

The Waqf of Saruca Pasha in Gallipoli and Agricultural Economy in 17th Century Thrace

Gelibolu'da Saruca Paşa Vakfı ve 17. Yüzyıl Trakyasında Tarımsal Ekonomi

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Abstract

The waqf of Saruca Pasha in Gallipoli was a medium-size imperial waqf. It derived its income from both urban and rural revenue sources. The largest part of the waqf's income came from the agricultural revenue sources in the Eastern Thrace. The financial situation of the waqf in the first half of the 17th century can be followed through the account books and correlated with the local agricultural conditions. The present study aims at contributing to the debate on economic crisis in the Ottoman Empire and it is a part of a wider project which analyses the large waqfs financially and examines the local agricultural history in the Balkans. In the first half of the 17th century, the waqf of Saruca Pasha experienced short-term financial fluctuations due mainly to the changes in local conditions. However, a long-term crisis in agricultural economy did not show and the waqf did not fall into a serious financial hardship.

Keywords: Ottoman, Waqf, Saruca Pasha, Agricultural Economy, Gallipoli, Thrace

Özet

Saruca Paşa'nın Gelibolu'daki vakfı selatin vakıfları içinde orta-ölçekli bir vakıftır. Vakıf gelirlerini kentsel ve tarımsal kaynaklardan elde etmektedir. Tarımsal gelirleri Doğu Trakya bölgesinde yer almaktadır ve vakıf bütçesinin esas gelir kaynağıdır. Vakfın 17.yy'ın ilk yarısındaki mali durumunu muhasebe defterleri üzerinden takip etmek ve yerel tarımsal koşullar ile ilişkilendirmek mümkündür. Bu çalışma Balkanlardaki büyük vakıfların mali analizini yaparak tarımsal koşulları tespit etmeye çalışan kapsamlı bir projenin parçasıdır ve 17.yy iktisadi krizi tartışmasına katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Saruca Paşa vakfı incelenen dönemde yerel koşullara bağlı mali dalgalanmalar göstermiştir ancak tarımsal koşullarda uzun dönemli bir kötüleşme görünmemektedir ve vakıf ciddi bir mali krize girmemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, Vakıf, Saruca Paşa, Tarımsal Ekonomi, Gelibolu, Trakya

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The waqfs of Sultans called *evkaf-ı selatin* and the waqfs of high-ranking Ottoman officials such as viziers, *ağas* and *beylerbeyis* offer a rich research topic for economic and social historians. Since these waqfs held vast agricultural lands in the form of villages and farmlands and possessed numerous urban properties, their financial development was interdependent with and reflected the local economic conditions. Therefore, the financial analysis of these institutions provides insightful results for the local economic history.

The big waqfs of the Sultans and their family members and of high-paid officials were different in some respects from the thousands of ordinary small-size waqfs which were endowed by public. First all of all, the size of their budget was much more larger than the ordinary waqfs. They enjoyed a considerable purchasing power which they used to purchase various goods from local markets as big economic agents. In addition, their place in social life was highly significant for the range of charitable activities that they provided was wider and more costly. They built and run marvelous mosques, medreses and hospitals. They distributed soup and bread to the needy from their kitchens. They employed many skilled and unskilled persons in various offices to fulfill wide-ranging social services. Doing this, they at the same time transferred regular purchasing power to their workers.

Administering big budgets and performing several social services required keeping detailed records of income and disbursements. For that reason, they employed professional scribes (katib) who meticulously registered every financial transaction, revenue collection, purchase and payment in a year. Summing up the monthly financial journals, vouchers and other documents, the scribe compiled a financial report at the end of each financial year. Such reports of the ordinary waqfs are unfortunately not available. The local judges inspected their financial reports and copied to the court registers that they, nevertheless, scarcely appear in these registers. However, imperial waqfs and the waqfs of high-ranking officials mostly submitted their financial reports to some central offices in charge of inspecting them. These reports were carefully checked and archived which let a series of them to survive till today. These primary sources allow us to reconstruct financial history of the waqfs on a yearly basis as well as inform us about their social and charitable activities.

Based on the aforementioned interaction between the waqf and local economy, several works dealt with the waqf financial reports to examine the economic development of large waqfs in Anatolia and to unfold local agricultural and urban economic history.¹ The present study looks at the

¹ However, except for the Güran's work on Süleymaniye and on the waqf of Süleyman Pasha, no waqf that was deriving its income from the Balkans was examined through a complete series of the waqf account books, Tevfik Güran, *Vakıflar*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, 2006.

financial history of the waqf of Saruca Pasha in Gallipoli exactly for the same reason namely, to contribute to the local economic history of Thrace in the first half of the 17th century. It is part of a wider project which aims at contributing to the economic history of Balkans in the 17th century through the analysis of financial and institutional development of waqfs.

