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# The Vakf Institution in Ottoman Cyprus

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## *Introduction: The legacy of Vakf in Cyprus*

The pious foundations, called *vakf* (Turkish: *vakıf*) or *evkaf* (plural) in Cyprus were launched on 15<sup>th</sup> September 1570 by converting the cathedral of the city into a mosque and laying it as the first pious foundation in the name of the Sultan followed by others soon after. Since then it has been one of the deep-rooted Ottoman institutions on the island to survive until today under the office of the Turkish Cypriot Vakf Administration (*Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar İdaresi*) (Fig. 1). Alongside its main mission to run all the religious affairs and maintain all religious buildings, it is one of the most important business enterprises in banking, farming and tourism sectors as well as the leading philanthropy organisation in the Turkish Cypriot society. Among its most important charity works is to provide support and service to people of low income status by allocating accommodation at rather low cost, or to give scholarships for young people, as it did in the past, using the income derived from the enterprises under its roof and rents collected from its estates. Besides this, the institution incorporates a mission dedicated to the preservation and restoration of the old *vakf* monuments in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities and Monuments. Another task of the *vakf* was to ensure the family properties to last from one generation to the others safely in accordance with the conditions of the deed of foundation determined by the original founder.

There are few studies on the *vakf* institution published so far. One of them is the two volume book of M. Haşim Altan<sup>1</sup> which contains very valuable documents although it lacks any systematic presentation. The present study which aims to enlighten the cultural history of the Islamic society of the island is based on a research from several documents dating back from the last quarter of the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century such as *Mühimme Defterleri*,<sup>2</sup> *Vakfiyes*<sup>3</sup> or *Vakıf Defterleri*,<sup>4</sup> published articles and books scientifically researched

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1 Mustafa Haşim Altan, *Belgelerle Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar Tarihi*, v. I-II, Lefkoşa, 1986.

2 *Mühimme Defterleri*: A series of documents about the important matters and imperial orders kept during the 16<sup>th</sup> century currently in the Ottoman Archive of the Turkish Premiership (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), İstanbul.

3 Deed of the foundation laid down by a certain person explaining the names of the founder and the property as well as the conditions of the *vakf*.

4 Books in which matters connected with the *vakf* affairs are recorded.

based on the information given in the *Şeriye Sicilleri*, as well as personal observations of the existing monuments and artifacts.

*The types of vakfs and their administration*

The *vakf* institution owes its origin to religious faith and philanthropy. It is a foundation based on cooperation and coordination of human beings, one of the main initiatives to lead them into social and urban organizations for the welfare of the citizens. Since one of the pillars of the Islamic religion is the recommendation to give *sadaka* and *zakat* to those who are in financial need, this institution developed on the basis of *sadaka* and unlike many other philanthropic acts previously seen in ancient societies, the *vakf* institution in Islamic societies developed within the Islamic law. Therefore the condition and rules for the type of *vakf* or ways of utilizing the pious foundation is determined item by item written in the *vakfiye* (deed) of the foundation which was recorded in the presence of the witnesses who signed it.<sup>5</sup>

The properties laid as *vakf* under the care of the Evkaf Administration in Cyprus are classified under a few categories today. The first type is called the *mazbut vakf* or *evkaf-ı mazbuta*. This is the type of property which was once laid as *vakf* by a certain dignitary or citizen whose inheritor or member of trustees (*mütevelli*) had perished. All the properties under these *vakfs* were created for the welfare of the people and did not aim to yield any personal income to its *mütevellis*, prayer and blessing for the soul of the founder being the only expectations. The *evkaf* of Aya Sofya and Ömeriye, the former in the name of Sultan Selim II and the latter in his name, both laid by Lala Mustafa Paşa, vizier and chief commander of the Cyprus expedition, were the most important ones. *Vakfs* had been launched as religious or philanthropic foundations like all historical buildings of Ottoman origin, such as mosques, *tekkes*, *medreses*, *imarets* (alm houses), aqueducts, bridges, libraries, *hans* (commercial buildings providing short term accommodation and storage of merchandise), customs houses, administrative and military buildings. The sole responsibility and ownership of this kind of *vakfs* now belongs to the Evkaf Administration.

The government in Istanbul usually inspected the records of these *vakfs* in order to ensure whether the income was utilized properly. In one case, according to a document dated 17 Şevval 984 (9 January 1577),<sup>6</sup> the Sultan was informed the misdeed of the governor who built a caravanserai after pulling down the shops registered in the *vakf* of the mosque without informing the Porte. Upon this, it was requested to investigate the accounts of this new foundation and in case the income had been unsatisfactory, then the building had to be restored into its original form so as to be rented as shops again. Another similar case was informed by Cafer Bey of

5 For more details about the *vakf* system in Islamic law and its Ottoman application, see Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslam Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, Ankara 1988.

6 BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi), *Mühimme 29*, No: 135.

Mağosa *sancağ* concerning the case of a mosque which was converted from a church (presumably this Sinan Paşa Mosque originally called as St. Peter and St. Paul Church). Accordingly this building which had been used first as a *mescid* for a couple of months and later as a mosque where Friday and *Bairam* prayers were performed was then neglected and meanwhile it was used by non-Moslems once a week for their religious services. Cafer Bey requested permission for the restoration of the building so as to be used as a mosque and to appoint *imam*, *müezzin* and other functionaries for maintenance with his own financial means to be founded as a *vakf* to the mosque. This petition also included a request to continue the project started by Ahmet Paşa who managed to build an aqueduct that cost 500,000 *akça* again at his own cost.<sup>7</sup>

The Treasurer was responsible to collect the income of the *vakf* estates of the imperial family in Cyprus and arrange its safe delivery to its destination. There was a severe case against the ex-treasurer Bali Efendi with regard to the money annually sent to the *fukara* (poors) of Medina which was spent on fabrics for the use of the navy although there was no such request or order from the port. So he was ordered to sell the sailcloth immediately and send the income to Medina as usually.<sup>8</sup>

The second type of *vakf* called *mülhak vakf* is in fact the personal property laid as *vakf* and run by the member of trustees appointed by the founder. The Evkaf Administration is acting as superintendent for their management and inspects their accounts. The office also takes over the responsibility to run their business in times of the absence of a board of trustees. The Evkaf Administration charges a fee amounting to 5% of its income for account keeping from such *vakfs* and in case of having full administration in the lack of board of trustees, another 10% is charged. Currently, there are 365 *vakfs* registered in this category, 163 of which are governed by the members of board of trustees appointed on certain terms while the rest are governed by the Vakf Administration on loan system in case of the absence of the appointed members of trustees.<sup>9</sup>

A *mülhak vakf* was administered individually by the members of the board of trustees appointed by the founder. The *kadı*, the chief judge appointed by the Porte in charge of the legal problems, was the chief authority to register it as a *vakf* in the witness of the council members. Any *vakf* established in the name of the Sultan as well as by the governors and some other noteworthy dignitaries was usually administered by members of appointed trustees who were under the control of Darüss'ade Ağa in the Sultan's palace. Such a *mülhak vakf* included extensive

7 BOA, *Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi, Ruus Defteri*, No: 244, [dated 23 Şaban 992 (7 August 1584)].

8 TSA, (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi/Topkapı Palace Archive) *Documents*, E. No: 3125. The document is not dated. However, according to the document BOA, *Mühimme* 14, No: 727 Bali Efendi was the treasurer of Cyprus in 1570/71.

9 Ayer Barış, "Kıbrıs Vakıflarının Bugünkü Durumu ve Vakıflar İdaresinin Fonksiyonları", *Vakıflar Haftası, Vakıf Mevzuatının Aksayan Yönleri, Kıbrıs Vakıf İdaresi Çalışmaları ve Türk Vakıf Medeniyetinde Vakıf Eski Eserlerinin Restorasyonu Seminerleri, Ankara 5-7 Aralık 1989*, Ankara 1990, pp. 201-202.

*çiftlik*s, fields, trees and a farmhouse, as well as several shops and houses for the workers. Ordinary citizens also laid down their property as *mülhak vakf*. In such cases, the *vakf* is registered before the local *kadı* in the witness of friends or neighbours who are usually acquaintances of the donor. Administrator of such *vakfs* is usually the founder and later his inheritor.

The third category is the so called *evkaf-ı müstesna*, which are the exceptional *vakfs*, first of all the Celaliye Vakf. This is a group of *vakf* possessed by the Mevlevi Tekke and administered independently by the board of trustees without any interference of the Evkaf Administration being directly attached to the Celaliye Vakf in Konya.<sup>10</sup> However, due to political, administrative and social reasons since the beginning of the British Rule in 1878, they were connected to the main office of the Evkaf Administration.

The *vakf* system has become more centralised under an administrative office organised and directed by the Ottoman Porte in Istanbul in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. That century is a time of complete change in the fate of the island as elsewhere in other Ottoman provinces with the new reforms implemented by the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat period. All changes established for the administration of the *vakfs* in the Ottoman Empire were also practiced in Cyprus with the launching of a new office for the Vakf Administration entitled as Evkaf Nezareti. Further changes took place with the submission of the island on leasing terms to Great Britain Empire in exchange for alliance against the Russian attack in 1878. The shift of administration of Cyprus to the British Empire in late 19<sup>th</sup> century is another important turning point in the Evkaf Administration in Cyprus with the appointment of two delegates, a British by the British Government and an Ottoman Turkish citizen by the Ottoman Porte.

Almost all kinds of *vakfs* launched in the early days of the Ottoman Rule were administered by the local members of the board of trustees, appointed by the person who established the pious foundation, while the local *kadı* was the chief authority to register the conditions of the *vakf* and the undertaking of the members of the trustees. These were usually the family properties which were registered as a *vakf* by an owner to ensure their ownership to retain within the family and to last through the generations. The members of the trustees were responsible to control and usually gave a certain sum of the income to certain religious institutions as an endowment every year. However, in time some of these family estates were lost due to inheritance problems or wrong administration. After the *vakf* system was reorganised as an office called Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti in 1826 and El-Hac Yusuf Efendi was appointed as the first director in Cyprus,<sup>11</sup> this new organisation brought some kind of security and better management to the *vakfs* and it continued its existence

10 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, op.cit., v. I, p. 9; v. II, p. 1122.

11 Rauf Ünsal, "Kıbrıs Vakıflarının Kuruluşundan Bu Yana Gelişimi", VII. Vakıf Haftası Vakıf Mevzuatının Aksayan Yönleri, Kıbrıs Vakıf İdaresi Çalışmaları ve Türk Vakıf Medeniyetinde Vakıf Eski Eserlerinin Restorasyonu Seminerleri, Ankara, 5-7 Aralık, Ankara 1989, p. 195.

throughout the British Rule. During the early British occupation years it acted as an office of the Ottoman Porte and later during colonial period as the representative of the Turkish Cypriot society. During these times it also continued its mission to safeguard the Turkish estates and serve as one of the most important offices for the development and organisation of the educational matters of Turkish society by setting up new schools in modern secular education and providing accommodation to the students of the rural areas to study in the cities besides its main function to run the religious affairs.

*The First Vakf in Cyprus: Selim II or Aya Sofya Vakf*

In view of the Ottoman records it is clear that the first Ottoman institutions in Cyprus were launched as early as 15<sup>th</sup> September 1570 following the conquest of Nicosia although part of the island particularly Famagusta was still under the Venetian control. Aya Sofya Cathedral in the capital city Nicosia, originally built during the Lusignan Kingdom, was converted into a mosque,<sup>12</sup> as it was the tradition in every conquered land to generate a shrine for the worship of the soldiers and first settlers as well as to create a symbol for the political pride of the Ottoman Sultan by turning the most precious Latin Christian monument into an Islamic shrine. Lala Mustafa Paşa with other commanders and religious authorities held the first Friday prayers there on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1570, blessing the conquest of the island. He then established the first and greatest pious foundation in Cyprus in the name of the sultan during the first Friday prayer.<sup>13</sup>

Aya Sofya Cami'i (Selimiye Mosque) being a gothic monument (Fig. 2) is a long rectangular building with a central nave, two aisles at the sides and four additional chapels on its southern and northern sides. The interior of the building was completely reorganized according to the Islamic needs by removing the altar, all the stain glasses, icons, sculptures and wall paintings. The building is oriented on the east-west axis. Therefore the altar was demolished and at least one *mihrab* (prayer niche) was built on the southern wall. It was then furnished with a *minber* (pulpit) and a *kürsü* (desk) as described by Ottoman chronicles<sup>14</sup> and two more *mihrabs* later. Although little is known regarding the extent of the alterations undertaken in occasion of the conversion of the cathedral into mosque during these first few years following the conquest, it is known that maintenance and alterations were constantly continued during the later centuries. Three *mihrabs* were built in the mosque, the right one being the oldest in Selimiye Mosque. The *ayet* above this is dated as 1004/1595 and bears the signature of the calligrapher Mahmud. The main *mihrab* wall of the mosque was constructed in the form of a curtain screen in front of the wall to gain the necessary orientation towards Mecca without giving harm to the

12 Şerafettin Turan. "Lala Mustafa Paşa Hakkında Notlar", *Belleten*, XXII /88 (1958) 517.

13 Anonymous, *Feth-i Cezire-i Kıbrıs*, Topkapı Palace Library Manuscripts, Revan 1294, not dated, fol. 85.

14 Arif Dede, *Kıbrıs Tarihçesi*, Topkapı Palace Library MSS., YY. 319, not dated, fols. 13, 36.

original wall of the building. This is also made in harmony with the size of the building. It is the largest *mihrab* in all of the mosques of the Ottoman period in Cyprus.

