the books are without names and not classified under any scientific category. Nevertheless, while listing the works, the text adheres to the established Ottoman order of *tafsir - hadith - fiqh* categorization. By comparing the *waqfiyya* with the current collection, it became possible to determine the number of books by subject. According to the *waqfiyya*, Pasha donated 21 works of *tafsir* comprising 43 volumes, 10 *hadith* works comprising 69 volumes, 6 works of *fiqh* comprising 25 volumes, 4 works of *fetâvâ* comprising 6 volumes, 2 works on Sufism comprising 3 volumes, a volume of ethic, and a volume of the lexicon.

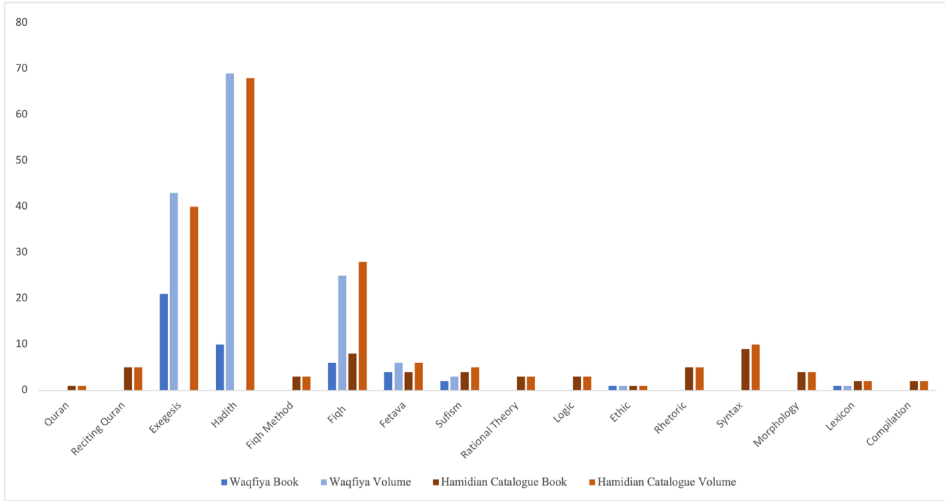


Figure 1: Number of Books by Subject, in *Waqfiyya* and Hamidian-era Catalog

3. Some Decisive Elements in the Manuscripts

Even if the endowment deed is inaccessible, is it possible to learn about the initial collection from other sources? One notable source is the inventory registers maintained in endowment libraries like Rüstem Pasha's. These libraries were periodically inspected by officials of Evkâf-ı Haremeyn, who kept defter or register books. These books are as valuable as the endowment

deeds. For example, the Hacı Beşir Ağa Library has a register documenting the books added and lost for forty years following its establishment. Unfortunately, there is currently no such register available for the Rüstem Pasha madrasa library. Nevertheless, the manuscripts themselves can offer significant information about the library's evolution over time.

The most striking feature in the manuscripts is the one-page foundation records of Rüstem Pasha. In his *Arabic Manuscripts*, Adam Gacek suggests that endowment records can vary, ranging from simple statements that may not even include the name of the benefactor to complete legal documents. Therefore, a proper waqf register typically includes sections such as the *besmele*, the name of the founder, the name of the foundation, the conditions of the foundation, and its date, much like the entries found in the *waqfiyya* records.²⁵ However, as İsmail Erünsal argues in the case of Ottoman manuscripts, one-page-long records are quite rare.²⁶ This statement, according to Gacek, qualifies as a proper endowment deed, but Erünsal views it as a rare example. These extensive foundation records always commence from where the text ends. In other words, if the text concludes in the middle of the page, the foundation record starts in the second half of the page and continues on the next. Distinguishing them from the more frequently seen short records in the frontispiece, these long records also provide detailed information about the endowment conditions.²⁷ To interpret these lengthy waqf records as reflective of the trends of the period or the value of the manuscripts, more cases are needed for comparison. In the context of this study, however, this waqf record serves as a valuable element for identifying the first endowed manuscripts.