Saruca Pasha was the *kaptan-ı derya* and built the Gallipoli shipyard during the reign of Sultan Bayezid I. He was *mirliva* and then *beylerbey* during the reign of Murad II. He was promoted to the vizierate in 833/1430. After his dismissal, he resided in Gallipoli. Mehmed II reappointed him to the viziership and dismissed in 857/1453 after which he moved to Gallipoli again and passed away there.² Saruca Pasha endowed a large waqf in Gallipoli. His waqf was a medium-size *vüzerâ* waqf with its annual income amounting to 260,000 akça (silver coin) in 1017-18/1609.³ It consisted of an imaret (public kitchen), medrese, mosque and a mausoleum. The account book of 1609 pertaining to this waqf is the earliest dated account book available in the archive today. For a period of about thirty years between 1609 – 1642 (1017-1052) twenty-six accounts books are present which allow me to study its economic development.⁴

The decades covered by this study fall into a controversial period in Ottoman historiography. This period is assumed to have witnessed to large-scale and widespread rebellions, demographic changes, volatile price movements, dissolution of rural structure and a long-term economic crisis. Since the waqf of Saruca Pasha held both rural and urban revenue sources in Thrace, its institutional and financial history reflects the economic conditions in Thrace and also provides a good comparative case with the economic development of the Anatolian waqfs which were going through a financial decadence in the same period.⁵

In the first half of the 17th century, several districts of Anatolian countryside and even big towns suffered plundering by roaming rebels. Some villages went into ruin and peasants fled to safer areas, to the far regions and to

² M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, İstanbul, Üçler Basımevi, 1952, pp. 247f.

³ Vüzerâ: pl. of vizier, waqfs established by viziers were called *vüzerâ* waqfs in archival documents. This study classifies just for convenience the waqfs with an annual income of between 100,000 to 500,000 akça as medium-size waqfs.

⁴ MM 5933.

⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties: or some evidence on economic contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-seventeenth century", *Revue D'Histoire Magrebine*, 47-48, 1987, 109-121; idem, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Wordly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes (1595-1652)", *Turcica Revue D'Etudes Turques*, XX, 1988, 43-69; Kayhan Orbay, *Economic Development of the Imperial Waqfs; A Study in the Institutional and Local Economic History in the Transformation Period*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2007.

the fortifications called *palanka*. Following the mass flights and destruction of farmlands and villages, agricultural production dropped. Movements of large rebel armies and banditry disrupted both the international trade and the internal commercial network which in turn put an adverse effect on the regular course of urban business activities. It is very likely that prices showed sharp fluctuations in the first decades of the 17th century due mainly to the rebel movements and migrations.

As peasants left their villages or lost the crop, the tax collection got difficult for the central government. The same is true for the waqfs of which budgets were largely dependent on rural revenues. But they also suffered the income loss from urban properties since the rebels damaged or plundered the waqf properties. Looking at the annual revenues of the waqf of Saruca Pasha, which was located in Gallipoli and collected income from eastern Thrace, one cannot find any decline bearing traces of a widespread rebellion. However, effects of some other factors such as adverse climate conditions and natural disasters, which are recently more vividly proposed as the cause-factor for the crisis in agricultural economy, are visible.

Following the debate on the “Little Ice Age” and its economic impacts in western historiography, Ottoman historians have also pronounced the possible negative effect of changing climate conditions on the Ottoman economy in the 17th century. Some environmental historians argue that volatility of weather conditions increased and extreme events such as heavy rainfalls, hailstorms and cold waves occurred more frequently during the Little Ice Age. However, climatological studies did still not prove a shift in climate regime in the Ottoman lands that would enable the historians to include safely this factor in the historical explanation. In the current point of Ottoman climate history, therefore, extreme weather events can be seen as individual cases not related to a climate change.

Urban-based Revenues of the Waqf

The waqf of Saruca Pasha possessed diverse income-yielding urban properties including shops in covered bazaar and in the market place, a bathhouse (*hamam-ı çifte*), and a caravansary all of which were rented out for 33,919 *akça* around the year 1456. In 1519, together with the bathhouse and caravansary, all these shops, though some of them went into disrepair in time after the inauguration of the waqf, produced a cash income of 20,164 *akça* annually. The waqf also had a bathhouse, rooms and shops in Edirne which were rented out for 11,282 *akça* in the same year.⁶

⁶ Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, pp. 247-252.

Shops in Gallipoli

The waqf of Saruca Pasha collected about one tenth of its income from urban-based properties in the early 17th century. Table 1 presents the income figures from waqf's urban properties. Its shops, houses and rooms in Gallipoli, of which number are unspecified in the account books, yielded about 10,000 akça per year between 1609 and 1612. Irregularities in the collection of rent income occurred in some years. For instance, 4,000 akça from 1614 remained unpaid even in 1617. These shops were still rented out for 12,000 akça annually between 1631 and 1638 and in 1642. One can ask whether the rents from these shops failed to keep pace with the price movements in these two decades? However, though the prices fluctuated sharply up and down in certain years (see table 3 for the available price data) no significant increase is seen over this period. On the contrary, prices were stable or even declining in the long-term.

The waqf held also some shops in the *yabudihane*, the multi-flat building in Gallipoli. The building was vacant in 1609 but rented out for 800 akça in 1610. Between 1611 and 1618, these shops were rented out for 1,000 akça each year. They disappeared from the accounting records in 1622 and onwards, but they reappear in the account book of 1635-36. Two more records about the *yabudihane*, each one registered with the name of different tenants, took place in the latter account book. Each of these two *yabudihane* was rented out for 300 akça annually in 1635-36. Then, supposing that there were three separate *yabudihanes*, the three altogether produced rent income of 1,680 akça per year.

Table 1: Urban-based revenues of the waqf of Saruca Pasha in Gallipoli

AH	1017-18	1018-19	1020	1021	1022
AD	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613
Shops in Gallipoli	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	12,000
Flats in Gallipoli ⁷	Vacant	800	1,000	1,000	1,000
Shops in Edirne	5,000	5,000	5,000	3,318	1,000
Shops in Bursa	Vacant	Vacant	4,000	Vacant or unpaid	Vacant
Bathhouse in Gallipoli	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	7,000
Bathhouse in Edremit					3,000
AH	1023	1024	1026	1027	1028
AD	1614	1615	1617	1618	1619
Shops in Gallipoli	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Flats in Gallipoli	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,080
Shops in Edirne	Vacant or unpaid	2,800	Vacant	Vacant	2,800
Shops in Bursa	4,000	Vacant	3,000	3,000	3,000

⁷ *Yabudihane*.