The first minarets were added in 1572 or later as indicated in a contemporary document. In a sultan's decree dated 17 Zilhicce 979/1 May 1572 addressed to the *beylerbeyi* and *defterdar* (treasurer) of Cyprus, the sultan ordered the construction of two minarets to the mosque in Nicosia and only one minaret to the mosque in Famagusta. This order was sent upon the petition addressed to the sultan seeking his opinion about the number of minarets to be constructed for the mosques in Nicosia and Famagusta, which were lacking until then.<sup>15</sup> The minarets on the western part of the building were constructed on the remains of the towers. Both minarets are decorated with *muqarnas* carvings and they are the largest minarets of Ottoman Cyprus with their towers each having 170 steps.<sup>16</sup> These minarets were renewed several times since they could not survive during earthquakes.

There are many *vakf* records relating the restorations performed in the mosque, one case being the document dated Ramazan 1161 (June 1748),<sup>17</sup> although they lack details. However, the altar on the south-western part of the building with an *ayet* as well as the signature of Mahmud, the calligrapher, and the date 1004 H. (1595/6) is one of the rare documents to record the date of the *mihrab*. The major alterations seem to have been undertaken in 1829 as remarked by Enlart,<sup>18</sup> during which time the southern portal had been removed to the eastern part. Another restoration seems to have been made in 1874 which is recorded on a rather beautiful inscription tablet by Seyyid Ahmed Şükrü indicating the restoration executed by Nazif Paşa, the governor, in the name of Sultan Abdül Aziz in 1291 H. (1874)<sup>19</sup> attached on the gothic tympanum of the portal.

During the first Friday prayer Lala Mustafa Paşa also bequeathed a sword and a Koran as symbolic *vakfs* to bless the conquest forever. This manuscript is assumed to be the one in the collection of the Turkish Ethnographic Museum in Mevlevi Tekke with the inventory number Mev. T. 135. The deed of foundation of the Koran is full of praise-full words about the bravery of Lala Mustafa Paşa as well as blessing the conquest forever by dedicating a holy book as a *vakf* in the name of Sultan Selim II. "This beautiful Koran, the holy book is donated to the Great Mosque on the

15 H. Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi", *Belgeler*, IV/ 7–8 (1969) 18; BOA, *Mühimme* 12, No: 1211.

16 Recently it has become customary to add two minarets to the recently built mosques by the Turkish Vakıf Administration. The minarets of the mosque built recently in the Sakarya quarter, Famagusta, are extremely slim and high.

17 BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 14479.

18 Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, London 1987, p. 495 [transl. David Hunt].

19 M. Fahrettin Kırzioğlu, "Fotoğraflarla Kıbrıs Türk İslam Kitabelerinden", *Arkaik Dönemden Bugüne Kıbrıs'ta Türk Kültürü ve Turizm Politikası Sempozyumu*, 30–31 Ekim–1 Kasım 1989, Lefkoşa 1989, p. 60.

island of Cyprus which is protected by God, with the generous will of Lala Mustafa Paşa, the conqueror of the island". The word 'vakf' which is inscribed on every single page also stamped its being a pious foundation. Several other religious manuscripts were donated to the mosque for prayer and education purposes in the following years which were all registered as *vakfs* of the mosque.

The other symbolic foundation according to legend is a steel sword, which was used every Friday and at *bayram* prayer during the preaching of the *hutbe*. The preacher used to climb up the stairs of the *minber* by touching each step with this sword and then do his preaching by leaning on it. It is a known fact that in the conquered lands it was customary to convert the largest church into a mosque as the symbol of the power of the Ottoman Empire. Aya Sofya in İstanbul is known to have practiced the same tradition until lately<sup>20</sup> and the preacher of the mosque used to deliver his speech on political and social matters by leaning on a sword or a scepter.<sup>21</sup> This ceremony continued until lately. Unfortunately this sword was stolen in 1987.

#### *The emerging of Aya Sofya Vakf*

The administrative organisation was speeded up island-wide upon the conclusion of the expedition resulting in the conquest of the entire island in 1571. Appointments of administrators and foundation of the chief institutions for the administrative, religious and military purposes were undertaken for the reorganisation and security of the people living in the island. Mustafa Paşa following the capture of Nicosia appointed a *beylerbey* (Muzaffer Paşa, the former *bey* of the Sancak of Avlonya) and a *kadı* (Ekmel Efendi). Ten communal *kadis* were also nominated at the same time. The *Serdar* wishing to complete the staff of the *beylerbeylik* administration instituted a *defters eminliği* and a *timar tezkereciliği* to deal with the *timar* affairs of the *beylerbeylik* and appointed a *deftersdar* (treasurer) for the financial affairs.<sup>22</sup>

Besides the attempts to encourage a settlement policy on the island, imperial orders were issued for forced migration from Anatolia. Land was distributed to the commanders and janissaries who showed great success during the conquest. However, most of the estates of the Latin Rulers and citizens<sup>23</sup> were registered as the *evkaf* of the sultan, commonly referred to as the Aya Sofya *Evkaf*.

20 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium", Robert Mark & Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (eds), *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, Cambridge 1992, p. 204.

21 A. J. Wensinck, "Hutbe", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, v. 5, pp. 617–620.

22 Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Policy and Administration in Cyprus after the Conquest", H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy*, 1969 (reprint), p. 8.

23 It is known that during the Venetian Rule, there were 800 or 900 villages on the island. According to Father Lusignan, there were thirty to thirty three Maronite villages, three Armenian villages and one Gypsy village near Nicosia. Benjamin Arbel, "Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule (1473–1571): A Demographic Study", B. Arbel, *The Franks and Venice 13<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Singapore, Sydney 2000, p. V, 203.

As could be followed from an Imperial document, Sultan Selim II sent imperial orders for the registration of all the properties gained through the conquest immediately after the foundation of the Aya Sofya Vakf. According to one of these orders written to Lala Mustafa Paşa on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1570, it was requested that he should take actions to include the ones that are of value and profitable for the maintenance of Aya Sofya Vakf. It was also required that Bali Efendi, the treasurer should sell the rest of the property for the benefit of the treasury at the most reasonable price and record each group of items into separate books for the inspection of the sultan.<sup>24</sup> One document dated Rebi'ülahir 978 (November 1570) mentioned about Ekmel Efendi, the *müderri*s appointing Abdülgaffar as the chair of the board of trustees with a salary of 40 *akçes* for the inspection of the mosque, shops and other properties as well as the income of the *vakf*.<sup>25</sup>

All properties found of value for the *vakf* as well as those that had already been included in the *evkaf* of Aya Sofya were retained while the rest of the properties connected to the churches were sold out to the citizens. In fact it may be gathered from the information given by Nicholas Coureas that the amount of the estates of Aya Sofya Cathedral in Nicosia (Fig. 2) and Aya Nicholas Cathedral in Famagusta going back to the Lusignan period were enormous since the archbishopric had usually acquired land through donations as cash money or land and property donated by the kings, the earliest known to be in 1195 A.D.<sup>26</sup> There were different resources which increased the wealth of the Latin Church on the island by donations such as the incomes of salt-pans at Salines (Salt Lake) from Larnaca, or donation in the form of granting milling rights at the royal flour-mills in Kythrea as it was done by Queen Alice or contributions with cash money. With this income, the church even used to purchase whole villages with its land, buildings and serfs.<sup>27</sup> During the Venetian occupation the Latin Church continued to retain its property, which was overtaken by Ottoman rule after the conquest. It was the same for Aya Nicholas Cathedral in Famagusta that was converted into a mosque in the name of the sultan with the preaching of a *hutbe*.<sup>28</sup> This imposing Gothic cathedral is still the main mosque in Famagusta although it retains many Christian medieval decorative elements on its western façade. The monument nowadays called as Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque and registered as Aya Nikola (Nicholas)<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 3), was then mainly referred to as Aya Sofya in Famagusta or merely as Small Aya Sofya while in some few cases it was mentioned as Selimiye Cami'i.<sup>30</sup> Similar to the *vakf* in Nicosia, an imperial order

24 BOA, *Mühimme* 14, No: 727.

25 BOA, *Divan-ı Hümayun Ruus Kalemi*, D. No: 221 özel sayı: 14 A, No: 76.

26 Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312*, Suffolk 1997, pp. 54–55.

27 Coureas, *Latin Church*, op.cit., pp. 47–58.

28 Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest, 1827–35, v. VI, p. 263; Turan, “Lala Mustafa Paşa”, op.cit., p. 577.

29 See BOA, *Mühimme* 16, No: 304.

30 The contemporary names Selimiye Cami'i and Lala Mustafa Paşa Cami'i were officially given in 1954 with the suggestion of Müftü M. Dana Efendi. Newspaper *Halkın Sesi*, 13 August

instructed the governor to retain the necessary part of its foundation and to sell the rest of the property related to the church.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the Ottoman army was able to capture a huge foundation in the possession of 31 churches located in Famagusta. It was then ordered that the so called Aya Yorgi (St. George) church<sup>32</sup> including its estates should be given to the local people while the rest of the 30 churches with their foundations would be sold away for the benefit of the treasury ensuring the adequate reserves for the expenses of the *vakf* of the mosque.<sup>33</sup>

It was evident that most of the Cypriot *vakfs* are considered as Sultanic property under the Aya Sofya Evkaf as they used to belong to the Latins, either Italian or Lusignan families or to the Latin Church bound to the Vatican. A glance at the history of the pre-Ottoman monuments and estates clearly shows their origin as part of the foundation of Aya Sofya from the earliest times. In the case of Chité or Kiti farm, it was first mentioned as *Le Quit* in the cartulary of St. Sophia. This was an important fief during the Lusignan period in the possession of the Archbishopric of Cyprus. Egyptians burned it down on their landing at Limassol in 1426. Then it was confiscated by force by James the Bastard from his uncle who was the grandfather of Father Stephen Lusignan, and it was purchased from the Venetian Republic by Hercules Podocatoro at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a fief.<sup>34</sup>

The *evkaf* of Selim II, usually referred to as the Aya Sofya Evkaf was organized so as to support the expenses and salaries of the mosque complex, which also included the *medrese*, with the income derived from the rents of the shops, water distribution, mills, fields and farm units. This evkaf included mainly the Bedesten (Suk-i Sultaniye),<sup>35</sup> Great Inn (Büyük Han), New Great Inn (Yeni Büyük Han), *çiftlik*s (farms) and mills in Kythrea (Değirmenlik), Machaira and Yırnalı.<sup>36</sup> Aya Sofya *evkaf* also included several *medreses*, the earliest reference in documents studied being *Dar-ül Hidayat*<sup>37</sup> built before 1578 by Sultan Selim.

An important contribution was the *vakf* of Cafer Paşa set up in addition to the previously established Vakf dedicated mainly to the Haremeyn<sup>38</sup> to maintain Aya

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1954.

31 BOA, *Mühimme*, 14, No: 727, dated 18 Zilhicce 979 (3 Mayıs 1572).

32 It is said that the Greek rite was reportedly celebrated in a church dedicated to St. George after 1571. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, op.cit., p. 254; This is presumably St. George, the Greek Church. Although the date of its demolition possibly by earthquake is not exactly recorded, Pococke, visited Cyprus in 1738 refers to this monument to have been thrown into ruins during an earthquake that happened three years ago. E. D. Cobham (ed.) *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge 1908 (reprint, New York 1986), p. 255.

33 BOA, *Mühimme*, 16, No: 304.

34 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, op.cit., pp. 483–484.

35 Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus, 1570–1640*, New York 1993, p. 314.

36 CTVAA (Cyprus Turkish Vakıf Administration Archive) File No: 67/94.

37 BOA, *Mühimme*, No: 34, no: 422.

38 *Haremeyn* (also: *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn* ‘the two holy places’): a group of foundations, the earliest of which were established by the Turkish conquerors, dedicated for the provision of the

Sofya in Famagusta from the revenues of his estate that had two hundred eighty trees, nine carob trees along with houses at a village in Tuzla district and five two-storied and single-storied houses, fruit trees, gardens with irrigation channels, eight shops in various places, a coffee house, two grist (*tahuni*) mills, a well and more were set in reserve.<sup>39</sup> Several people also established individual *vakfs* dedicated to the *evkaf* of Aya Sofya for payment to Koran readers or for other expenses such as supply of candle wax for the mosque. Among the donors there was also a Jewish person who paid 120 akçe/year for candle wax for the mosque.<sup>40</sup> The *beylerbeyi* Okçızade Mehmed Paşa made a *vakf* of at least one shop while others had endowed a butcher shop, other shops and large estates (*çiftlik*) for Aya Sofya in 1002 H. (1593/4).<sup>41</sup>

In view of some documents, Büyük Han (Fig. 4) is another noteworthy monument inherited from the enormous *evkaf* of Sultan Selim II. Büyük Han is the largest Ottoman complex ever built on the island, which was established mainly to support the mosque as well as to revitalize commercial activities. The rooms of Büyük Han are arranged around the courtyard, which is entered through an *iwan*. There is also a small *mescid* in the middle of the courtyard, raised on a circular arcaded colonnade with double staircase leading to the entrance of the shrine. The space below is reserved for the fountain and the circular water tank. The whole complex may be considered as a small model of Koza Han in Bursa, both of which were built in the manner of Seljuk caravanserais. The building as well as the piers and capitals are of local sandstone. The altar of the *mescid* is also made of local sandstone which is decorated with crudely cut muqarnas modules. The whole complex consists of sixty eight rooms and ten shops. The rooms on the ground floor seem to have been rented to the merchants as warehouses, while the upper floor rooms were rented for short term accommodation. The rooms are all covered with vaulted roofs and each one is equipped with a fireplace. The chimneypieces on the roof of the building bring a dynamic appearance to the building.<sup>42</sup> A few documents give some ideas about the rent and occupants of Büyük Han in earlier days. It appears that 28,200 akçe/year was gained from the rent of twelve rooms and eight shoe-stores, coffee house and bakery in Zilkade 1002 (July 1594).<sup>43</sup> *Kahve hane* (coffee house) as the popular social gathering places for the male folk since 1550 in the Ottoman Empire were also established in Cyprus often in the possession of the *vakfs*.<sup>44</sup> They were also one of the most important income sources of the Sultan Selim II. *evkaf*. It is rather surprising not

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Holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

39 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 60.