The short endowment records on the frontispiece of the manuscript typically provide details about the endower. Occasionally, one or two details may be missing, or additional statements such as warnings might be included. In contrast, the foundation record in Rüstem Pasha's manuscripts resembles a copy of the waqfiyya. It commences with the *hamdele* and *salvele*, customary in waqfiyyas. Following this, it mentions the founder, Rüstem Pasha, and extends prayers on his behalf. After indicating that the manuscript was donated for the benefit of scholars and students, it meticulously enumerates the conditions. The record specifies that the manuscript should never be removed from this madrasa building in Kostantiniyye. If the manuscripts ever require repair, they are only to be taken from the *madrasa* in the presence of a madrasa teacher (*müderriş*) or madrasa trustee (*mütevelli*). The manuscript of *Me'âlimü't-Tenzil*²⁸ was likely dispersed and subsequently misaligned. It cannot always be assumed that the binder is knowledgeable about the content of the manuscript. In this particular case, the binder likely incorrectly reunited fascicles, and there was neither a madrasa teacher or bookkeeper (*hâfiz-ı kütüb*) present to prevent or rectify this error.

Likely, the intention behind recording all donated manuscripts with the foundation conditions was to ensure that everyone using these books was aware of them. The condition specifying that the bookkeeper must be available in the madrasa every day, from morning until noon for those who need to use books, seems to imply that this kind of statement should be in the waqfiyya rather than what is recorded in a book. Furthermore, the bookkeeper must have had a certain level of education to examine the books. Additionally, there is an attestation that the book's donation was carried out under the requirements of Islamic law or sharia. Lastly, there is a curse written for those who act knowingly against these conditions.

25 Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 16.

26 İsmail Erünsal, *Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Kitap ve Kütüphane* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2018), 194.

27 For an example of this record see Append 3.

28 Süleymaniye Manuscript Library (SML), Rüstem Paşa Collection (RP), nr. 43.

A potential explanation for the comprehensive endowment record covering all the conditions may be rooted in the customs of the time. However, we lack enough similar examples to make a definitive comparison. In the endowment deeds, the foundation conditions are not as detailed as those recorded in the manuscripts. These documents only state that the bookkeeper was to be paid 5 akçe per day, and his duty was to provide books to the madrasa students upon request. As a precaution, it emphasizes the need to be cautious and to lend books under the supervision of the madrasa teacher, as the bookkeeper would be compensated in case of loss.²⁹ It is understandable that the conditions are stated in a shorter form in the waqf compared to the records in the manuscripts, since the waqfiyyas were created in the years immediately preceding Rüstem Pasha's death. Therefore, the establishment of the madrasa (1150) was 10 years before the waqfiyya was drafted. If a separate waqfiyya was not created during the establishment of the madrasa, it is quite understandable that the conditions were recorded in detail on the manuscripts to be used.³⁰

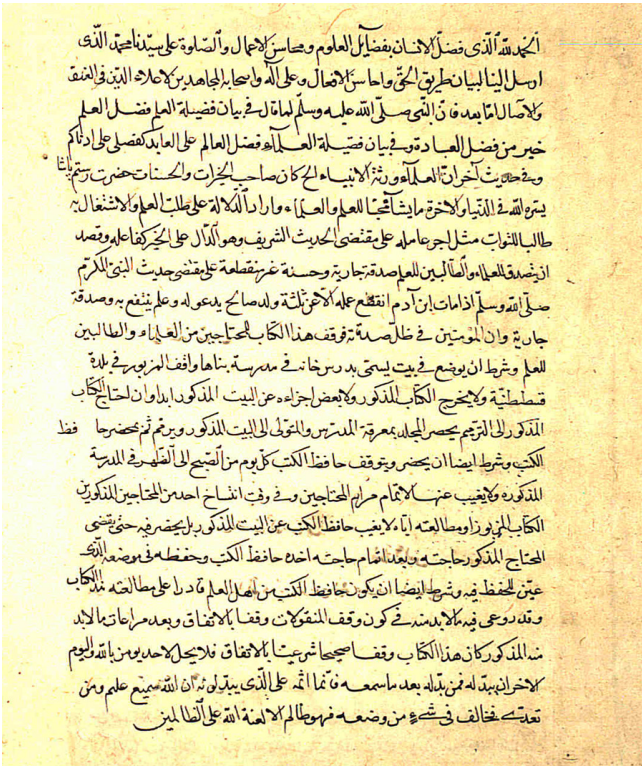


Figure 2: The waqf record of Rüstem Pasha on endowed manuscripts, SML, RP, nr. 11, 642b.