Bathroom in Gallipoli	7,000	7,000	Vacant	Vacant	6,000
Bathroom in Edremit	3,000	2,000	3,000	3,000	5,000
AH AD	1029 1620	1030-31 1621-22	1031 1622	1032 1623	1034 1625
Shops in Gallipoli	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Flats in Gallipoli	1,080	1,080	No record	No record	No record
Shops in Edirne	2,600	3,000	3,000	2,500	3,000
Shops in Bursa	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Bathroom in Gallipoli	10,000	9,500	9,000	9,000	9,000
Bathroom in Edremit	5,000	5,000	5,000	4,000	3,000
AH AD	1035-36 1626	1041 1631	1042 1632	1043 1633	1043-44 1634
Shops in Gallipoli	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Flats in Gallipoli	No record	No record	No record	No record	No record
Shops in Edirne	1,500	3,000	3,000	3,000	
Shops in Bursa	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	2,000
Bathroom in Gallipoli	8,000	6,000	7,000	7,500	10,000
Bathroom in Edremit	Vacant	6,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
AH AD	1044-45 1634-35	1045-46 1635-36	1046-47 1637	1047-48 1638	1051-52 1642
Shops in Gallipoli	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Flats in Gallipoli	Rented out	1,680	1,690	1,690	1,300
Shops in Edirne	12,160	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Shops in Bursa	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Bathroom in Gallipoli	10,000	12,000	11,000	11,000	11,000
Bathroom in Edremit	4,000	7,000	4,000	4,000	4,000

Shops in Edirne

The waqf of Saruca Pasha held some shops in Edirne which produced a rent income of 5,000 akça each year between 1609 and 1611. The rent revenue fell to 3,318 akça in 1612 and further to only 1,000 akça in 1613. These shops were either vacant or the rents remained completely uncollected in 1614. The waqf leased them for 2,800 akça in 1615. Shops were vacant in 1617 and 1618 after which the rent income fluctuated till 1626. The same shops were rented out for 3,000 akça annually for the following years which implies stability in rent income for many years.

Shops in Bursa

The waqf held rooms in Bursa which were vacant both in 1609 and 1610. These rooms however seem to have been rented out as shops for 4,000 akça in 1611. But in 1612, they were either vacant or the rent could not be collected at all. It appears that while the rent income of the waqf coming from its shops in Gallipoli was stable in a period of about three decades between 1609 and 1642, the income from the shops in Edirne and Bursa showed a decline in the same period. The rent income of Mehmed I's waqf in Bursa has reduced as well in the first half of the 17th century compared to its level in the late 16th century.⁸ Whether the fall in rent revenues in Bursa was connected with the decline of silk industry of Bursa is a significant question, but it is beyond the scope of this study.⁹ Further studies would clarify whether declining rent revenues in Bursa and Edirne was a general economic phenomenon in these towns that was resulting from a long-term crisis in industrial production. However, the fall in rent revenues in the years 1609 and 1610 was evidently due to Celâli invasion.

Bathhouses (Hammams)

At first glance, bathhouses look like one of the most profitable revenue sources of the waqfs. Just one bathhouse could have been leased for 5,000 to 10,000 akça annually depending on its capacity. However, bathhouses required regular and costly repairs which drastically reduced the profit margin in certain years.

The waqf of Saruca Pasha had a bathhouse in Gallipoli which was rented out for 6,000 akça annually between 1609 and 1612 and for 7,000 akça between 1613 and 1615.¹⁰ But the bathhouse remained vacant in 1617 and 1618, and it was leased for 6,000 akça in 1619. Rent income from this bathhouse significantly increased to 10,000 akça in 1620 and then declined gradually to 6,000 akça up until 1631. This was followed by a gradual increase and eventually it rose again to 10,000 akça in 1634, and then further increased to 12,000 akça in 1635-36. The bathhouse was rented for 22,000 akça for two years in 1637-38 namely, 11,000 akça annually, and again for the same amount in 1642.

In the account book of 1613, a record pertaining to another bathhouse in Edremit appears which was rented for 3,000 akça per year. The waqf leased it

⁸ Kayhan Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Ekonomisi: Sultan Çelebi Mehmed Yeşil İmaret'inin Mali Tarihi (1553-1650)", *forthcoming* in *A.Ü. Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (OTAM) Dergisi*.

⁹ Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. XL, no. 3, 1980, 533-550.

¹⁰ 1,330 akça remained uncollected from 1612 and could not be collected even in 1617.

for the same amount in 1614 however the rent was not paid even in 1617. The rent rose to 5,000 akça in 1619. It reduced first to 4,000 akça in 1623 and to 3,000 akça in 1625. This bath remained vacant in 1626. In 1631, the bathhouse was rented out for 6,000 akça and the rent showed fluctuations till 1642 as seen in table 1.