40 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54.

41 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54.

42 Gönül Öney, "Lefkoşe'de Büyük Han ve Kumarcılar Hanı", *Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi (14-19 Nisan 1969) Türk Heyeti Tebliği*, Ankara 1971, pp. 271-297, pl. I, II; Oktay Aslanapa, *Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri*, İstanbul 1975, pp. 15-16.

43 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 332.

44 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., pp. 60, 70, 286, 331.

to find any information about the Büyük Han or any of the other Turkish *hans* in the travel books of the Europeans of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This recalls the fact that it used to accommodate only Moslem or local merchants. The restoration of Büyük Han started in the 1960s is now completed and all rooms are rented to handcraft makers, local artists as well as souvenir sellers. Nowadays it is one of the most attractive places in Nicosia with a new function as a culture and tourist centre with its coffee shop, traditional cuisine restaurant and bar.

Although the estates of the the *evkaf* of Sultan Selim II is thought to have been the most extensive one, due to neglect of the members of the trustees it had lost most part of its estates in time as also quoted by Jennings from an undated document.<sup>45</sup> A series of documents in *Muhimme 49*, dated 991 H. (1583) is requesting the inspection of the accounts of Hüseyin Dede, the former *mütevelli* of the Salateyn (Aya Sofya) Mosque, the *vakf* established by the father of the current Sultan upon the warnings of the new *mütevelli* Ali. Accordingly it is claimed that Hüseyin had to stay in Cyprus until his accounts are cleared. Aya Sofya *evkaf* continued to deteriorate presumably due to the change of the status of the island which in the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century ceased to be a *beylerbeylik*. Further changes took place in 1703 as the island started to be ruled by a *mütesellim* (tax collectors) on behalf of the Grand Vizier or Captain Paşa. Several documents cited in particular the *vakf* of Çinili Valide Sultan founded in 1629–30 as well the *vakf* estate of Ayşe Sultan and İbrahim Paşa, Umurga Çiftlik, which had an annual contribution to the Haremeyn Vakf is recalling the dispersing of the Sultan's estates.<sup>46</sup> These estates have apparently been given as gifts to the daughters or sisters of the Sultans which led to the deterioration of the Sultan's estates. It is also likely that some shares out of these were sometimes yielded to the state mint house in times of economical crisis or other legal problems as the case of the *vakf* of Ayşe Sultan and İbrahim Paşa that deprived part of its share in the estates of Umurga Çiftlik, which was bound to Hameyn Vakf, by yielding a share to the Darb-hane (State Mint House).<sup>47</sup> A printed document entitled "*Evkaf-ı Mazbuta*"<sup>48</sup> prepared by the British Evkaf Delegate and sent to the Turkish Embassy in London informing the revenues and expenditures of the *evkaf* of the Sultan for the year 1898 both amounting to 4558 pounds, 15 shillings and 8 pence is far from to reflect the real property. The list which recorded merely a short account of the yearly income and expenditure of the sultan's *evkaf* included *çiftlik*s (farmhouses) like Goloş (Kolossi) and Çite (Chiti or Kiti), property of land in Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol (Leymosun), Larnaca (Tuzla) and mills and water as well as a share of the income from carob and grape harvests. The short length of the list reflects the loss of a great majority of the estates of the Imperial Vakf by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among the farm complexes in the *evkaf* of Sultan Selim II, Golos

45 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 52.

46 BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 12,689, 18,663.

47 BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 12,689.

48 LTEOA (London Turkish Embassy, Ottoman Archive), *File No: LBA K.342.5*.

(Kolossi) is renowned for its richest agricultural production for many centuries since the Lusignan period. Kolossi, now known with its historical castle was in fact a rich fief with its worldwide famous Commanderia wine and cane sugar production. It was well equipped with the aqueduct system to irrigate the cane plantations and to drive the waterwheels as well as an imposing castle rebuilt in fifteenth century and it continued its sugar production in the Ottoman period. According to Camille Enlart, the sugar factory was reconstructed by Murad Paşa in 1591, which he has seen recorded on the gable of the building.<sup>49</sup>

*Other noteworthy Vakfs created during the early years of the Ottoman period*

The lands given to the commanders were also among the earliest *vakfs* founded on the island. Among these are the *vakfs* of Lala Mustafa Paşa, Arab Ahmed Paşa, Cafer Paşa, Okcu Zade Mehmed Paşa, Sefer Paşa, Frenk Cafer Paşa<sup>50</sup> and Sinan Paşa.<sup>51</sup> These *vakf* holders also built the first important Ottoman monuments on the island, mainly baths, aqueducts, inns, mills and schools, each of which were set up as *vakfs*.<sup>52</sup> Büyük Han (Fig. 4), Büyük Hamam,<sup>53</sup> Ömeriye Cami'i and Hamamı, Mevlevi Tekkesi and Arab Ahmet Aqueducts, Arab Ahmet Paşa Cami'i in Nicosia, Paphos Fortress, Ebubekir Cami'i and Hamamı in Paphos and Mevlevi Tekke and Aziziye Tekke in Nicosia were the first Turkish monuments constructed during the first three decades of Ottoman rule on the island. Having a religious connotation, the water systems, with the construction of aqueducts and conduits, were given

49 Enlart, *Gothic*, op.cit., pp. 494–495.

50 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 41.

51 Pir Ali Dede Cami'i in Limassol and shops in Famagusta are cited as the *vakfs* of Sinan Paşa. BOA, *Bab-ı ali Evrak Odası Mümtaz Kalemi, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs ve Bosna Kataloğu, MTZ. KB. 1338-3-15* File no: 1-A/1-5, lef: 15.

52 For studies on this subject based on mainly archive documents see Netice Yıldız, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kıbrıs Türk Mimari ve Sanatı", *9th International Congress of Turkish Arts, Contributions, 23–27 September, 1991, İstanbul, Ankara 1995*, v. III, pp.521–532; Netice Yıldız, "Aqueducts in Cyprus", *Journal for Cypriot Studies*, 2/2 (1996) 89–111; Yıldız, Netice, "Ottoman Culture and Art in Cyprus." *Learning and Education in the Ottoman World Proceedings, İstanbul 12–15 April 1999*, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), İstanbul 2001, pp. 259–276; Netice Yıldız, "Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Kültür Mirasına Genel Bir Bakış.", H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek & S. Koca (eds). *Türkler*, Ankara 2002, v. 19, pp. 966–993; Netice Yıldız, "Wakfs in Ottoman Cyprus", C. Imber, K. Kiyotaki & R. Murphey (eds) *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, London 2005, v. II, pp 179–196; Netice Yıldız, "The Vakf System in Cyprus as a Philanthropy and Religion Institution and a Special Case for Housing the Poor: the Complex of Saman Bahçe Houses in Nicosia (Cyprus)", Giuliana Gemelli (ed.) *Religions and Philanthropy – Global Issues in Historical Perspective*, Bologna 2007, pp. 217–266. Also, for the *vakf* cultural heritage see: Aslanapa, *Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri*, op.cit.; Fikret Çuhadroğlu & Filiz Oğuz, "Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri /Turkish Historical Monuments in Cyprus", *Vakıflar, Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi*, 2 (1975) 1–76.

53 Although the entrance of the building with its decorated archway shows Latin characteristic, this is a Turkish style bath, which was built on the ruins of St. George of the Latins.

particular attention in the Ottoman *vakfs*.<sup>54</sup> Therefore the aqueduct system is another important *vakf* organised to ensure the continuous water supply to the citizens as well as to sustain the maintenance and repair work for the existing system, the earliest complex starting in the first year of the Ottoman rule on the island.<sup>55</sup> All the important religious monuments in Cyprus were also financially supported by the income of properties assigned to the *vakfs*. Hence, similar to the practice in Anatolia, commercial buildings like bazaars, shops, baths and *bedestens* were built in the cities under the *vakf* system to support the religious and charitable complexes with their earnings.<sup>56</sup> Among these are Büyük Hamam, Ömeriye Hamam and shops in Ömeriye Quarter, Büyük Han, Bedesten (originally Aya Nicholas Church, also called as Suk-i Sultaniye) next to Aya Sofya Cami'i in Nicosia, Lala Mustafa Paşa Han and shops in Famagusta, Cafer Paşa Hamamı in Famagusta and fountain (Fig. 5), Hamam-ı Cedid in Paphos, the rent of several shops and houses and the income gained from the vegetable gardens in the cities and large estates called *çiftlik*.

It is naturally expected that *vakfs* are usually established by devout Muslims proud of their cities, who wanted to beautify them as well as wishing to serve God or to be generous with their fellow Muslims. According to Jennings, during the early Ottoman era Cyprus had no wealthy merchants from the old families nor native *ulemas*, and all except some local converts whose ties of home and family initially were outside the island, many of the early founders of *evkaf* were from the military class.<sup>57</sup> By the aid of information deduced from the *Şeriye Sicilleri* of the early years, he remarked that most of the early founders or donors of *vakfs* and their *mütevellis* (administrators) had gained their wealth from holding military office.<sup>58</sup> Almost all of the early *vakf* estates were established by military members employing the property formerly in the possession of the Latins given to them as rewards of their faithful services during the war. They also managed to purchase estates with their own means at lower prices from the sales by the Ottoman government. New buildings followed these in the forthcoming years. But these were fewer in number and slower established compared with the *vakfs* founded in Anatolia.

As it is expected, the *vakf* established in the name of Lala Mustafa Paşa were the second largest ones after Selim II's *evkaf*. The foundation of Lala Mustafa Paşa included estates consisting of houses and shops in the main cities, thousands of *dönüm* of lands with their water source in all parts of Cyprus mainly in Lakatamia, Morphou, Yalya, Balıktire, Kyrenia (Girne) and Tuzla, *çiftlik*s such as Lapsiniye,

54 Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600.", H. İnalçık & D. Quataert (eds). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914*, Cambridge 1994, p. 81.

55 For a detailed study on the subject *vis*. Yıldız, "Aqueducts in Cyprus", *op.cit.*, pp. 89–111; Netice Yıldız, "Turkish Aqueducts in Cyprus", *Art Turc / Turkish Art, 10ème Congrès international d'art turc*, Genève 1999, pp. 775–784.

56 İnalçık, *The Ottoman State*, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

57 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, *op.cit.*, pp. 41–42.

58 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, *op.cit.*, pp. 41–42.

Lorü, Demboi and Kaşala. The largest of these were in Lakatamia consisting of 14,492 *dönüm* of land with over 9000 olive trees, 35 houses, several other trees and the enormous land in Kyrenia stretching from the coast to the mountains. There were several mills and wells in all these lands all functioning with water power.<sup>59</sup> Lala Mustafa Paşa contributed to these lands by constructing the earliest Turkish monuments essential for the requirements of the local people. Büyük Hamam, Ömeriye Cami'i and Hamam were important contributions, while Ömeriye Garden, buildings in Nicosia, warehouses and a *han* in Famagusta were also important parts of his *vakfs*. Among his *evkaf* in Nicosia, the Garden of Orta Odası (the barracks of the Yeniçeris) was an important *vakf* estate which developed into an important commercial centre.<sup>60</sup> Presently Phaneromeni Church, the largest Greek Orthodox shrine, is on its location. According to the *vakf* conditions, expenses for the maintenance of the mosque, repairing and sanitation of the water channels, maintaining and controlling regular water supply to the mosque as well as the quarters of the city, other payments such as olive oil, oil burners and wax supplies for the mosques, preparing and distributing *helva* to *fukaras* (poor people), as well as salaries of the staff working in the mosque doing either religious or maintenance works, had been provided from the income of the *vakf*.<sup>61</sup>

The revenues of the two baths, Hamam-ı Kebir (Büyük Hamam) and Hamam-ı Cedid (Ömeriye Hamam) in Nicosia, were allocated for the maintenance of Ömeriye Cami'i. It is interesting to see that despite the large amount of property to be registered as *vakf* in the name of Lala Mustafa Paşa, he had to get permission for every detail from the sultan. According to a record quoted from the *Şeriye Sicili* by Jennings, he made a petition to the sultan for authorization to build a mosque to be dedicated to Hazret-i Ömer, as a spiritual patron, on the spot where he had performed his first prayer after the capture of the city, upon which permission was granted.<sup>62</sup> Upon another petition for permission to build a *hamam* for the *imam*, *hatib* and other functionaries, the sultan expressed his idea and recommendations that a *hamam* of that size was not a necessity as it would not be much functional and profitable to the *vakf* unless it was built by someone else.<sup>63</sup>

According to Jennings, of thirty two foundations mentioned in the judicial registers until 1611, at least sixteen were of military origins. Of the remainder, three were imperial foundations (Sultan Selim Han, Haremeyn-i Şerif and Medine-i Münevvere), one attached to a village, another two to churches, and the Valide Sultan Vakf was added to these in 1633. Only two (Mevlana Muslihiddin Efendi and Mufti Sa'deddin Efendi ibn Muharrem) were identified as deriving from the

59 Yusuf Sarıncay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, Ankara 2000, pp. 330–341.

60 A document for the renewing of the contract for the extension of the lease of this garden exists in the CTVA (Cyprus Turkish Vakf Administration Archive), No: 424/98 [dated 1898].