29 "Darü'l-kurrâda vaz' olunan dolâblâradaki vakıf kitâbları hıfz edip müderrise ve medrese danışmendlerine hâcet oldukça verip girü istîğnâ? geldikce hıfz eden hâfız-ı kütübe yevmi beş akçe verile. Ammâ, danışmendlere verildikde ihtiyât ede. Müderris ma'ri-fetsiz vermeye. Nâgâh gidip zayi' olub, kendiye tazmîn lâzım gelmeye"; VGMA. d. nr. 635.

30 See Figure 2 for the original image of this foundation record.

Rüstem Pasha's foundation record was the most essential element for identifying the first endowed manuscripts. This long foundation record is found in all but 4 of the first books donated by Rüstem Pasha. I believe that two of them were one volume when the foundation records were written but were later made into two volumes during repair. For this reason, this record, written at the end of the manuscript, remained at the end of the second volume. Another aspect that helps to determine the first endowed manuscripts is the seals. There are three different seals belonging to Rüstem Pasha and the madrasa. One seal contains a Persian prayer, a second lists Rüstem Pasha's name, and the last one offers the madrasa's name. Of the three seals, the Persian one and the one containing Rüstem Pasha's name were used simultaneously in the first endowed collection.



Figure 3: Seals of Rüstem Pasha³¹

The seal dated 944 AH with the inscription 'Rüstem bin Abdullah' is found mostly on 1a pages of 95 manuscripts.³² Since this seal was prepared at least 10 years before the establishment of the *madrasa*, it must have been intended for Rüstem Pasha's personal library. Although there is no date on the Persian seal, as it was used simultaneously with the first seal, we can assume that this seal was also made for Pasha's personal library before the establishment of the madrasa. The impression of simultaneous use arises in some multi-volume books, where the seal of Rüstem b. Abdullah is stamped on one volume while the Persian seal is stamped on the other. This seal was used less frequently than Pasha's personal seal and is found on 57 manuscripts. Besides, in 25 manuscripts, both seals are found together. But differently, the prayer written on this seal suggests that it was specially made for the books to be donated.³³ In the prayer here, Pasha asks God for favor in return for his good intentions and deeds. Ultimately, the purpose of *waqf* is to seek God's favor for the benefactor.

The seal in Persian is shown as the seal of the Rüstem Pasha Library in the book *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri*.³⁴ Most likely, this seal was chosen among others because Rüstem Pasha's name is written. However, the fact that it is dated before the establishment of the madrasa and that it is not found on any manuscripts donated to the madrasa afterwards gives

31 For their text; respectively footnotes 33, 34, 32.

32 Full text: "el-Vâsik bi'l-Melik'l-İlâh Rüstem b. Abdullah târîh sene 944"; SML, RP, nr. 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48-77, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88-114, 126, 130, 131, 136, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147.

33 "İlâhî çü ber niyyetem agehî, çü niyyet be-hayrest hayrem dihi. Ey Bâr-i Hudâ be-hakk-ı hestî, şeş çiz me-râ meded fûrûstî, ilm u amel u ferâh destî, imân u emân u tendürüstî" (from catalog record of SML).

34 Günay Kut ve Nimet Bayraktar (ed.), *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1984).

the impression that this seal belonged to Pasha's personal library. It would therefore have been more appropriate to cite the other two seals, especially the Persian one, as examples of a foundation seal.

The last seal belonging to a later date, 1253 AH (1837/8 CE), is only offered in four manuscripts. The text written on the seal means "Rüstem Pasha madrasa near Cağaloğlu".³⁵ This seal was designed for madrasa books in a later period. Since this seal also has a date, we can assume that the manuscripts with this seal were added to the *madrasa* library after this date.

So far, I had used such records and notes on the manuscripts to understand when the manuscripts were included in the Rüstem Pasha collection. These various records show that these manuscripts' stories, which came together in the library of the Rüstem Pasha madrasa in 1550, did not actually begin here. In other words, these books- at least most of them - were not produced for the *madrasa* library. There are various studies on the manuscripts that came to the Ottoman lands from the Arab provinces, especially in the early period. For instance, Erünsal mentions Mustafa Âlî, who asked to be appointed as an administrator in Cairo, due to its reputation in the manuscript market, and the Halidîs family, who carried manuscripts from Cairo to Palestine as a family business.³⁶ We can easily distinguish the manuscripts that exemplify this circulation. According to their copy records, there are two sets of manuscripts – one consisting of 30 volumes and another consisting of four volumes - both composed in Cairo. An excellent example of the circulation of manuscripts is the *Câmi'ü's-Sahîb* of Bukhari, which consists of 30 volumes. Most importantly, it is a text that has preserved its existence as an entire set. Ibrahim bin Muhammed copied these thirty volumes in 844 and 845 AH (1440-2 CE) for the library of the *Emîr Esenboğa et-Tayyârî* in Cairo. It also contains a record of *ijâzah* by Ibn Haceru'l-Askalani (d.1449 CE), the famous hadith scholar of the time with his own handwriting. It is difficult to determine step by step how this set got to Rüstem Pasha's library from Cairo. However, a mark in the second volume indicates ownership by a third person. Since we know that the first station of the set was the library of the *Emîr* and the last was the library of the madrasa, this third person -Ahmedü's-Sahevî- must have owned the set between these two. These extra-textual notes tell the story of the manuscripts donated by Rüstem Pasha as well as the story of the continuity of the library.