Rural Revenues of the Waqf

The rural income of the waqf was coming from the villages scattered through eastern Thrace. The agricultural revenues were farmed out for 236,000 akça in 1609 of which only 9,500 akça remained uncollected (see the table 2). This refers to a very high ratio of actual revenue collection. In 1610, the waqf farmed out the same villages for 213,000 cash plus 400 *kile* of wheat by *kile-i Gallipoli*. Because the waqf administrator (*mütevelli*) changed in the middle of the financial year, two account books were kept in 1612. The first one covers the first half of the year. It gives the annual expected income from tax farms or more correctly the total sum of tax farm contracts for the relevant period as 218,000 akça. Actually, the total income from tax farms did not decline. As happened before in 1610, one of the tax farm regions was farmed out through the method of *emanet-i hnta*. In this method, the tax is collected in kind of which money equivalent was not stated in the account book. In the first half of the accounting year, 71,229 akça was collected and 146,771 akça remained unpaid which was however almost completely collected in the second half of the year.

From 1609 to 1612, the agricultural revenues of the waqf did not show any remarkable change and the ratio of actual collection was very high, more than %95 of the total rural income at worst year. In 1613, tax farm revenues declined to 123,000 akça. The villages around Edirne was grouped as a single tax farm region but could not be farmed out in this year because of a locust invasion. This tax farm region which was normally yielding 80,000 akça per year was operated with the method of *emanet* for 52,400 akça. Thus adding this sum to the aforementioned tax farm income, rural revenues rose to 175,400 akça which still means a serious decline compared to the former years.

The rural revenues recovered in 1614. Compared to previous years, rural revenues strikingly increased to about 241,000 akça in 1615. But this does not refer to a significant increase if compared to the first year of this examination namely, 1609. The waqf collected 128,000 akça cash from the tax farmed revenue sources. Some rural revenue sources operated through the *emanet* method. In this way, 113,000 akça was collected. Of this, 38,562 akça was collected in cash and 1,824 *kile* of grain in kind. The grain was then sold at the market for 74,378 akça. The account book of the following year is lacking. In 1617, the waqf further increased its rural income to 252,000 akça and saved exactly the same level in 1618.

Rural income further increased in 1619 and showed small fluctuations between 255,000 - 266,000 akça until it declined to 224,000 akça in 1626. The decline in tax farm revenue in this last year was most likely connected with the decline in grain prices. So it may not refer to a real deterioration in agricultural conditions. The rural income of the waqf was 233,000 akça in 1631 and showed increase in years rising to 266,000 akça in 1635-36. In 1637 the rural tax farm income declined to 258,000 akça but it significantly rose to 311,000 akça in 1638.

Table 2: Main income and expenditure items of the waqf of Saruca Pasha

AH AD	1017-18 1609	1018-19 1610	1020 1611	1021 1612 ¹¹	1022 1613
Rural Income	236,000	213,000 + 400 <i>kile</i> ¹²	216,000	198,000 + 180 <i>kile</i> ¹³	175,400
Urban Income	21,000	21,800	26,000	20,318	24,000
Salary Pay	84,080	83,460	77,760	76,730	78,480
Kitchen Exp.	135,873	114,991	113,922	90,407	109,420

AH AD	1023 1614	1024 1615	1026 1617	1027 1618	1028 1619
Rural Income	228,000	240,940	252,000	252,000	265,909
Urban Income	27,000	24,800	19,000	19,000	29,880
Salary Pay	79,920	81,360	82,800	48,300 ¹⁴	34,200 ¹⁵
Kitchen Exp.	150,114	146,244	137,916	84,634 ¹⁶	59,278 ¹⁷

AH AD	1029 1620	1030-31 1621-22	1031 1622	1032 1623	1034 1625
Rural Income	255,000	266,000	265,000	264,000	258,000
Urban Income	33,680	33,580	32,000	30,500	30,000
Salary Pay	83,160	110,790 ¹⁸	36,000 ¹⁹	86,400	84,390
Kitchen Exp.	173,243	353,278 ²⁰	96,337 ²¹	191,800	130,285

¹¹ Covered six months.

¹² 400 *kile* of wheat.

¹³ 180 *kile* of wheat.

¹⁴ For seven months.

¹⁵ For five months.

¹⁶ For seven months.

¹⁷ For five months.

¹⁸ For about eighteen months.

¹⁹ For five months.

²⁰ For eighteen months.

²¹ For six months.

AH	1035-36	1041	1042	1043
AD	1626	1631	1632	1633 ²²
Rural Income	224,000	233,000	234,000	248,000
Urban Income	24,500	30,000	29,000	29,500
Salary Pay	87,840	87,840	90,720	66,810 ²³
Kitchen Exp.	107,330	150,000	132,915	135,688 ²⁴

AH	1043-45	1045-46	1046-47	1047-48
AD	1634-35 ²⁵	1635-36	1637	1638
Rural Income	252,000	266,000	258,000	311,000
Urban Income		38,680	34,690	34,690
Salary Pay	137,350 ²⁶	90,000	91,440	91,440
Kitchen Exp.	153,550 ²⁷	118,200	152,234	152,234

Expenditures and Arrears

Salary Payments

Employing many persons to fulfill charitable services, big waqfs created large employment capacities. Thus, they transferred regular purchasing power to their workers through salary payments which at the same time backed the commercial activity in a town. The waqf of Saruca Pasha employed 63 persons in various offices in 1609. Employees were paid 182 akça daily. The total amount of salary outlay was 84,080 akça in the same year.

The waqf employed fifteen persons in the office of medrese including the instructor who received 50 akça and ten pupils. It employed thirteen persons in the office of mosque employees and ten persons in the office of Quran reciters. The waqf had a public kitchen or imaret where fifteen persons were employed. Lastly, there was an office of “zabitan” of ten persons for the scribe of the waqf and the revenue collectors.