61 BOA, *Divan-ı Hümayun Muhasebesi*, No: 21, 386.

62 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 55.

63 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 55.

religious (*ulema*) class. Of the military founders, two bore the title *bey*, two *çavuş*, and three *ağa*, while six had been imperial provincial governors (*mir miran* or *Beylerbeyi*) of high-salaried from Cyprus. In all likelihood they had acquired that property while in office.<sup>64</sup>

Although some of these *vakfs* merely remained as family properties, there were some important *vakfs* that were wholly dedicated to some religious establishments on the island while the majority was laid for the Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn. Several documents give proof of this issue. The records of the first four *Şeriye Sicils* studied by Jennings reveal the fact that the *vakfs* of Aya Sofya, and Mevlevi Tekke, Ömeriye Cami'i, Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn and Medine-i Münevvere were the most extensive ones, which were almost supported by each *vakf* established by the commanders of the conquest and by other people including the non-Muslims continuously.<sup>65</sup> According to one of the register books<sup>66</sup> bearing the *tuğra* of Murat III and prepared by an inspector Mehmed upon the order of Mehmet Ağa, the Ağa of Darüssade and the director of Haremeyn Vakf, Cyprus is one of the several Ottoman provinces as contributor to the Haremeyn Vakf. In view of these documents, Haremeyn Vakfs presumably started as early as the conquest, particularly with the launching of Aya Sofya and Lala Mustafa Paşa Vakfs. According to a document prepared during the colonial period, the existing *mazbut vakfs* attached to Haremeyn consisted of the *vakfs* of Sultan Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa, Çorlulu Ali Paşa, Mazhar Efendi, Abdül Mennan Zade Mehmed Efendi, Haydar Paşazade Mehmed Bey, Çinili Valide Sultan and Ağa Cafer Paşa.<sup>67</sup>

There are several records pertaining to these types of *vakfs*. Cafer Paşa ibn Abdül-Mennan bequeathed forty thousand *akçes* per year for the *evkaf* of Medine-i Münevvere.<sup>68</sup> According to another record, a certain percentage of the income gained through the tax collected from the trade of silk and cotton fabrics locally woven such as *kutni*, *keremsud*, silk cloth, *peşkir*, *yasdık*, *harir şal*, *kuşak*, *dimi şal* and *penbe* (cotton) was allocated to Mevlevihane in Nicosia in 1138 H. (1725/6).<sup>69</sup> Another document dated 12 Muharrem 1262 H.(1846) gives information about the sum of 4999 kuruş from the income of the fabrics such as silk and cotton goods allocated to the Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn Vakf in the name of Sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror.<sup>70</sup>

64 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., pp. 41–44.

65 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., pp. 53–60.

66 BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, No: 684 [dated Gurre-i B 997 (1589) – Gayei-i Ca 998 (1590)].

67 CTVAA, File No: 48/1927, [dated 9 March 1927].

68 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 56.

69 BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, No: 10168, [Gurre: 1138 (1725–26)]. Also see BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 24, 316, [dated 15 Rebiyülâhir 1162 (1749)].

70 BOA, *D.H.M (Divan-ı Hümayun Muhasebe Defterleri)*, No: 21939. Also BOA, D.H.M No. 21,479 and 21,550, 21,588.

The number of the contributors to the Haremeyn Vakf increased during the later years. The Umurga (Aphendrika) Çiftlik, registered under Haremeyn Vakf, seems to be the property of Ayşe Sultan and İbrahim Paşa according to a document dated 1182 H. (1768/9),<sup>71</sup> while another document from the British period classified it as a *vakf* of Hala Sultan Tekke.<sup>72</sup> Ruznamçe-i Evvel Süleyman Efendi is one case of an individual whose entire estate in the form of buildings and land was donated as *vakf* to the Haremeyn in 1198 H. (1783/4).<sup>73</sup> Another case is related to the property of Haydar Paşazade Mehmed Bey which was also dedicated to the Haremeyn Vakf.<sup>74</sup>

A summary of a *telhis* (imperial order) of Vezir-i Azam Yemişçi Hasan Paşa, as quoted by Jennings, recorded “64,000 *akçe* or 36 yük *akçe* (3,600,000) from Cyprus allocated for Haremeyn-i Şerif. In 1010 H. (1601) the total revenue of Haremeyn-i Şerif was 37,144 *altun* (gold), which was dispersed as follows: 8806 *altun* to Kabe-i Muazzama in Mecca, 25,685 *altun* to Medine-i Münevvere and 1622 *altun* to Jerusalem (Kudüs-i Şerif)”.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes the income of entire towns, villages or *çiftlik*s was dedicated for the Haremeyn Vakf. Lapta village was one of these. There was an order from Mehmed IV in 1093 H. (1682) not to intervene into the accounts and revenues of the *evkaf* of Haydar Paşa consisting of five *çiftlik*s since it was a Haremeyn village.<sup>76</sup>

The government in Istanbul usually inspected the income or administration of the Haremeyn Vakf whether it was operated properly. The treasurer was responsible to collect the income of these *vakf* estates and sent it to its destination. There was one severe case against the ex-treasurer Bali Efendi who spent the money obtained for the *fukara* of Medina on textiles for the navy which was not in fact requested. So he was ordered to sell the textile immediately and send the income to Medina as usual.<sup>77</sup>

Although a list of the *vakfs* supplied by the Ministry of the Evkaf in Istanbul to the British colonial delegates in 1879<sup>78</sup> is listing 131 items, the amount of these *vakfs* was enormous. The first reason for the uncertainty for the amount of the *vakfs* is due to the neglect or the complications subsequent to the change of the administration system of the *vakfs*, which was automatically transferred to the British Crown who possessed little information about the complicated system. During the British period the newly established delegate of the Evkaf Office took care of the *vakfs* and this included the *mazbuta vakf* founded for the Haremeyn Vakf. The money derived from such *vakfs* were paid into the General Funds of the Evkaf Ministry in Istanbul while

71 BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 12689.

72 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., p. 1014.

73 TSA, *Documents*, No: E. 3803.

74 TSA, *Tahriratlar*, D. No: 2281.

75 Cengiz Orhonlu, *Telhisler (1597–1607)*, İstanbul 1970, pp. 28f., 133; Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., pp. 67–68, n. 21.

76 TSA, *Documents*, E.5223/72.

77 TSA, *Documents*, E. No: 3125, [not dated].

78 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., pp. 295–311.

later during the British occupation of Cyprus this money was collected by the delegates of Cyprus Evkaf and formed the basis of *mazbuta vakfs* on behalf of the Crown. So according to one of these files sent to the Turkish Embassy in London,<sup>79</sup> Sultan Selim II, Lala Mustafa Paşa, Çorlulu Ali Paşa,<sup>80</sup> Mazher Efendi, Abdül Mennan Zade Mehmed Efendi, Haydar Paşazade Mehmed Bey, Çinili Valide Sultan<sup>81</sup> and Ağa Cafer Paşa (partly attached) were treated under the *mazbuta* category. Accordingly all these *vakfs* except the *vakf* of Çinili Valide Sultan, which was then still administered by *mütevellis*, were directly administered by the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul under the Ottoman regime while after the British occupation this practice had been abandoned and all money were kept in Cyprus for the upkeep and maintenance of the various religious establishments.<sup>82</sup> Another reason is the insufficiency of the studies on the *vakfiyes* that are scattered all over the libraries of the whole world by the manuscript collectors although a great amount of these are in the archive of the Vakf Administration in Ankara and partly in the Cyprus Vakf Administration and Cyprus Turkish National Archive and Documentation Centre in Kyrenia.

The *Vakfiye* of Cafer Paşa, the beylerbeyi of the island at the end of seventeenth century is one of the rare ones to survive, which gives much information about the property all laid as *vakfs* and citing item by item for the amount to be paid for the services from the income of his estate.<sup>83</sup> Besides his *vakfs* to the Haremeyn, the tomb of Muhammed and the Konya Mevlevihane, his water *vakfs* in Famagusta are rather important.<sup>84</sup> The *Vakfiye* of Cafer Paşa<sup>85</sup> which is quite long included six farms consisting more than two thousand *donüm* of land, more than a thousand sheep, several cows, thousands of trees and several houses, shops, aqueducts and mills. Accordingly, forty thousand *akçe* from the yearly income of his estates mentioned in his *Vakfiye* signed in 1008 (1599) were to be delivered to the *vakf* of the tomb of Muhammad while twenty thousand *akçe* were to be bequeathed to the preacher, imam and *muezzins* of the mosque of the Ka'ba, the tomb of Prophet Muhammed in Mecca. Another sum of six thousand *akçe* was to be forwarded to the Konya Mevlevihane and its Şeyh annually. Although the administration of the *vakf* was

79 LTEOA, File No: LBA K.342/5.

80 This Vakıf included Sultan or Poli Çiftlik in the village called Poli covering 752 *dönüm* of land and the çiftlik complex, another 1000 *dönüms* of land and 120 olive and 15 fig trees in the Hrisofi area. Sarıay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., p. 213.

81 She is Mahpeyker Sultan. Her *Vakfs* in Cyprus included the Koukليا Çiftlik with its 1339 *dönüm* of land, 22 rooms in the complex, Mamonya Çiftlik with its 232 *dönüm* of land, 3 water-mills, a mulberry garden, Aşelya Çiftlik with its 4217 *dönüm* of land, 27 rooms, one mill, a garden on a land of 15 *dönüm* with 500 mulberry trees. Sarıay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., pp. 209–210.

82 CTVAA, File No: 48.1927. (1–3), [dated 9–10 March 1927].

83 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, op.cit., pp.16–20, 471.

84 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., pp. 19, 60.

85 (CTAC) Cyprus Turkish Archive and Documentation Centre, Kyrenia, *Vakfiye of Cafer Paşa Ibn Abdülmennan*.

executed by himself as *mutasarrıf*, according to the deed, after his death, Kethüda İbrahim and, after the latter's death, İbrahim's son and later his grandson were assigned to administer the *vakf* as *mütevelli* with a wage of 25 *akçe*/day, while his legal inheritors as the *mutasarrıf* of the *vakf* had the right to benefit from the income of the *vakf*. In case of the ceasing of his legal inheritors, the *vakf* then had to be transferred to the *vakf* of Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn. The supervision of the *vakf* was assigned to the Şeyhülislam in İstanbul, who was the sole authority to change the *mütevelli* or other employees, with a salary 5 *akçe*/day. Also, a secretary and an assistant had to be assigned with wage 8 and 5 *akçe*/day respectively.

Much is known about the *vakfs* of Mehmet Bey ibn Ebubekir mainly in Paphos district, which includes an aqueduct, mosque, bath, coffee shop, and olive-oil mills.<sup>86</sup> These *vakfs* were recorded in the *Şeriye Sicilleri* with the names of the *mütevellis* (administrators) personally appointed to supervise them. Although the freed slaves of the owners were appointed to administer the *vakfs* of Lala Mustafa Paşa and Cafer Paşa, it was the son or grandson appointed as the head of the trustees to administrate the affairs of the *vakf* of large farm estates established by Yusuf Aga ibn Perviz beg, the Janissary Ağa in Cyprus. According to his deed, if these were perished, then the supervision would pass to the *derviş* lodge (*zaviye*).<sup>87</sup>

The favourite local concerns of the Cyprus donors during the early Ottoman period, starting in 1570 until 1640, were the mosque of Aya Sofya and the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia<sup>88</sup> and later in the 1650s Hala Sultan Tekke (Fig. 6) became another attraction place. The exact dates for the building of Mevlevi Tekke or Hala Sultan Tekke are not known. However, although earlier documents referring to the Mevlevi Tekke is dating back to the 1590s, it could be assumed that the institution of Mevlevi was introduced to the island soon after the conquest by some members of the Mevlevi sect who settled down on the island from the regions of Konya, Karaman, Kula and Sivas. Lala Mustafa Paşa was one of the supporters of the sect. In view of a record in the *Şeriye Sicil* dated Receb 1016 (November 1607), according to the deed of foundation of late Lala Mustafa Paşa, “whoever recites *Mesnevi-i Şerif*<sup>89</sup> in the Mevlevi Hane near Girne Gate in Nicosia” was to be paid two *akçe*/day, while for the *imam*, *müezzin* and other prayers, each would get two *akçe*/day besides 920 *akçe* which had to be granted to the poor of the house on the 15<sup>th</sup> of every *Şaban* and on every *aşure*<sup>90</sup> day (10<sup>th</sup> Muharrem) for making and serving the desert for the poor of the house.<sup>91</sup> Although the record of the entry is 1016 H. (1607), this is likely a

86 Sarıay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., pp. 203–204; Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., pp. 505–512.