4. Continuity of the Library

If we go back to the story of the library, we can gather what we have learned about the collection from all available records. The number of additional books after Rüstem Pasha, both manuscripts and printed, is forty-nine in total. The foundation records help us understand which books were added to the collection and when. Two different foundation records show that the trustee Mehmed b. Abdülmeçid added seven books in 977 AH (1569-70 CE)³⁷ and another trustee, Mehmed b. Abdülhamid added six books in 978 AH (1570-1 CE)³⁸ to the collection. Erünsal states that buying books was not common for foundation libraries; however, there are examples of book purchases from the foundation's budgetary surplus.

35 SML, RP, nr. 157, 164, 167, 170, 185. "Medrese-i Rüstem Paşa kurb-ı Cağaloğlu 253".

36 İsmail Erünsal, "Fethedilen Arap Ülkelerindeki Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Osmanlılar Tarafından Yağmalandı mı?", *Osmanlı Kültür Tarihinin Bilinmeyenleri* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2019), 248, 250.

37 SML, RP, nr. 119, 120, 159, 161, 166, 167, 169.

38 SML, RP, nr. 33, 34, 35, 116, 157, 160.

Since these books were textbooks in a madrasa and were used continuously, replacing missing books or purchasing updated texts was a common need. In this case, although there is no such condition in the *waqfiyya*, these added books are probably purchased with foundation revenues by the trustees. Since each added book did not have a foundation record, it is impossible to know when each one came to the library. For instance, all four books on the reading of the Qur'an (*mütevâtir kırâ'âtler*) were added later. The abovementioned waqfiyya reveals that there was also training in reading the Qur'an in the madrasa, and a sheikh was appointed for this. However, it is a question of why there are no books on reading Qur'an among the first endowed books and why they were all added later. Not all books added to the library later were added by the foundation trustees. Another added book is *Ahterî-i Kebîr*³⁹, a dictionary donated to another madrasa of Rüstem Pasha in the town Rodoscuk (present-day Tekirdağ). It is known that the mentioned madrasa was still used in the 19th century. It is not clear why and when this dictionary came to the madrasa in Cağaloğlu. There are also explicit records of additions by other people in the manuscripts. For example, in the frontispiece of a printed book, there is a note that it was endowed in 1241 by Hâcî Abdullâh Efendi, the son of Hâcî Mehmed Efendi.⁴⁰ In addition to other similar foundation records, one of the manuscripts, which was an additional one, bears the note "it is not mine, it was taken from the library, it should be given to the bookkeeper". Since the foundation record on its frontispiece does not include the name of the endower or the place of endowment, this book, which is not clear from which library it was taken, may have been donated here.

Although it has been the subject of two studies before, and although the number of manuscripts in the waqfiyya was given incorrectly, these errors are understandable, due to the existence of multi-volume sets.⁴¹ I determined that 46 works consisting of 150 volumes were donated to the madrasa, according to the waqfiyya. I then compared the manuscripts listed in the *waqfiyya* with the current collection, using their physical descriptions. As a result of this comparison, I noticed that 13 volumes were missing from the present collection.⁴² This is because these books are still circulating and have been used continuously for educational purposes for more than 350 years. In this case, 13 volumes are quite a good number, meaning they used the manuscripts carefully.