It is worth noting that the Darüssaade Ağası (Chief Black Eunuch) was registered as the “nazır” (supervisor) of the waqf in the office of “zabitan-ı evkaf” and received a daily salary of twenty akça from the waqf. The number of employees did not show a significant change between 1609 and 1638 and the salaries were paid regularly. In 1625, two beneficiaries were entitled to receive stipend from the waqf.

²² Covered nine months.

²³ For nine months.

²⁴ For nine months.

²⁵ Covered eighteen months.

²⁶ For eighteen months.

²⁷ For eighteen months.

Kitchen Expenditures

The food distribution was one of the most important charitable activities of the large waqfs.²⁸ Not only the waqf employees but also poor and needy was entitled to get food and bread from the waqf kitchens. Unfortunately, there is no information in the account books whether the waqf of Saruca Pasha has also served meal for needy people.

The expenditures for the kitchen consumption constituted the largest expense item in the budget. The total sum of the kitchen outlay changed due to the foodstuff prices and also varied depending on the amount of food purchase and the amount of food in stock. It was 135,873 akça in 1609. Wheat purchase was the most costly item in the kitchen consumption. In 1609, the waqf bought 1,515 *kile* of wheat from two different price levels and paid 85,610 akça. Wheat was used in baking *fodula* or flat bread and in soup which was served every day. Firewood was the only non-food item recorded in the main account entry of kitchen expenditures. It is reasonable to suppose that all the wood was not used in cooking but also in heating the waqf buildings. The waqf spent more than 15,000 akça for buying and transporting firewood. The remaining money has been paid out for the purchase of meat, rice, clarified butter, honey *etc.* The waqf kitchen served *dane* and *zerde* each Friday night and during the nights of Ramadan. Sweet pudding or *aşura* was also served during the fest days.

The waqf kitchen was operated regularly between 1609 and 1626. However, the total kitchen expenditures showed an increase and amounted to about 173,000 akça due likely to the rise in wheat price and due to a small increase in the amount of purchase in 1620. The price of wheat rose from 60 akça per *kile-i Gelibolu* to 90 akça in this year. Its price further increased in 1621-22. The waqf bought 450 *kile* of wheat at the unit price of 130 akça and another 450 *kile* at the price of 150 akça. A third purchase of 720 *kile* of wheat was made from 210 akça per *kile*. Price of rice has also increased significantly in the same year from 52 to 78 akça per *kile*. Kitchen expenditures thus realized as about 353,000 akça for a year and half that is nearly 235,000 for a year. In 1622, price of wheat was 135 akça per *kile* and rice was 115 akça per *kile*. Higher prices pushed the kitchen expenditures further up. In 1623, prices of wheat and rice were still high. Wheat price was between 135-150 akça and rice was 120 akça per *kile*. Clarified butter has also increased from 45-48 akça to 75 akça per *okka* in these years.

²⁸ For the charitable aspect of the waqfs see Oded Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXXV, 1992, 167-186; Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, State University of New York Press, 2002; Miriam Hoexter, "Charity, the Poor, and Distribution of Alms in Ottoman Algiers", in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. M. Bonner, M. Ener, A. Singer, State University of New York Press, 2003.

The account book of 1624 is lacking, but prices fell in 1625. This brought a great relief to the budget. Kitchen expenditures reduced from its level of 180-190,000 akça to 130,000 akça. In 1626, the declining trend in prices of grain continued and kitchen outlays also fell to only 107,000 akça. The account books of the following years are lacking. In 1631, prices of wheat and rice were high again. Wheat price was 80 akça per *kile* and the rice price was 100 akça per *kile*. Therefore, kitchen expenditures rose to 150,000 akça. In 1632, though the price of wheat went down to 65 akça there was no significant decline in prices of other foodstuffs. However, the kitchen expenditures reduced to 132,915 akça for the total amount of food purchase slightly declined.

Miscellaneous Expenditures

The miscellaneous expenses of the waqf were 7,118 akça in 1609. These expenses consisted of a wide range of costs for the current operational needs of the waqf such as the purchase of wax, olive oil and candle for illumination, travel allowance for the revenue collectors both pedestrian and mounted. Although the total cost of these expenditure items could change significantly from year to year, it was still not important to trouble the waqf budget. But in 1613, the miscellaneous expenditures rose to a considerable amount because the repayment of waqf's debt of 35,000 akça which was borrowed in the previous year was recorded in the section of miscellaneous expenditures.

Together with the wage and repair payments, the miscellaneous expenditures reveal one of the significant economic roles of the waqfs. The waqfs pumped cash into the local economy and supported the craft production through making purchases and payments recorded within these three expenditure items.

Wage Payments

Wage payments were recorded separately under its relevant heading. The waqf made a payment of 7,270 akça for wages in 1609. The largest part of this was paid for the miller grinding the waqf's wheat and for porters who carried grain from waqf's storeroom to the mill and flour back to the pantry from mill. As the wage payments constituted only a minor part of the waqf expenditures, any change in its amount was not able to affect the waqf budget.

Repair Expenses

The waqf had to take small repair works regularly. For these repairs, the waqf spent 4,072 and 4,878 akça respectively in 1609 and in 1610. Kitchen, pantry, warehouse, many parts of the mosque was regularly repaired. Waqf undertook the repair needs of its bathhouses which created a fairly significant cost in the repair budget. In certain years, the cost of regular repair works increased as happened in 1611 when the repair expenses amounted to 11,292

akça due mainly to a costly repair work of mosque. In 1612, repair expenses extremely rose to 68,843 akça. The waqf repaired a bridge in the town of Evreşe which went completely into ruin, the wall of its mosque and its bathhouse in Gallipoli. It is very likely that an earthquake occurred or rain flooded and damaged the waqf buildings in 1020/1611.