87 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 49.

88 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 62.

89 The mystical poem composed by Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

90 A sweet usually made at a certain time of the year to be distributed to the neighbours and poor people. It is made of wheat, chick-peas, beans sugar, sesame and dried fruits such as raisins, figs and apricots.

91 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54; CTVA, *Şeriye Sicil*, 2 50-2, [1 Receb 1016

renewed record presumably with the appointment of new *mütevellîs* for the administration of the *vakf*.

The earliest building of a Mevlevî Tekke was in Kyrenia Gate, where it still exists. Although the date of the foundation of the Mevlevî Tekke is not exactly known, the earliest record is dating back to the time of Hafız Ahmet Paşa in 1593. In view of all early religious buildings it could be assumed that a Latin monastery or a convent building was used in earlier times<sup>92</sup> by the members of Mevlevî sect, like Lala Mustafa Paşa for their practices. However, it could be assumed that Hafız Ahmet Paşa (Arab Ahmet Paşa) built the *tekke* in 1002 H. (1593), which was later renewed by Ferhat Paşa at the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> It can be supposed that several poor dervishes lodged in Mevlevî Tekke in Nicosia until the end of 1940s. Salvator, the Austrian traveller mentioned about thirty six dervishes residing during 1873 in the Mevlevî Tekke,<sup>94</sup> covering thus a larger area than the existing *tekke* building today:

“It started from the gate of Cerinja (Kyrenia). There was a water-tank near the entrance, protected from the sun by latticed vine-shade adjoining a pavilion, by the side of a deep well. There was a dancing-room, supported by three arches, with a floor of pinewood and an arched balustrade for the spectators, where the dervishes danced every Sunday. Along the street were six balloon shaped cupolas all in a row, and connected with one another, containing fifteen tombs. These are the tombs of two *sheikhs*, that were covered with green turbans and the rest were of dervishes that also had dervish caps attached on them. One of these belonged to Ahmet Paşa.”<sup>95</sup>

The *tekke* is one of the fortunate monuments to be saved from being demolished in the trends to modernise the Turkish quarters of Nicosia and it was organised as the Turkish Ethnographical Museum in 1962. Very recently, it has been reorganised as a Mevlevî Museum where Mevlevî performances are occasionally held by visiting whirling dervishes from Turkey for cultural and tourism purpose.

There were other *tekkes* where poor dervishes lodged and Mevlevî practice was performed. Among these are Şeyh Aziz Efendi Tekke in Nicosia, Kutup Osman Tekke in Famagusta, Turabi Tekke in Larnaca, Pir Ali Dede Tekke in Limasol, Ağlayan Dede Tekke in Famagusta. It could be said that there was daily food service given to the visitors of the Mevlevî Tekke and the Hala Sultan (Ümmü Haram) Tekke while in some others this was done occasionally. This tradition was continued during the British colonial period and food was served for those dervishes paying

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(12 November 1607)].

92 I would like to acknowledge Prof. Dr. İbrahim Numan to suggest this possibility during our discussions about the *tekke*.

93 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, op.cit., v. II, p.866; *Şerîye Sicil*, 3; 132–133.

94 Louis Salvator (Archduke of Austria), *Levkosia, The Capital of Cyprus*, Reprinted from his original account of a visit to the island in 1873, London 1983, p. 9.

95 Salvator, *Levkosia*, op.cit., pp. 38–39.

visit to the Mevlevi Tekke from abroad while in Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca, it was served all the year round.<sup>96</sup>

The Mevlevi Tekke always had a significant portion from the pious foundations laid down by rich, devoted people. Cafer Paşa ibn Abdül-Mennan provided 1800 *akçe*/year for the *hurka* (cloak) of the *şeyh*, *imam*, *müezzin*, members of order and other *pirs* (spiritual teachers) of the Mevlevihane near Girne Gate in Nicosia.<sup>97</sup> Yusuf, ağa of the janissaries, also endowed with a small income for the convent of the Mevlevihane dervishes in Nicosia in 1017 H. (1608/9).<sup>98</sup> The deed of foundation by Hacı Keyvan Abdül-Mennan provided three *akçe*/day for the salary of the *şeyh* of Mevlevihane near Girne Gate in Nicosia castle for reciting the Mevlevi-i Şerif, two *akçe*/day for the imam of the tekke, and one *akçe* apiece for its *müezzin*, the preceptors, the members of the Mevlevi order and the cook; another *akçe* was divided among the *fukara* (poor) of the houses.<sup>99</sup> These *vakf* records also explain the method of payment of the functionaries working in the religious places which was completely based on the endowments recorded in the *vakfiyes*. According to the records of *Şeriye Sicil*, the way of utilizing the money laid as foundation was also determined. In one case about the *vakf* of a *yeniçeri* consisting of 8000 *akçe* for the the recitation of Muhammediye Şerif twice a week after the morning prayers, the money was put into savings by the *müftü*, the *mütevelli* of the *vakf* with the interest rate of 120%.<sup>100</sup>

Visiting the *tekkes* and having free meals besides donating food (particularly the meat of the sacrificed animals during the religious days) was one of the main entertainments of the Moslems. It is still in memories that some people had animals slaughtered in the Hala Sultan Tekke during the Kurban Bayram (The Festival of Sacrificing) while sometimes people offended the *şeyh* with their expectation for an excellent feast on their visits. During this festival, many people visited the Hala Sultan Tekke and had the chance to have free meal consisting of roasted lamb, cookies, olive-bread and tea. In 1940s this tradition was carried on and the meals were prepared by three sisters who were called the three wet-mothers. These women had coloured skin and they used to reside in the guest house which was demolished in 1952. All meals were cooked in large copper pans. The meals sometimes included rice with pistachios.<sup>101</sup>

96 CTVAA, File No: 10/1905.

97 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54; Cyprus Sheriye Sicil, 2 50-2, [1 Receb 1016 (12 November 1607)].

98 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 113. 2 76-I: [Reb'il 1017 (June 1608)].

99 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54.

100 M. Akif Erdoğan, "Kıbrıs Yeniçerileri Üzerine Notlar 1593-1640", K. Çiçek (ed.) *Pax Ottomana, Studies in Memoriam of Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç*, Haarlem - Ankara 2001, p. 316

101 For more details about the religious and leisure practices in the *tekkes* see Altay Sayıl, "Kıbrıs Tekkelerinde Geçmişte Yapılan Zikir, Tören ve Şenlikler", *Paper presented at 4<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Cyprus Studies* (forthcoming).

A remarkable case is a *vakf* established by Rafael v. Lazari, a Jew. According to a register in the *Şeriye Sicil* in 1607 quoted by Jennings, he laid his property as a *vakf* which is consisting of 50 two storied and 6 one storied houses, with its aqueduct, well and treshing-floor in the Zeyn ul-Abidin Quarter in Nicosia, which he bought from Ilaya, another Jew. According to the conditions of his *vakf* verified in the *vakfname*, these houses were to be rented to the *Yahudi fukarası* (poor Jews). Every year 120 *akçe* from the rent were to be given for candlewax for the mosque called Aya Sofya in *Kala-i Lefkoşa* (in the castle of Nicosia). The houses were to be maintained with the money that remained from the rent. Also the rest of the money if left was to be let in possession of the Mevlevihane. The *vakf*, the estates of the founder and later his descendent was to be administered by himself as the chief member of the trustees, and other members of the *mütevelli* were to be appointed from the Jewish society after his death unless their race were diminished. Otherwise they would be the property of the dervish lodges.<sup>102</sup> Although the name of the Zeyn ul-Abidin Quarter in Nicosia is not identified today, it could be assumed that this may be the Abdi Çavuş Quarter, which is located on the eastern part of Mevlevi Tekke. Although there is not much information about the Jews living in Nicosia, there are some records about them, like Bayram bin Ishak and Yusuf bin Abraham, who had traded knife and tinplate between Venice and Cyprus in 1594<sup>103</sup> besides the above mentioned names of Ilaya and Rafael v. Lazari in the registers of 1607.

#### *Women founders*

*Vakfs* established by women were not too many but some of them were quite significant from the point of view of their sizes. As it was also indicated by an anonymous author in Blackwood's Magazine in 1879,<sup>104</sup> women were formerly allowed to inherit land, and they generally inherited trees.

These were the large estates consisting of rich agricultural land given to the Valide Sultan, or the daughters or sisters of the Sultan as a dowry although their personal presence and residence in Cyprus is not exactly known. As already mentioned, Aphenirika Çiftlik was the *vakf* of Ayşe Sultan. The *vakf* of Mahpeyker Sultan (Çinili Valide Sultan) dated 1 Zilkade 1039 (3 June 1630) consisted of a large amount of estate in Paphos district. This included mainly the Kuklia Çiftlik consisting of 1339 *dönüm* of fields, three mills, Aşelya Çiftlik consisting of 4317 *dönüm* of fields with quite a number of trees, twenty two rooms within the farm, and Mamolya Çiftlik including 232 *donüm* of fields planted with various trees and a mill.<sup>105</sup>

102 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 58.

103 M. Akif Erdoğan, "The Servants and Venetian Interest in Ottoman Cyprus in the Late Sixteenth and the Early Seventeenth Centuries", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Supplemento al n. 15 (1997) 109.

104 Anonymous, Notes from Cyprus, *Blackwood's Magazine*, 126 (1879) 152.

105 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 47; Sarıncay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., pp. 207–211.

The *vakfs* of Emine Hatun, daughter of Haydar Paşa, included extensive farms in the Morphou and Nicosia districts.<sup>106</sup> From the revenues of the farm, she established a *vakf* for the feeding and clothing of the dervishes of the Mevlevihane of Cyprus.<sup>107</sup> Belkıs Hatun bint merhum Ferruh Ağa also had a *vakf* dated 12 Rebiyülahir 1059 (16 April 1649) comprising of several fields for cultivation and a house with eight rooms and six *dönüm* of fields for cultivation including several trees and an irrigation system.<sup>108</sup> Another one is a farm house with 31 rooms belonging to Fatma Hanım bint el-Hac Mustafa in farm complex of Paşaköy dated 1205 H. (1790–91).<sup>109</sup> Although there are several other records for *vakfs* founded by women, these are usually on small scale compared with men's and usually a certain income of the *vakf* was endowed for religious or educational purposes. Belkıs Hanım Menteşzade (from the family of Farahzade) supported the Selimiye Vakf by laying a foundation for the payment of 1000 *akçe* per year as a contribution to the Sultan Medrese as it is recorded in her *vakfiye* founded in the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>110</sup>

It is quite interesting to see that Greek women married to Turkish men also had the right to establish *vakf* and appointed their daughters and grand daughters as *mütevelli*. A *vakfiye* transcribed and published by C. F. Beakingham is interesting to show such a case. A woman from Lapithious Çiftlik, originally called Eleni, then Ayşe Hanım, the wife of Rüstem Bey, one of the commanders who took part in the conquest, established a *vakf* with her property in Paphos. The copy studied by Beakingham is the recorded *vakfiye* in the name of the inheritor and *mütevelli* Ayşe Kültün Kusuna, daughter of Süleyman Halleri in 1236 H. (1821). The large estate included several fields, water share, some fountains, houses, a cemetery and a mosque built by Köse Ahmed Ağa, one of grandsons of the *vakf* holder. During the Greek revolt, the monks of the Çamlı Monastery murdered Tahir Bey and Aziz Bey, the grandfather and uncle and also seized the mosque. This property was returned to the family upon their petition to the court with the renewed copy of the *vakfiye*.<sup>111</sup>

#### *Vakfs launched for the welfare of the citizens*

*Vakf* endowments, in particular the Imperial institutions in the Ottoman Empire were always established for the benefit of all the citizens, Moslems or non-Moslem living on the island although they also aim to display the power of the state. The early *vakfs* founded in Cyprus had the same aim although there is no large and richly decorated building constructed for the use of the administrators to symbolise the political power of the Empire. Mosques built by governors, the largest ones being Arab Ahmet Cami'i, Larnaca Ulu Cami'i and the Hala Sultan Tekke Cami'i are rather

106 BOA, *Cevdet – Evkaf*, No: 19872.

107 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., p. 301.

108 Sarımay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., p. 212.

109 Sarımay (ed.), *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs*, op.cit., p. 232.

110 Hasan Behçet, *Kıbrıs Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Lefkoşa 1969, p. 32.

111 C. F. Beckingham, "A Cypriot Vakfiya", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1/4 (1956) 389–397.

moderate in size. None of them bear the name of the sultans or *valide* sultans. They never attempted to create anything of greater and higher dimension which would surpass the grandeur of the Aya Sofya Mosques in Nicosia and Famagusta. Nevertheless the main concern had been to construct buildings with the aim of creating a hygienic and safe environment and to satisfy the requirements of social life. The sultan himself carefully observed each activity put in practice either in the instances of dealing with any petition for new construction activities, or the ones already done without his consent. Usually the readily available Latin buildings were conveniently used by renovating them according to Islamic taste and requirements or added new parts to these buildings, always with the utmost care to reduce the expenses.