With these 47 books added, the collection reaches its current number of 186. Thanks to the Hamidian catalog, we know that the library also had 186 books in 1893/94. This catalog, which belongs to the madrasas of Mahmud Pasha and Rüstem Pasha, includes lists of four collections together with two other collections moved to these places. Rüstem Pasha's 186 books are between 35-47 pages of the catalog. The books were classified according to their genres, and there is information about their languages, calligraphy, and bindings. Since the information in the catalog is the same as those currently in the Süleymaniye Library, I used the manuscripts themselves for comparison. However, I consulted this catalog to see the four manuscripts were not digitally viewable and for the classification of the collection. I did not assume that manuscripts 1, 3, 139, and 181 were lost, as the reason why they could not be

39 SML, RP, nr. 184.

40 SML, RP, nr. 175.

41 Aydın Yüksel says that there are 120 volumes, while Arslantürk says that there are 116 volumes. In fact, although Arslantürk has given the list of books correctly in the table, he says 116 while giving the number.

42 These missing manuscripts can be seen in the appendix list.

viewed digitally was not clear. Additionally, this catalog provides us with another interesting piece of information about the madrasa - according to the catalog, the collection Yusuf Ağa⁴³ was moved to Rüstem Pasha Library. However, the date of this transfer is uncertain.

The madrasa continued to be used, albeit with different functions, such as a dormitory or shelter. Kütükoğlu shows this functionality with the repair records and gives some numbers of students staying here until 1914.⁴⁴ The building currently serves as a museum. In 1910, the small manuscript collections in some foundation libraries were transferred to renewed libraries. The transfer of the Rüstem Pasha collection was also considered because some parts of the madrasa were threatened by moisture. However, in light of students' and scholars' requests, the madrasa was repaired, and the transportation was abandoned.⁴⁵ This information is also substantial in terms of showing that the madrasa was still used in 1910. Nevertheless, in 1914, the books were taken to the library in Sultan Selim and, in 1924, to the Murad Molla library. Finally, in 1949, with some other collections, they were transferred to the Süleymaniye Library and are still preserved there.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

In this article, I examined the library of Rüstem Pasha madrasa. Although Rüstem Pasha had a small-scale library, it is noteworthy that the madrasa is considered among the high-level institutions of its time. The madrasa serves as a notable example, with its architectural structure, book collection, and endowment deed having endured to the present day. This study primarily delves into the book collection endowed to the madrasa. I aim to uncover how much of the collection, now preserved in the Süleymaniye Library under the name of the Rüstem Paşa collection, originated during the establishment of the madrasa. Additionally, I explored how many of these initial books have survived to the present day and how many additions were made to the collection over time. While the list of endowed manuscripts was present in the waqfiyya, the absence of a standard naming convention during that period prompted me to investigate which manuscripts in the current library were initially dedicated by Rüstem Pasha, based on their physical descriptions. Since these physical features also provide insights into the book production and culture of the period, I briefly touched upon them.

Today, there are 186 numbered manuscripts in the Rüstem Pasha collection of the Süleymaniye Library. It's crucial to note that this count does not equate to 186 distinct titles due to multi-volume works. For instance, *Sâhîh-i Buhârî* consists of 30 volumes. In contrast to these multi-volume works, the collection includes one original compilation and three compilations added later, which are still in the collection. Through my comparisons, I determine that 47 of these 186 volumes were added to the library later. Additionally, two manuscripts were split into two during repairs, and 13 volumes were lost from the original

43 Yusuf Ağa was the chamberlain of Rüstem Paşa's great-grandson, Civan Kapucubaşı Mehmed Paşa. He donated his books to the mosque in Üsküdar, which was built by Mihrimah Sultan, who was also the wife of Rüstem Paşa. This collection of 375 books is still preserved in the Süleymaniye Library under the name Yusuf Ağa Collection.

44 Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri*, 62.

45 İsmail Erünsal, "Rüstem Paşa Kütüphanesi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Access 11 May 2023).

46 Erünsal, "Rüstem Paşa Kütüphanesi", 294.

collection donated during the establishment of the madrasa. Identifying these added and lost manuscripts helps illustrate the dynamics of a foundation library. Given that the library was established exclusively for the use of students and professors, the missing books may have been frequently worn out due to regular use. We also learn that the madrasa also faced the problem of moisture in a late period. This moisture may have damaged the books. Since it was prohibited in the *waqfiyya*, removing them from the madrasa was less likely. Nevertheless, this possibility is not completely impossible. In fact, in other waqf libraries, we encounter similar instances where, despite the prohibition against removing books from the endowed building, this rule was occasionally violated.