In 1620, repair expenses were high being about 36,000 akça. Of this, about 14,000 akça was spent for the medrese and 16,500 akça was for the bathhouse in Gallipoli. However, it seems that although the payment was realized in 1620, the actual repair work had been undertaken years ago during the time of the previous administrator. In 1626, the repair expenses was about 45,000 akça, of which 6,000 akça was spent for the repair of bathhouse in Gallipoli and about 39,000 akça was for the repair work for medrese, mosque, storehouse and kitchen. In 1635-36, repair expenses were about 66,000 akça due to a great renovation work for one of the bathhouses. The waqf also repaired the other bathhouse, medrese and the cupola of the mosque, a bridge, and shops in Edirne. The repair works continued in the following years and the waqf spent further 140,000 akça for the repair of waqf buildings.

Money Transfers

Many imperial waqfs forwarded certain part of their budget surplus to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch (Hizane-i Darüssaade).²⁹ The waqf of Saruca Pasha in like wise transferred 12,000 akça to this treasury in 1609.³⁰ In 1610, the amount of cash transfer was 30,000 akça. However, no surplus was transferred in 1611 though the waqf has obtained a budget surplus of 13,381 akça. But exactly the same amount was forwarded to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch in 1612. The waqf transferred 20,000 akça to the same treasury in 1620. In 1637-38, the waqf delivered 100,000 akça to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch as 50,000 akça for the year 1046/1637 and another 50,000 akça for 1047/1638.

²⁹ It is not clear why these waqfs did forward money to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch. It is well known that the Chief Black Eunuch was the “nazır” or supervisor of many Sultanic waqfs and of the waqfs of high-ranking officials. The Office of Chief Black Eunuch was responsible for the inspection of these waqfs and auditing of their financial accounts. Beside the waqfs of which supervision was left from the very beginning to the Chief Black Eunuch, it is likely that the supervision of some waqfs passed to the Chief Black Eunuch as a new waqf administrator who meets the terms and conditions set in the endowment deed could not be appointed. It is also likely that the Chief Black Eunuch actually used his supervisory authority as a power delegated by the Sultan. The Sultan of the time was always designated as the ultimate supervisor of the Sultanic waqfs in their endowment deeds.

³⁰ It is not clear that the budget surplus of the waqf was kept as reserve in the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch. The registers that were kept in the Office of Chief Black Eunuch are to be analyzed in order to clarify this point.

The Arrears and the Account Balance

The uncollected revenues or arrears were registered at the end of the account book in order to balance the account. Any increase in the amount of arrears is usually a good sign of worsening in economic conditions. It shows that tax farmers could not realize the expected tax return and/or shopkeepers were not able to pay rents. This collection and payment difficulties first affected the tax farmers and tenants and then in turn showed its effect on the waqf's finance. The total amount of arrears grew especially if income collection recurrently failed throughout successive years.

As mentioned before, only 9,500 akça has remained uncollected from the rural revenues of the waqf and no other arrears from former years were recorded in the account book of 1609. Thus, the waqf closed the accounting year with a cash surplus of 156 akça. In 1610, the account book recorded no uncollected revenue and the accounting period ended with a cash surplus of 2,757 akça whereas the surplus was 13,381 akça in the following year of 1611.

The account book pertaining to the first half of 1021/1612 recorded the uncollected revenue of about 150,000 akça and the account was closed with a cash surplus of 9,955 akça which the incoming waqf administrator received. The arrears were collected on a large extent in the second half of the accounting period. However, due to the enormous increase in repair expenses, which were greater than a quarter of waqf's total income, the budget fell into deficit of about 35,000 akça. Two succeeding troubles badly affected the waqf budget. First, an earthquake or perhaps a flood in 1611-12 created a large repair cost and caused to budget deficit which was financed by borrowing, and then a locust invasion damaged the crop, reduced the rural income and drove the waqf into a financial difficulty. The waqf closed the accounting year 1613 with a deficit of 48,810 akça. In the following year of 1614, the waqf could not collect a revenue sum of 25,000 akça from the current year and the arrears amounted to 31,130 akça together with the former unpaid dues. The accounting period was closed with a deficit of 28,704 akça. This deficit seems to have been met from the former budget surpluses of the waqf which were likely kept in the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch.

In 1615, the waqf had arrears of 29,130 akça most of which has remained uncollected in the previous year. It closed the accounting year with a cash surplus of 1,680 akça. The account book of the year 1616 is lacking but we know from the following book of 1617 that the waqf closed the account with a budget surplus of 5,742 akça and had arrears of 37,130 akça. In 1617 and in 1618, the waqf collected all revenue from the relevant years and the total sum of arrears did not change. The budget produced a surplus of 20,000 akça in 1617 and it ended the accounting period of 1618 with a cash surplus of 40,000 akça.

In 1619, together with 30,000 akça which had been collected by the previous waqf administrator but not yet delivered and entered into account, the arrears rose to about 75,000 akça. Still the waqf obtained a cash surplus of more than 30,000 akça. In the following accounting period of 1620, about 10,000 akça was collected from the money which has remained at the hand of the previous administrator. But at the end of the accounting period, there were still uncollected revenues of about 65,000 akça remaining from former periods. After the arrears and the money delivery to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch, the waqf closed the account in this year with a mere surplus of 193 akça.