#### *Military buildings*

The military buildings were the primary concern of the Ottoman Porte during the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The city walls in Nicosia and Famagusta were restored and fortified while new ones in Paphos (Fig. 7), Larnaca and Limassol were constructed in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Currently all the castles and fortresses built during the Ottoman period are registered as the properties of the Evkaf Administration. The inscription tablet on the portal of the Larnaca fortress (Fig. 8) praising Ferhad Paşa, the Lala (tutor) of Ahmet I, is interesting since it reflects the public opinion. Accordingly, Ali Ağa, the calligrapher and author of the verses tells about the people in Larnaca who had always worries of pirate or enemy attacks and could not have peaceful rests in their beds during night times. There were several cases of female abduction or burglaries which were impossible to trace since the criminals either escaped to the mountains or sailed away. With this noble donation that no other Governor considered previously, by the manner of constructing the fortress of life-saver (in 1014 H. [1605]), Ferhad Paşa made a great charity that gave him an eternal respectability and mercy in the presence of God.<sup>112</sup>

#### *Public buildings as part of the külliyes*

New buildings, mainly for the public utility like aqueducts, baths, fountains, bridges, education and commercial buildings were constructed almost in all towns. The imperial *vakfs* were usually arranged as *külliyes* (complexes) including religious and education buildings usually alongside commercial units and supplied with an aqueduct as frequently encountered in any Ottoman town. The *külliyes* of Aya Sofya, Ömeriye, Hala Sultan Tekke, Arab Ahmet Paşa and Cafer Paşa were the largest ones which included several *vakfs* to sustain them financially. The Bedesten, a part of the Aya Sofya *külliye* in Nicosia (Fig. 2), originally a Latin monument dedicated to St. Nicholas, was one of the first ones which was converted into a *bedesten* (shopping centre for the luxury items) for the benefit of the merchants with

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112 Kırzioğlu, "Fotoğraflarla", *op.cit.*, p. 54.

an imperial order dated 17 Receb 981 (13 November 1573)<sup>113</sup> and it was also registered as part of the Aya Sofya Evkaf besides other shops in the same quarter and elsewhere. A fountain built in the courtyard of the Aya Sofya Mosque opposite to the Bedesten was one the numerous fountains to supply water both to the mosque as well as to the market place. Sultan's Han (Büyük Han) as well as Büyük Hamam were completing the requirements of the local people. The *sibyan* school and the library located in the mosque, besides the Medrese next to it also suggest this *vakf* as the centre of education in Nicosia. The cemetery of the mosque does not exist anymore; some tombs of noteworthy people like *türbe* and *tekke* of Şeyh Aziz were part of the Aya Sofya *vakf*, the largest on the island. Gardens which supplied fresh vegetables and fruits to the cities as well as the cemeteries were usually within the *vakf külliyes*.

#### *Water Vakfs*

Clean water supply to the urban residential areas had always been one of the most important concerns of the governors. Since Cyprus is a Mediterranean island with a long, hot summer period, it has always had significant shortage of water. Throughout the centuries, water generally depended on rain falls or was granted by snow from the Troodos Mountain besides from the main springs in Lapta, Kythrea (Değirmenlik) and Lefke. Since the Roman era, water supply for the cities was conducted from the fresh springs by means of the aqueducts, the water carrying systems consisting of chains of wells, underground water channels and bridges. During the sieges most of the conduits were demolished which created shortage after the conquest.<sup>114</sup> In light of many documents, it can be observed that with the beginning of Ottoman administration, the existing water systems were inspected and repaired and new ones were constructed, the earliest one being recorded in the first Financial Statement Book of Cyprus. Accordingly 25,800 *akçe* was spent for the construction of the aqueduct to Nicosia.<sup>115</sup> In one of the court cases recorded in the *Şeriye Sicil*, the 3000 *akçe* laid as *vakf* by Ahmed Paşa, *mir miran* (governor) for the repair of an aqueduct with 2400 pipes flowing along the road of Taht-i Kal'e (Tahtakale), was spent for the repair of the aqueduct of Hazret-i Ömer, which is on the same road. Upon this, an investigation was undertaken against Abdi Çavuş, by questioning Ali Reis the architect, and Hüseyin ibn Abdullah who confirmed the case.<sup>116</sup> Again an imperial order in a *Mühimme* Book dated 2 Zilhicce 979 /17 April 1572 stated that the water channels passing through the urban areas of Nicosia must be extended to supply the main mosque.<sup>117</sup> The water needs of Nicosia were fulfilled

113 BOA, *Mühimme* 23, No: 228.

114 For the aqueducts of Cyprus see. Netice Yıldız, "Aqueducts in Cyprus", *op.cit.* pp. 89–111.

115 Netice Yıldız, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kıbrıs Türk Mimari", *op.cit.*, pp. 521–532, p. 524; Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs", *op.cit.*, p. 17 n. 39.

116 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, *op.cit.*, p. 53; Cyprus Şeriye Sicil 1 183-1 [Sefer 1003 (October 1594)].

117 BOA, *Mühimme* 16, No: 339 [2 Zilhicce 979 (1572)]; Yıldız, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kıbrıs Türk

by the wells which run in chains of double rows and aqueduct bridges until recent times. The oldest one is the aqueduct constructed as a *vakıf* by Arab Ahmet Paşa.<sup>118</sup> Since this aqueduct did not supply as sufficient water as needed by the citizens of Nicosia, another aqueduct running parallel to the Arab Ahmet aqueduct, commonly known as Silahtar Aqueduct, was constructed in 1801–1803 by Silahtar Ağa Hacı Hüseyin Ağa, the *muhassıl*. Although both wells are still used, there is no certain information about the last remains of these aqueducts. Large *çiftlik*s were also supplied with well designed aqueducts. An aqueduct cited as “Balikitre water” among the *vakıfs* of Lala Mustafa Paşa<sup>119</sup> could be considered to have been related with the Arif Paşa Aqueduct located in the suburbs of Gaziköy<sup>120</sup> near Çömlekçi Çiftlik. An aqueduct bridge conveyed by sixty piers which present a colorful image on the way from Ercan (Timbou) Airport to Gaziköy is one of the rare aqueducts survived to the current times although they no longer have any function as water carriers. The Captain Kitchner’s Maps depict several aqueducts in the suburbs of Nicosia, as well as in the Famagusta and Paphos districts.

In the Ottoman period, with the aim of providing the required public buildings for hygienic conditions in Famagusta, a complex of public buildings including a bath and at least a fountain were constructed which were supplied with water by an aqueduct. This system which is known as the second largest aqueduct of the Ottoman period was constructed and established as a pious foundation by Cafer Paşa besides the above mentioned public buildings. It can be seen from the records that in fact the construction had started during the early years of the Ottoman rule. An archive document<sup>121</sup> attributed the beginning of this aqueduct to Arab Ahmet Paşa presumably earlier than 1584 and was completed by Cafer Paşa, the Chief Principal of Famagusta. The *Vakfiye* of Cafer Paşa also refers to this aqueduct and the other monuments, mainly the bath and fountain which were part of the system. The bath located in the city centre next to the ruins of St. Francis Church is now used as a bar while the fountain which is rebuilt near the Venetian Palace Portal still retains the original endowment record as a long verse inscribed in relief on the marble panel attached to the fountain. It is one of the finest examples of calligraphy art from the Ottoman period.

The Lefke Aqueduct was presumably built by El-Hac Ali Efendi ibn Ebubekir Efendi. The *Vakfiye*<sup>122</sup> of Ebubekir Efendi dated 1102 H. (1690) cites many water

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Mimari ve Sanatı”, *op.cit.*, p. 524.

118 Emel Esin, “Kıbrıs’ta Türk Medeniyeti”, *Touring (TTOK Belleteni) Kıbrıs Özel Sayısı*, 44/232 (1974) 41.

119 BOA, *Bab-ı ali Evrak Odası Mümtaz Kalemi, Kıbrıs ve Bosna Kataloğu* MTZ. Kb. 1338-3,15 Dosya No: 1-A/1-5, lef:15.

120 Netice Yıldız, “Ottoman Period in Cyprus: A Glance at Turkish Architecture”, *New Cyprus*, 1992, February – March, p. 23; Yıldız, “Osmanlı Dönemi Kıbrıs Türk Mimari”, *op.cit.* p. 524.

121 BOA, *Kepeci Tasnifi, Ruus Defteri*, No: 244, fo. 63.

122 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, *op.cit.*, v. I, p. 472.

*vakfs*. The bridge of ten arches, part of the aqueduct running in the centre of the town is considered as one of the best Ottoman monuments inherited by the residents of Lefke. This aqueduct is used for irrigating the orchards and the fields still today. The aqueduct in Paphos is also attributed to the Sancak Bey of Paphos, Mehmet Bey Ebubekir in regard of his *vakfiye*<sup>123</sup> which confirms the conditions of the distributing water to the area by means of the aqueduct constructed during his mission on the island. His deed of foundation also registers a bath at Vasiliki province of Paphos as well as aqueducts to supply water for the functioning of the grain mills in Aselya, Pladanisya, Sindi, Malunda, Celacedra, Pitavrobo, Rodeta and an oil mill in Finike.

The Bekir Paşa Aqueduct in Larnaca situated in the south of the island is the most prominent water *vakf* ever built in Cyprus. This aqueduct which was constructed in 1747 by Bekir Paşa has three separate bridges that constitute an important place in terms of Ottoman architectural heritage in Cyprus that endured the time. According to foreign travellers, it is counted as the most important *vakf* monument constructed during the Ottoman period in Cyprus. We can find the most reliable information about the foundation from Drummond's comments who visited Cyprus in the 18<sup>th</sup> century:

“For the honour of Bekir Paşa I must communicate an instance of the old gentleman's public spirit. While he was Paşa of this island, in the year 1747, he formed the noble design of bringing water from the river at Arpera, and occasional springs on the road about six miles from hence, to supply the people of Larnaca, Salines and the shipping. A work worthy of great and good man, which might have cost him above fifty thousand piasters or six thousand pounds.”<sup>124</sup>

M. de Vezin, His Britanic Majesties Consul for Aleppo and Larnaca in 1792, also mentioned about Bekir Paşa to have been of great reputation as he spared no pains to restore to Cyprus its old importance with many charitable works. Accordingly, many wells were dug, and the water led from its source to three aqueducts, the longest of which stands at the head of the salt-lake, about two miles from Larnaca.<sup>125</sup> Sir Samuel Baker whose main interest was to make an inquiry about the water sources of the island also mentions this aqueduct in his memoirs.<sup>126</sup> It is quite interesting to learn that sometimes the Consuls joined philanthropic activities. M. de Vezin remarked upon his personal effort to restore and improve the

123 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, op.cit., v. I, p. 511.

124 Alexander Drummond, *Travels Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia etc.*, London, 1754, p. 252; Cobham (ed.) *Excerpta Cypria*, op.cit., p. 288. M. De Vezin and John Macdonald Kinneir also mentioned about the aqueducts and Bekir Paşa. Cobham (ed.) *Excerpta Cypria*, op.cit., pp. 369, 415.

125 Cobham (ed.) *Excerpta Cypria*, op.cit., p. 369.

126 Sir Samuel Baker, *Cyprus, as I Saw it in 1879*, Virginia 1879 (reprint version, not dated), p. 142.

aqueduct to the great satisfaction of the Governor, the bishops and the poor by collecting voluntary contributions.<sup>127</sup>

Baths were also an essential part of the water *vakfs*. An Imperial order sent to Vizier Mustafa Paşa requested that baths had to be constructed in Paphos and Kyrenia.<sup>128</sup> Later, Ahmed Bey, the Beg of Alaiye requested permission to build the bath in Kyrenia outside the castle close to the harbour.<sup>129</sup> Unfortunately there is no Turkish bath currently to show its presence. The *vakfiyes* of the water endowments or the inscription tablets attached on the fountains or bridges are the best examples to give the idea of charity activities of the donors. The inscription tablet of the fountain of the Great Medrese built by Ali Ruhi Efendi (Fig. 9) transcribed by Alasya<sup>130</sup> consists of sixteen lines of a dedication poetry praising the noteworthy charity act of the patron. Accordingly, the donor who was the governor of the island appointed by the Porte, made a great deed by providing the inhabitants of the *medrese* with water where people suffered desperately. He assisted them like a saint and built this fountain in 1243 H. (1827/28).

#### *İmarets and Zaviyes: Religious shrines*

In line with the social welfare function of *vakf* buildings and connected activities, it can be expected that hospitals and *imarets* always held important places among the *vakfs* established in Anatolia and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. Even though hospitals were present during the Latin period such as St. Francis, St. John and St. Mary Hospitals in Famagusta, and particularly one as a leper hospital,<sup>131</sup> unfortunately there is not much known about the presence of hospitals in the Ottoman period. Although according to Dr. Kaya Bekiroğlu, a hospital operated in the Arab Ahmet Quarter, no document studied so far shows an evidence for the presence of such a building. There is only one case cited by George Jeffery, which refers to a small hospital built in Larnaca at the expense of a rich Turk in 1899.<sup>132</sup> Apparently the sick people were treated in their domestic areas. However, only in cases of leprosy, people were not permitted to stay within the boundaries of the cities.