Most of the added books were included by the foundation trustees shortly after its establishment. However, individual donations continued over time. Since the preparation of the Hamidian catalog in 1893-94, the collection has been well-preserved, except for four manuscripts for which digital copies could not be obtained.

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APPENDIX I

List of Manuscripts endowed by Rüstem Pasha

	BOOK	VOLUME	CATALOG NO	NOTE
1	<i>Tefsîr-i Kebîr</i>	1	29	
2	<i>Tefsîr-i Kebîr</i>	1	30/31	divided in two
3	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	7	
4	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	10	
5	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	8	
6	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	11	
7	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	9	
8	<i>Tefsîr-i Kâdî</i>	1	12	
9	<i>Tefsîr-i Medârik</i>	1	-	missing
10	<i>Tefsîr-i Şeyh</i>	2	41-42	
11	<i>Tefsîr-i İbn Atiyye</i>	5	13-16	2. volume missing
12	<i>Tefsîr-i Vâsîr</i>	4	36-38	1. volume missing
13	<i>Tefsîr-i İbn Kesîr</i>	6	17-21	2. volume missing
14	<i>Tefsîr-i İsfahânî</i>	8	22-27	1. and 6. missing
15	<i>Tefsîr-i Tâcü' t- Terâcîm</i>	1	28	
16	<i>Tefsîr-i Hüseyin Vâiz</i>	1	-	missing
17	<i>Tefsîr-i Mesîr li-İbn Cevzî</i>	2	39-40	
18	<i>Tefsîr-i Keşfü'l-Esrâr</i>	2	45-46	
19	<i>Tefsîr-i nâ-malûm</i>	1	43	
20	<i>Bir kut'a tefsîr</i>	1	44	
21	<i>Tefsîr-i nâ-tamâm</i>	1	35	
22	<i>Buhârî</i>	30	86-114	
23	<i>Buhârî</i>	1	83	
24	<i>Buhârî</i>	2	84-85	
25	<i>Müslim</i>	1	-	missing
26	<i>Câmi' u'l-Usûl fî Ehâdisi'r-Rasûl</i>	1	47	
27	<i>Câmi'-i Kebîr</i>	7	48-54	
28	<i>(el-Kevâkibü'd-Derâri fî Şerhi Sahîbi'l-Buhârî)¹⁷</i>	4	78-81	

47 I have italicized the works whose names are written in the waqf, and I have enclosed in parenthesis the works whose names are not written in the waqf but which I identified from physical descriptions.

29	[...] li- İbn Hacer	9	70-77	9. missing
30	[...] li- Aynî	13	55-69	2 volumes duplicate
31	(el-Kâşifan Hakâiku's-Sünen)	1	82	
32	(el-Muhîtu'r-Radavî)	8	139-145	1. volume missing
33	(Kemâlu'd-Dirâye fî Şerhi'n-Nukâye)	8	130-137	
34	(el-Fetâvâ-yı Kâdihan)	1	151	
35	(el-Fetâvâ-yı Kâdihan)	1	150	
36	(ez-Zâbiratü'l-Fetâvâ)	4	121-124	
37	(el-Fetâvâ't- Tatarhâniyye)	2	148-149	
38	(Hulâsâtü'l-Fetâvâ)	2	146-147	
39	(Tebyînü'l-Hakâ'ik fî Şerhi Kenzi'd-Dekâ'ik)	3	126-128	
40	(...)	2	-	missing
41	İhyâ, Minhâcü'l- Âbidin, Riyâzü's-Sâlihîn	1	154	
42	(İhyâ'ü Ulûmi'd-Din)	1	152-153	divided in two
43	(Sirâcü'l-Mülûk)	1	163	
44	(...)	1	-	missing
45	(el-Kâmûsu'l-Muhît)	1	183	
46	(Mecma'u'l-Bahreyn ve Mülteka'n-Neyyireyn)	1	138	