Further 19,500 akça from the amount remaining at the hand of the previous waqf administrator was collected in 1621-22. At the end of the accounting period, the arrears were about 55,000 akça and only 9,500 akça of this sum stemmed from the current period. The account book of this year is very interesting. It covered a year and half, and recorded both the monthly rent revenues and expenditures for this extended period while it registered the agricultural revenues with their annual amounts. It is clear that as the current account was closed as being covered the first half of the next financial year, the agricultural revenues of the coming year have not been collected yet. Therefore, receipts exceeded disbursements and the account book registered a budget deficit of about 50,000 akça at the end of the book. How were this deficit and all the expenditures of a year and half financed by the waqf? It seems that at least 31,000 akça of the budget deficit was financed through borrowings from four persons. It is likely that the rest of the deficit consisted of purchases on credit that were recorded on debit side. However, the waqf needed much more money to meet its expenditures in the additional six months. This fund came from in advance receipts. The waqf received in advance payment of 103,500 akça for its tax farm units for the next year namely, 1622. In the account book of 1622 which covered the remaining six months of the financial year, the agricultural revenues were collected and though the waqf had the arrears of about 55,000 akça it closed the year with a cash surplus of about 55,000 akça. In short, considering the two account books which together cover two regular financial years, 1621 and 1622, the financial situation seems pretty well.

In 1623, the arrears of 55,000 akça still existed and the cash surplus of 55,000 akça was drained off. Though the waqf collected its revenue from the current period plus made a new borrowing of 21,000 akça, merely 729 akça cash remained at the end of the period. The imbalance of income and expenditure was resulted from the rise in price of wheat which pushed the kitchen expenditures up. Although the salary payments remained constant, since the waqf could not adapt its agricultural revenues, which was its main source of income, to the price rise it fell into financial distress.

The account book of 1624 is lacking. In the account book of 1625, after the expenditures were done the waqf held about 80,000 akça on paper. The

waqf delivered about 50,000 akça to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch, thus about 30,000 akça remained. But right after this, the account book recorded the arrears of 72,359 akça plus a budget deficit of 41,758 akça. A record appended to the account book tells that this deficit was met from the personal pocket of the waqf administrator while the account book noted down that the Office of Chief Black Eunuch transferred 350 guruş or 28,000 akça.

The account book of 1626 records that the waqf borrowed 28,800 akça from Ali Ağa, the son-in-law of the waqf administrator, and 10,000 akça from certain Hasan Ağa for making salary payments and for covering the needs of the waqf. A total of 24,000 akça remained uncollected from the revenues of the current term. Thus, the arrears rose to 96,500 akça, and the waqf closed the account with a deficit of 52,000 akça.

The account books of the following periods are lacking till 1631. In this year, the waqf held 36,360 akça after all the expenses were done. Keeping only 110 akça in the cash box, the waqf paid its debt of 36,250 akça. Some late salary payments and payments for former purchases were made. As mentioned just above, the waqf had borrowed 38,800 akça from two persons in 1626. It seems that this debt was fixed as 40,000 akça with an agreement with lenders, and the waqf paid half of this sum in 1631. In 1632, the waqf ended the accounting period with a surplus of 20,749 akça and paid the remaining part of the aforementioned debt, thus it could keep only 749 akça cash in the box.

In 1633, the waqf had the arrears of 55,000 akça at the end of the nine-months' accounting period and it closed the current period with a deficit of 12,249 akça. It seems that this deficit was met by the personal budget of the administrator who donated this amount to the waqf. In the following years, despite high sums of repair expenditures and money deliveries to the treasury, the waqf closed the accounting periods with surplus.

Financial Development of the Waqf and the Local Agricultural Economy

The income of the waqf of Saruca Pasha was dependent predominantly on rural properties. Still, the urban properties of the waqf were an important part of the town economy. The waqf provided the infrastructure for the commercial activity in Gallipoli. But it never engaged in trade or production rather it always leased out its properties. Therefore, the level of its rent revenues does not directly present the wealth, growth or recession in town economy. The waqf of Saruca Paşa held real estates in different towns. Its rent income from its shops in Edirne declined in 1612-13 and these shops were vacant in 1614. Its shops in Bursa were vacant in 1612. Most part of the rent income from its shops in Gallipoli and from the bathhouse in Edremit could not be collected in 1614.

There could be a possible link between these collection difficulties in three different towns.

Following these years, while prices were stable or partially declining, the rent income from shops in Gallipoli did not show any decline. Yet, the rent income from shops in Edirne declined and shops remained vacant in certain years before 1626. The same is true for the shops in Bursa. In short, rent income from Gallipoli showed stability in a period of about thirty years whereas it slightly declined in Edirne and Bursa. This decline has been showed in other studies before.³¹ To reach at more reliable conclusions about the movement of rent incomes from urban properties and about the town economy, account books of more waqfs are needed to examine and findings have to be supported by the *sicil defterleri* (court registers) and the *mühimme* registers (registers of important affairs).

Rural revenues of the waqfs represent quite reliably the agricultural conditions. Between 1609 and 1626, income of the waqf of Saruca Pasha from its villages declined only in 1612-13 when a locust invasion has damaged the crop. The waqf met its financial loss through going into debt. There was another decline in rural income of the waqf in 1626 which was due most likely to a decline in grain prices. But kitchen expenditures fell in the same year. What does a decline in grain prices exactly mean for the agricultural conditions? A fall in grain prices usually refers to a good harvest season. Except for these years, agricultural revenues showed small fluctuations and increased slightly in the long-term. Thus, the agricultural revenues do not imply any serious harvest failure or agricultural crisis during the period under examination.