There are several other documents which also refer to the convents established as important philanthropic activities from the earliest times. One of these concerns the Lepers Farm (Miskinler Çiftlik) and Miskinler Cami'i (Lepers Mosque) in Athalassa.<sup>133</sup> Leprosy was an important health case in Ottoman Cyprus and many

127 Cobham (ed.) *Excerpta Cypria*, op.cit., p. 369.

128 BOA, Mühimme 14, No: 837, [dated 26 Cemaizyelevvel 978 (16 November 1570)].

129 BOA, Kamil KepeciTasnifi, *Ruus Defteri*, No: 226, p. 63, [dated 981 H. (1573)].

130 Halil Fikret Alasya, *Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri*, Ankara 1964, pp. 181–182.

131 Enlart, *Gothic Art*, op.cit., p. 218.

132 George Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1918 (reprinted: London 1983), p. 180.

133 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., v. II, pp. 795, 796, 807.

travellers like Lorenzo Warriner Pease in the 1830s<sup>134</sup> or Salvator in 1873 mention about several cases they had witnessed on their excursions in Cyprus. Salvator describes a tragic scene he had witnessed during his journey to Nicosia, in the suburbs of the walled city and mentions that these people had no permission to enter into the walled city.<sup>135</sup> This is known as the Athalassa Çiftlik at Eylence, on the southern outskirts of Nicosia. It was annexed by the British Government as a Government Farm.<sup>136</sup> According to an item in a *Şeriye Sicil*<sup>137</sup> during the governorship of Ramazan Paşa in 1597 it has been ordered to renew and restore the cooking equipments and furnishings of the *tekke* originally built by Arab Ahmed Paşa for the leisure or relief of the blind, disabled people in the suburbs of Nicosia.<sup>138</sup> It is likely that the so called *tekke* built by Arab Ahmed Paşa in this *sicil* record is the place reserved for lepers as mentioned above.

There is no example for almshouses except the *zaviyes*. One of the *vakf* registers in a *Şeriye Sicili* concerning the Mevlevihane mentions donations made for the provision of *aşure* to be distributed to the *fukara* (poor) of the *hane*.<sup>139</sup> The *zaviye* of Aziz Efendi Tekke was endowed with certain money to be used for the living of the poor dervishes.<sup>140</sup>

#### *Vakf for Educational Institutes*

Educational institutions were rather important in Ottoman Cyprus. The earliest document traced in this case is an imperial order dated 18 Zilhicce 978 (May 1571)

134 See Rita C. Severis (ed.), *The Diaries of Lorenzo Warriner Pease 1834–1839. An American Missionary in Cyprus and His Travels in the Holy Land, Asia Minor and Greece*, v. I–II, Aldershot, Burlington 2002, pp. 152 n.51, 194 n.184, 354, 360 n.67, 552, 606, 616, 782 n.351, 828 n.52, 1069.

135 Salvator, *Levkosia*, op.cit., p. 13.

136 Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, op.cit., p. 208 mentions this farm as follows: “A short distance from Eylence, which was once the headquarters of the Ottoman army because of abundant water source, attached to the farm in Athalassa, there was an old church dedicated to St. George dated 1792”. He did not mention the mosque there. Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1936 (reprint: 1973), pp. 234–235 also mentioned this place as the headquarters of the Turkish army during the siege of Nicosia. He referred to the church where there was an icon of St. George which was much revered by the local inhabitants, since they believe that whoever suffers from fever and soaks a piece of cotton in the oil of the lamp which always burns in front of the icon, and takes it away to wear next to the skin will recover soon. However, documents show the presence of a mosque in this place at least by 1913. See Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar*, op.cit., v. I–II, p. 807. As mentioned by Jeffery, this was a Royal domain previously and perhaps, the *tekke* welcomed Moslems and non-Moslems who suffered from leprosy. As usual, Latin buildings were always utilized in the conquered lands.

137 CTVAA, *Şeriye Sicil*, No: 1–133 [transl. Burhan Efendi].

138 As mentioned above, it is the location of the main headquarters and tents of Lala Mustafa Paşa during the siege of Nicosia. As the document mentions, it is reserved for the leisure of the blind people, thus this is the reason to call it Eylence, which means “entertainment”.

139 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, op.cit., p. 54.

140 BOA, *Cevdet – Vakıf*, No: 352. [Dated 28 Rebiyülâhir. 1225 (29 April 1809); No: 7114 [Dated 1224 H. (1808/9)].

instructing the treasurer and the member of trustees of the mosque in Cyprus for the amount of salary to be awarded to the pupils of the *medrese* in Nicosia to be equal as the wages of the pupils of *medrese* in Rhodes.<sup>141</sup> This proves the fact of the establishment of the necessary religious and social services in Nicosia even before the conquest of Famagusta. The document is also significant to show the importance of education of young soldiers even during the times of war.

From a contemporary document we learn that Sultan Selim II built a *medrese* called Dar'ül Hidayat (The Guidance School) under his *vakfs* in Cyprus. A letter written to Mevlana Pir Mehmed, the teacher of Semaniye Medresesi and to the *kadı* of Nicosia on 22 Şaban 986 /May 1578 is one of the documents to provide this information. Accordingly, it was ordered that Mevlana Nurullah in the position of *müdürris* (teacher) at the *medrese* and also the *müftü* had to be inspected, since there were several complaints about them.<sup>142</sup> According to the *Sicil-i Osmaniye*, Nurullah Efendi, a *müdürris* (scholar) capable in various sciences was appointed to the position of *müftü* of Cyprus twice.<sup>143</sup> Several documents that have been inspected so far give no reference to any *medrese* with the name *Dar'ül Hidayat*. This is most probably referred to as the Great Medrese or Sultan Medresesi throughout the period of Ottoman rule. The *sibyan* school of Aya Sofya was registered in the *evkaf* of Selim II, which was supported by other *vakfs*. Ömeriye Sibyan next to the Ömeriye Cami'i and the Famagusta Sibyan next to the janissary barracks and the *mescid* were said to exist from the early days under the *evkaf* of Lala Mustafa Paşa.<sup>144</sup>

There are other names of *medreses*, some of which were recorded in *Şeriye Sicilleri* and also in personal *vakfiyes*. The principal ones may be cited here very briefly: Büyük Medrese, Küçük Medrese, Hamidiye Medresesi which is also called Arab Ahmet Paşa Medrese (demolished in 1931) and Es'ad Çelebi Medrese in Nicosia. There was at least one *medrese* in each district.<sup>145</sup> The Büyük Medrese in Nicosia functioned until 1925 and was pulled down in 1931 to create a large square in the Selimiye quarter.<sup>146</sup> A drawing published by M. H. Altan is the only source to depict the medrese building as well as the Mahmut II Library. The *medrese* building next to Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque in Famagusta (Fig. 10) and the *medrese* room of the Karşıyaka Cami'i besides the Zuhuri Tekke in Larnaca (Fig. 11), in view of the registers of the Vakf Administration dated 14 Muharrem 1282 (29 May 1865),<sup>147</sup> can be recorded as the historical heritages of this type of buildings in Cyprus. In fact this

141 BOA, *Mühimme* 13, No: 516.

142 BOA, *Mühimme* 34, No: 422.

143 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani*, ed. Nuri Akbayar, transcribed by Seyit Ali Kahraman, v. 4, İstanbul 1996, p. 1276.

144 Behçet, *Kıbrıs Türk Maarif Tarihi*, op.cit., pp. 44, 46.

145 Ramazan Şeşen, Mustafa Haşim Altan & Cevat İzgi, *Kıbrıs İslami Yazmalar Kataloğu*, İstanbul 1995, pp. x, xi.

146 *Söz*, No: 500, 13 August 1931, p. 1.

147 Sevinç Andız (ed.), *Kıbrıs'ta Vakıf – Tarihi Eserler*, Lefkoşa 1990, p. 72.

is constructed as a complex of building with its mosque and the tomb dedicated to Zuhuri Hazretleri.<sup>148</sup>

The *müderri* (teacher) appointed to the *medrese* was practising his occupation under the supervision of the *mütevelli* of the pious foundations and his salary was paid from the income of the pious foundation laid for the undertaking of the school. The deed of foundation of a *vakf* always clarified the amount to be allocated for the teachers as well as the other staff working in the medrese by having a certain allowance set aside for the wages. Besides the original founder, other people also contributed to the *vakf* of the medrese. Therefore, education was a system, which completely depended on pious foundations endowed by wealthy people. The pious foundations were carefully laid so as to provide a continuous maintenance with a fund that would come from the interest of another property such as mills, field rents, and agricultural products. Each person giving service such as calligraphers, the *hutbe* preacher, instructors and tutors in different topics, and the servants for cleaning, burning candles and oil lamps were all carefully recorded as well as the provisions required for the school such as candles or olive oil. Modernising the education system was also encouraged and supported with the donations of several people and new education institutions were opened during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. The *Rüşdiye* School was opened first in Nicosia in 1863 and later new ones were established in other areas. *İdadi Okulu* (high school) and the first girls' secondary school were opened later in Nicosia during the British colonial period in 1897 and 1905 respectively.<sup>149</sup> In all cases the Vakıf Administration supplied the land and money for the new institution. Usually, the Islamic cemeteries which were part of the pious foundations, located in the walled city or outside the walls were allocated to these new projects.

Together with the *medreses* or the *sibyan* schools accommodated by the mosques there were also libraries established as pious foundations. The best example for an Ottoman library is from the beginning of nineteenth century: the library of Sultan Mahmud II (Fig. 12, 13). It is one of the elegant examples of Turkish architecture on the island. There is no other building at the moment that we can classify as a library. However it is known that the library called Muradiye was established within Aya Sofya Cami'i by Sultan Murad III, son of Sultan Selim II. Aya Sofya Library was enriched with several other *vakf* manuscripts, the dedications of which recorded the names of the benefactors. There are some manuscripts in the collection of Sultan Mahmud II.'s Library with the colophon indicating the endowment of Murad III to Selimiye Medrese in Cyprus. One of these is entitled as "El-Cüz el-Rabi min Mirkat el Mefatih", written by Ali b. Sultan Muhammed el Hirevi el-Kari (Inv. No: M. 254), while another one is "Fetava Kadı Han (el-Cüz el-Evvel)" written by El-Kadı Ebi el-Hasan b. Mansur b. Muhammed el-Üzcüdi, Kadı Han (Inv. No: M. 400).

148 BOA, *İrade – Meclis-i Vala*, No: 23,888.

149 Haşmet M. Gürkan, *Diñkü ve Bugünkü Lefkoşa*, 1989, p.118; Behçet, *Kıbrıs Türk Maarif Tarihi*, op.cit, p. 52.

Six libraries were recorded to exist in Lefkoşa. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu recorded some of these libraries which are the library of Şeyh'ül Seb'a Aziz Efendi Tekke, Muradiye Library in Selimiye Cami'i (Aya Sofya) set up by Lala Mustafa Paşa, the library set up by Ahmet Efendi, the imam of the mosque, the library of the *medrese* of Arab Ahmet Paşa constructed by Arab Ahmed Paşa, the library of Kutub Osman Fazlullah Efendi and the library of the central *medrese* built next to Aya Sofya Cami'i which is also known as the *medrese* of the *müftü*.<sup>150</sup> Most of the information about these libraries is based on the *vakf* records found in the manuscripts that were mainly located in the library of Sultan Mahmud II or in the personal *vakfiyes*. According to the *vakfiye* of Karakaş Elhaç Osman Hacı Mustafa, a certain amount of money was given for the purchasing of books for the library in Ömeriye Cami'i on the condition that they were not to be taken out of the mosque.<sup>151</sup> Sultan Mahmud II Library, next to Aya Sofya Cami'i in Nicosia was built upon the order given to the *muhassıl* (tax collector) of the island for the use of the students studying at Büyük Medrese in 1829. It is interesting to find out from a document<sup>152</sup> addressed to the *muhassıl* (tax collector) of Cyprus for the appointment of a new *hafız* for the library of Sultan Mahmud II as well as other staff with rather high wages compared with the average rates of those days.<sup>153</sup> The salaries of the first director, Hasan Hilmi Efendi and the librarian Saraçzade Hacı Mustafa were 50 and 40 *kuruş* respectively. The annual expenses of the library were 1640 *kuruş* while 40,000 *kuruş* was allocated for the purchase of books. Other people like Elhaç Ömer Efendi and Ali Ruhi Efendi, the *muhassıl* contributed to the expenses of the library in their *vakfiyes*.<sup>154</sup>

The library of Sultan Mahmud II (Fig. 12) opposite to the eastern portal of Aya Sofya (Selimiye) Mosque and on the right of Büyük Medrese (demolished in 1931) in Nicosia is made of cut stone. The building consists of one central space covered with a dome, which rises on a hexagonal drum. The two-sectioned eastern part is covered with two small cupolas under which takes place a small portico and a small room for clerical work. The portico has two pointed arches on the eastern direction and one at the entrance. The front section is opened on the northern direction enabling access to the main building and to the small clerk room while an iron railing closed its eastern part. The interior of the main space is decorated with bands of medallion mouldings containing inscribed poetical verses by Hilmi Efendi on the cornice running all around the walls. There are four large bookcases in the library that have gilded ornamentation in the neo-classical style (Fig. 13).