APPENDIX II

Books added to the collection after Rüstem Pasha

	BOOK	VOLUME	CATALOG NO	NOTES
1	<i>Qur'an</i>	1	1	Not available today
2	<i>et-Teysir fi'l-Kırâ'âti's-Seb'</i>	1	2	
3	<i>Hace fi ilm-i kırâ'a</i>	1	3	Not available today
4	<i>Kenzü'l-Me'âni fi Şerhi Hirzi'l-Emânî</i>	1	4	
5	<i>Kitâbü'l-Vakf ve'l-İbtidâ</i>	1	5	Endowment record of Davud Efendi Üsküdarî
6	<i>en-Neşr fi'l-Kırââti'l-Aşr</i>	1	6	
7	<i>El-Keşşaf</i>	3	32-33-34	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
8	<i>et-Telvîh ilâ Keşfi Hakâiki't-Tenkîb</i>	1	115	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
9	<i>Menâfi'u'd-Dekâ'ik fi Şerhi Mecâmi'i'l-Hakâik</i>	1	116	Printed in 1273
10	<i>Mir'âtü'l-Usûl fi Şerhi Mirkâti'l-Vusûl</i>	1	117	Inscribed in Rüstem Pasha madrasa in 1238 and endowed to the madrasa
11	<i>Zahiretü'l-Ukbâ fi Şerhi Sadrişşeri'ati'l-Uzmâ</i>	1	118	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
12	<i>Düererü'l-Hükkâm fi Şerhi Gureri'l-Abkâm</i>	1	119	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
13	<i>Düererü'l-Hükkâm fi Şerhi Gureri'l-Abkâm</i>	1	120	
14	<i>Büşra'l-Ke'ib bi-Likâ'i'l-Habîb</i>	1	125	
15	<i>Mecma'u'l-Enhur fi Şerhi Mülteka'l-Ebbur</i>	1	129	Printed in 1258
16	<i>Mecmua</i>	1	155	Endowed to the Rüstem Pasha Mosque by Mahmud b. Mehmed
17	<i>Mefâihü'l-Cinân ve Mesâbihü'l-Cenân</i>	1	156	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
18	<i>Zübdetü'l-Eşkâr</i>	1	157	Seal dated 1253
19	<i>el-Hâşiyetü'l-Kadime alâ Şerhi Tecdîdi'l-Akâ'id</i>	1	158	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid

20	<i>Şerhu Tecridi'l-Akâ'id</i>	1	159	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
21	<i>ed-Dürrü'n-Nâci alâ Metni İsâgüci</i>	1	160	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulmecid
22	<i>Hâşiye 'alâ Şerhi Tezbîbi'l-Mantık ve'l-Kelâm</i>	1	161	Printed in 1234, endowment record by Karahisâri Halil Beg
23	<i>Muğni't-Tullâb</i>	1	162	Printed in 1260
24	<i>el-Misbâh fî Şerhi'l-Miftâh</i>	1	164	Seal dated 1253
25	<i>el-Misbâh fî Şerhi'l-Miftâh</i>	1	165	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
26	<i>Şerhu Miftâbi'l-Ulûm</i>	1	166	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulmecid
27	<i>Muhtasarü'l-Me'âni</i>	1	167	Seal dated 1253
28	<i>Miftâhu'l-Ulûm</i>	1	168	Added by trustee Mehmed b. Abdulhamid
29	<i>Tuhfetü'l-İhvân</i>	1	169	Printed in 1257
30	<i>el-İftitâh</i>	1	170	Seal dated 1253
31	<i>Hâşiyetü'l-Fevâ'idü'z-Ziyâ'iyye</i>	1	171	Printed 1253
32	<i>Hâşiyetü'l-Fevâ'idü'z-Ziyâ'iyye</i>	1	172	Printed in 1256
33	<i>Hâşiyetü'l-Fevâ'idü'z-Ziyâ'iyye</i>	1	173	Printed in 1256
34	<i>Hallü Esrâri'l-Abyâr alâ İ'râbi İzhâri'l-Esrâr</i>	1	174	Printed in 1257
35	<i>Mu'ribul-Kâfiye</i>	1	175	Printed in 1251
36	<i>Mu'ribul-Kâfiye</i>	1	176	Printed 1223
37	<i>el-Kâfiye, İzhâru'l-Esrâr</i>	1	177	Printed in 1270
38	<i>el-Fevâ'idü'z-Ziyâ'iyye</i>	1	178	
39	<i>Mecmua</i>	1	179	Printed
40	<i>Şerhu Binâ'i'l-Ef'âl, Şerhu'l-Emsile</i>	1	180	Printed in 1257
41	<i>Maksûd</i>	1	181	Not Available
42	<i>Mecmua</i>	1	182	
43	<i>Abter-i Kebîr</i>	1	184	Endowed to the madrasa in Rodoscuk
44	<i>Mecmua</i>	1	185	
45	<i>Mecmua</i>	1	186	