Despite the vacant properties and collection difficulties around 1610s, the waqf produced budget surplus beginning from 1615 and the surplus amounted to 40,000 akça at the end of the year 1618. But at the same time, the arrears accumulated in years amounted to 40,000 akça.

The waqf paid regularly the salaries of its permanent personnel and kept the imaret kitchen running in the first half of the 17th century. Thus, there was no deep and long financial crisis affecting the waqf's actual operation and its charitable services. Albeit the waqf budget fell into deficit in certain years due to the crop loss or unexpected repair expenditures, it produced usually surplus in ordinary years and made cash delivery to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch.

In 1611, a natural disaster, maybe an earthquake or flood, led to significant repair cost. The waqf undertook repair works in 1611 and 1612 and its budget

³¹ Haim Gerber, "The Waqf Institution in Early Ottoman Edirne", *Asian and African Studies*, 17, 1983, 29-45; idem, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*, Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 1988. Also see Orbay, "16. ve 17. Yüzyillarda Bursa Ekonomisi".

fell into deficit. Just a year later, the budget fell into deficit again due to a locust attack in 1612-13. However, following these financially troubled years, the budget began to produce surplus as usual. Moreover, although there were a significant amount of uncollected revenues remaining from the former years, the waqf was financially strong from 1615 on.

High repair cost reappears again in 1626 forcing the waqf to finance its budget deficit through borrowing. The waqf made significant repair expenditure between 1635 and 1638. It is striking that despite the financial hardship due to the repairs, the waqf transferred 100,000 akça to the treasury of Chief Black Eunuch in the same years. Unfortunately, the author could not determine yet the reason behind the high expenditures for repair in these years.

Between 1620-1623, the budget surplus of the former years was drained off. The waqf went into debt due to a serious rise in grain prices and ensuing increase in kitchen expenditures. Although the income of the waqf did not increase at the same rate as the prices, financial pressure of the price rise lasted short. The waqf recovered financially and obtained a budget surplus in 1625. However, prices rose once again and kitchen expenditures went up in 1631-1632. Following these hardship years, the waqf improved its financial situation. These short-term increases in grain prices usually refer to deterioration in agricultural conditions and a fall in total volume of harvest.

As a conclusion, the waqf of Saruca Pasha has experienced short-term financial difficulties because of income loss and high repair costs resulting from locust invasions and natural disasters. The waqf has also fallen into temporary financial hardship due to sharp price increases which pushed the kitchen expenditures up. But the waqf was still financially capable of paying salaries and fulfilling its charitable services. Contrary to some large waqfs in Anatolia which were going to financial decadence in the 17th century due to the Celali rebellions and ensuing loss in rural population, lasting decline in agricultural production, the waqf of Saruca Pasha did not go into a long-term and serious financial crisis.

Table 3: prices extracted from the account books of the waqf of Saruca Pasha in Gallipoli

AH AD	925 1519	1017- 18 1609	1018- 19 1610	1020 1611	1021 1612	1022 1613	1023 1614	1024 1615	1026 1617	1027 1618	1028 1619	1029 1620	1030- 31 1621- 22
Wheat (kile)	10-12	56,51	55	45	50	50	79	95	69	67	28* ³² - 60	90	130- 150- 210
Barley (kile)	5-6										15*		
Oats (kile)											12*		
Rice (kile)		74	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	62-64	54-55- 56-60	52	78-80
Chickpea (kıyye)									4	4	4	4	8
Vetch (kile)											20*		
Bean (kile)											20*		
Butter (okka)		50	48	40	40-48	48	48	44	36,9- 48	48-50	42-48	42	48
Honey (okka)		32	26	30	30-32	22	30	21	26	26-28	26-30	24-30	34
Almond (kıyye)					20								
Starch (kıyye)					8	18							
Black plum (kıyye)					6	10							
Red grape (kıyye)					5	6							
Black grape (kıyye)					5								
Saffron (dirhem)					8								
Salt (kile)			30	32		40	40	40	50	50	50-60	60	65
Wax (kıyye)		60	60	60	62	70	75	60	60	70	54	55	50
Wick (piece)						10							
Candle (stick)			5	6		3		6	8	9	6		7,14

³² Prices marked with “*” were extracted from the part of the account books where the waqf recorded and valued its in kind collection.

AH AD	1031 1622	1032 1623	1034 1625	1035- 36 1626	1041 1631	1042 1632	1043 1633 ³³	1043- 45 1634- 35 ³⁴	1045- 46 1635- 36	1046- 47 1637	1047- 48 1638	1051- 52 1642
Wheat (kile)	135- 150	135- 140- 150	60-70-85 (75,68)	70	80	65			65	75-85- 90	75-85- 90	63
Rice (kile)	115	120	44	70	100	75- 100- 110	80	70	90-100	80	80	70
Chickpea (kuyye)	10-20	10		5	8	8	8		5	4	4	4
Bean (kile)		160										
Butter (okka)	55	75	42	42	48	45	55	45	45	30	30	26
Honey (okka)	35	35	21	33	33	39	42		25	20	20	14
Firewood (vezne)					35	35	35	35	40	30	30	25
Olive oil (okka)						45	48					
Starch (kuyye)		15										
Red grape (kuyye)	8	8										
Black grape (kuyye)	8	8										
Salt (kile)	35	70										
Fig (kuyye)	10	10										
Wax (kuyye)	70	125	70	70	90	90	100		100	100	100	
Candle (stick)		38,7	8		6	6	6					

³³ Covered 9 months.

³⁴ Covered 18 months.

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