The library of Sultan Mahmud II is described by Hadi Sharifi, in a book published in 1991 by the Al Furqan Islamic Cultural Heritage Foundation as one of the perfect

150 For the name of these libraries see İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, *Kıbrıs Sultan II. Mahmud Kütüphanesi*, Ankara 1964, p.6; Şeşen et al., *Yazmalar Kataloğu*, op.cit., pp. xvi

151 Behçet, *Kıbrıs Türk Maarif Tarihi*, op.cit., p. 41.

152 BOA, *Cevdet – Maarif*, No: 2190.

153 Acknowledgement goes to Prof. Dr. Mehmet Genç for his comment on this document.

154 Behçet, *Kıbrıs Türk Maarif Tarihi*, op.cit., pp. 41–42.

examples of Turkish architecture to possess the largest Islamic manuscript collection on the island.<sup>155</sup> According to this source there were nearly 2000 manuscripts in Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages in the library of Sultan Mahmud II. The information about the other collections from Aya Sofya and Laleli Cami'i as well as from the Cyprus Turkish National Archive are taken from M. H. Altan, the founder and ex-director of the Cyprus Turkish National Archive.

There are several valuable manuscripts in Cyprus, the majority of which were located in the Ethnographic Museum and Sultan Mahmud II's Library until lately. Among these are the Koran bequeathed to the great mosque (Inv. No: Mev.T. 135) (Fig. 14) presumably to Aya Sofya by Lala Mustafa Paşa, the *vakf* Koran of Sultan Süleyman II to Aya Sofya (Inv. No: Mev. T. 134) (Fig. 15) dated 1102 H. (1691), the Koran laid as *vakf* to Hala Sultan Tekke (Inv. No: Mev.T. 136) by Abdullah, *mütevelli* of Karpas, a 14<sup>th</sup> century illuminated copy of the *Mesnevi* of Mevlana Celaleddin Muhammed El Rumi (Int. No: M. 1006) dated 672 H. (1273) and also another 14<sup>th</sup> century illuminated Koran written in *kufic* letters (Inv. No: Mev. T. 85/1/1). The Koran bequeathed as a *vakf* to Selimiye Cami'i during the first prayer in this mosque after the conquest by Lala Mustafa Paşa (Inv. No: Mev.T. 135) (Fig. 14) is the most important one in view of its *vakf* records bearing its historical significance.<sup>156</sup>

The Kuran-ı Kerim (Mev. T. 134) (Fig. 15) bearing high artistic character with its calligraphy as well as illuminations was part of the collection of the Turkish Ethnographic Museum (Mevlevi Tekke) although originally it had been a pious foundation laid for Aya Sofya Mosque in 1127 H. (1715). Nowadays it is located in the Cyprus Turkish National Archive in Kyrenia for security reasons. The manuscript written and illuminated during the reign of Sultan Süleyman II which bears resemblance with the style of illumination of the well known manuscripts of Kuran-ı Kerim copies attributed to Hafız Osman<sup>157</sup> was prepared by el-Fakir Halil Vamık, a student of the calligrapher Kamil Ömer Efendi, the chief secretary of Sultan Süleyman II. The inscription in the colophon reports that upon the finishing of the manuscript by calligraphers and illuminators and the proof readings in the Sultan's manuscript workshop, it was presented to Sultan Süleyman II (1687–1691), and was registered among his *vakfs* bequeathed to Aya Sofya Mosque in 1127 H. (1715).<sup>158</sup>

155 Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, v. 1–2, London 1992.

156 For a detailed study on this see Netice Yıldız, "The Koran of Lala Mustafa Paşa", *New Cyprus*, July 1991, pp. 22–25; Netice Yıldız, "Wakfs in Ottoman Cyprus", *op.cit.*, pp. 181–183; Netice Yıldız, "Kıbrıs İslam Yazmaları Koleksiyonları İçinde Tezhipli Eserler ve Dört Önemli Eser", Oktay Belli, Yücel Dağlı & M. Sinan Genim (eds), *İzzet Kayaoğlu Hatıra Kitabı – Makaleler*, İstanbul 2005, pp. 530–534, 540.

157 See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *İslam Kültür Mirasında Hat San'atı*, İstanbul 1992, p. 73.

158 For a detailed description and picture of this manuscript see Yıldız, "Kıbrıs İslam Yazmaları Koleksiyonları", *op.cit.*, pp. 534–536, 541.

Another illuminated manuscript (Mev.T. 136) dated 1197 H. (1783) which was originally a *vakf* to Hala Sultan Tekke also include the *vakf* record explaining the condition of laying this pious foundation: the sūra *al-fatihah* was to be recited in the holy and venerated tomb of her ladyship Hala Sultan Efendi in remembrance of the soul of Esseyid Mehmed Muhsin, the deceased brother of Karpas *mütevelli* buried in Kaleburnu, and of his mother and grandfathers. The *vakf* was registered on 7 Muharrem 1299 (18 November 1881). There is a note added in the Koran stating that it was inscribed by Seyit Mehmet Ali Hilmi, the student of Seyyit Mahmut Zühtü.<sup>159</sup>

All manuscripts stored in these collections and elsewhere until the mid-1990s have all been transferred to the Cyprus Turkish National Archive in Kyrenia for security reasons. Although it is regrettable to encounter empty bookcases in Sultan Mahmud II's Library they are more secure in the newly constructed building within the premises of the Cyprus Turkish National Archive. This new manuscript library is designed in Islamic style with a portico covered with a cupola. The decision to remove the collection was taken after the publication of the large union catalogue of the Islamic manuscripts in Cyprus. This catalogue,<sup>160</sup> published by IRCICA (Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture), is a great contribution for the documentation of these manuscripts although some important manuscripts, mainly the illuminated ones, such as the above mentioned Koran of Lala Mustafa Paşa, which are lavishly decorated and bearing artistic value, are not recorded in this catalogue.<sup>161</sup>

The manuscripts that have been entered into the catalogue of Islamic manuscripts in Cyprus are not all-religious books. There were many books concerning astronomy, ethics, chronicles, logic, philosophy, literature and linguistics and a great majority of them are in Arabic and Persian. This gives the idea that the students and the teachers were studying different sciences in the *medreses*. Some astrolobes in the Turkish Ethnographic Museum also confirm this.

### Conclusion

Currently, the concept of '*vakf*' in Cyprus suggests an Islamic institute to regulate the religious affairs in the Turkish society as well as being the main owner of the historical Islamic monuments. However, its mission as a charity centre by offering help to people with low-income cannot be overestimated. Our aim at the beginning was to present the *vakf* institution as a cultural heritage without neglecting the analysis about the formation of this institution which we attempted to explain with some examples from various documents. Moreover, it seems evident that the *vakf* system was employed to secure the family property for next generations as well as

159 For a detailed description and picture of this manuscript see Yıldız, "Kıbrıs İslam Yazmaları Koleksiyonları", *op.cit.*, pp. 536–537, 542.

160 Şeşen et al., *Yazmalar Kataloğu*, *op.cit.*

161 A project for the publication of a catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts in Cyprus collections is due to be completed by the end of 2007 by Netice Yıldız and Banu Mahir.

contributing to the large *vakf* institutions such as the Haremeyn Vakf, Celaliye Vakf or the Mevlevi Tekke.

Some examples show that the institution managed to survive under the difficult conditions arising from the British takeover. The income of the *vakf* estates regulated and collected by the Administration of the Evkaf was lower even though it was not anymore transferred to the Ottoman Treasury or to *evkaf* of Mecca and Medina. Although this may be expected to increase the budget of the *vakf* institution, unfortunately all that income directly went to the Treasury of the Colonial Crown. As it is stated above, some of the estates lost their lands. There are several disputes arisen during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century concerning this case. One of these concerns the *vakf* estate of Lala Mustafa Paşa. A printed document containing the accounts of the sultan's estates in Cyprus records one certain item relating to the rent of the Garden of *Orta Odası* (The Chamber of the Janissaries), an important property in the *evkaf* of Lala Mustafa Paşa in Nicosia.<sup>162</sup> It had for some reasons passed to the Greek Orthodox Church on the place where the Phaneromeni Church was constructed in 1872. Many shops and buildings of this garden also known as the Women Market were pulled down. According to Keshishian the land was purchased for 1100 'Ottoman pounds' from a person in Constantinople. Following the likewise system of the Turkish *vakf*, the Phanoremeni Church became a great benefactor and contributor of funds to deserving institutions, and maintains the richest public library on the island.<sup>163</sup> Almost the similar problems were encountered by the Orthodox Church as could be seen from a quotation by Hackett from a newspaper article published on 4 June 1884 in order to warn against the loss of Orthodox property for the reasons of being "alienated or laid waste or even stealing taking place so far". The author further remarks that if this neglect will carry on for another 50 years, then there will be left no church property.<sup>164</sup>

The Umurga (Aphendrika) *Çiftlik* in Karpas region shared the same fate as many other *vakfs* of the Ottoman sultanate. The farm complex that had nearly 12,086 *dönüm* of land was recorded to be the property of Hala Sultan Tekke according to the documents published in 1942, which was prepared upon the loss of a great amount of property from the *vakf* lands. The land that remained in the farm complex was not suitable for cultivation and a great portion of land was documented under personal names alongside with the land appearing as the property of Ayias Trias, Ayias Synesis and Archangelos Churches since 1925 in the documents of the local land registry office.<sup>165</sup>

162 LTEOA, *File No: LBA K.342.5*. For a document for the extension of the rent of this garden *vis. CTVAA*, File No: 424/98 [dated 1898].

163 Kevork K. Kesishian, *Nicosia – Capital of Cyprus Then and Now*, Nicosia, 1990, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised), p. 148. *CTVAA* File No: 424/98. [Dated 1898].

164 J. Hackett, *A History of the Church of Cyprus*, London 1901, p. 291.

165 Altan, *Kıbrıs Türk Vakıfları*, op.cit., pp. 1009–1019.

The palace complex consisting of the so-called *Serail* and the Sarayönü Mosque is another important case to cite here as an example of loss of *vakf* property as well as cultural heritage. The mosque which is usually referred to as the İbrahim Paşa Cami'i in many old documents was completely demolished in 1900. According to a sketch that appeared in a document concerning the restoration of the building after an earthquake, it can be reconstructed that the original building was a square planned building covered with a dome, somewhat similar to the Arab Ahmet Paşa Cami'i. The report prepared for the restoration project by the Vakf Administration had the intention to restore the building on the existing walls by removing the dome and replacing it with a trussed roof. However, with the excuse that it would not be safe to build on the existing walls they demolished the existing building and an eclectic style of mosque with the horseshoe shaped arches recalling the Tunisian style was constructed with a trussed roof. It may also be commented at this point that the British did not favour 'domed buildings' since it was regarded as the symbol of the previous Ottoman rule. Also, the British Government with the intention to build modern government buildings based on an urban plan to form a Venetian *piazza* demolished the whole palace complex together with other buildings in the early years of 1900 most of them pertaining to the *vakf* of Aya Sofya and then registered under the Government properties by the Land Registry Office.

During the 300 years of the Ottoman rule in the island, the number of Turkish *vakfs* increased, while the ill management of the Vakf Administration during the British rule as well as the enthusiasm and excitement for the adoption of new concepts and ideas based on Western culture and the great attempt to form a secular society by following the revolutionary cultural movements started by the founding of the Republic of Turkey led to the neglect and disappearance of some of the Islamic *vakf* monuments. Today, the *vakf* lands and monuments which were lost because of poor administration during the British period, as well as the land now on the Southern part of the island after the division in 1974, similar to the case of the church estate located in the North, is one of the important parts of the peace negotiations. The Vakf Administration is taking great care of the old monuments found in the Northern part of the island with the income they are gaining through tourism complexes, rents from business centres and other buildings, banking, and farms. Contrary to the past experience giving away the income of Cyprus *vakfs* to the Haremeyn Vakfs in Mecca and Medina or other institutions in Turkey, today the Vakf Administration of Turkey is greatly contributing to and supporting all the maintenance of the Islamic buildings in the Northern part of Cyprus, which have historical and religious character. It is also pleasing to see that the *vakf* monuments in the South of the island are carefully restored and maintained with the finance of United Nation's UNDP branch. Recently completed restoration projects include particularly the Büyük Han, the Arab Ahmet Cami'i and almost all of the mosques in North, the Ömeriye Complex, Bayraktar Cami'i, Tahta Kala Camii and others in

the South of Nicosia, as well as the Bekir Paşa Aqueduct and Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca.<sup>166</sup>



Fig. 1: Cyprus Turkish Vakf Administration (Kıbrıs Türk Vakıflar İdaresi), Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)

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166 Barış, “Kıbrıs Vakıflarının Bugünkü Durumu”, *op.cit.*, pp. 201–207.

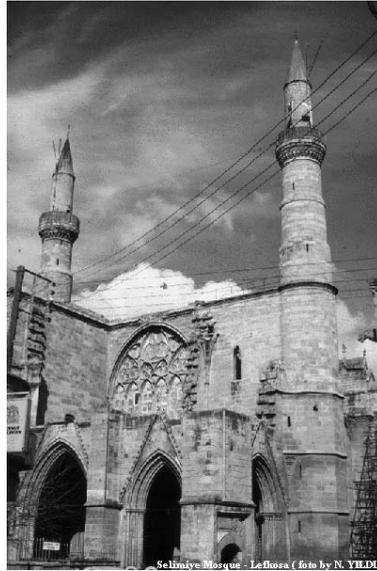


Fig. 2: Selimiye Mosque (Aya Sofya Mosque), Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 3: Lala Mustafa Paşa Cami'i (St. Nicholas / Aya Sofya Mosque), Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 4: Büyük Han, Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 5: Cafer Paşa Fountain and Bath, Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 6: Hala Sultan Tekke, Larnaca. (Painting by İsmet Vehit Güney)



Fig. 7: Paphos Fortress. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 8: Larnaka Castle. (Photo by N. Yıldız)

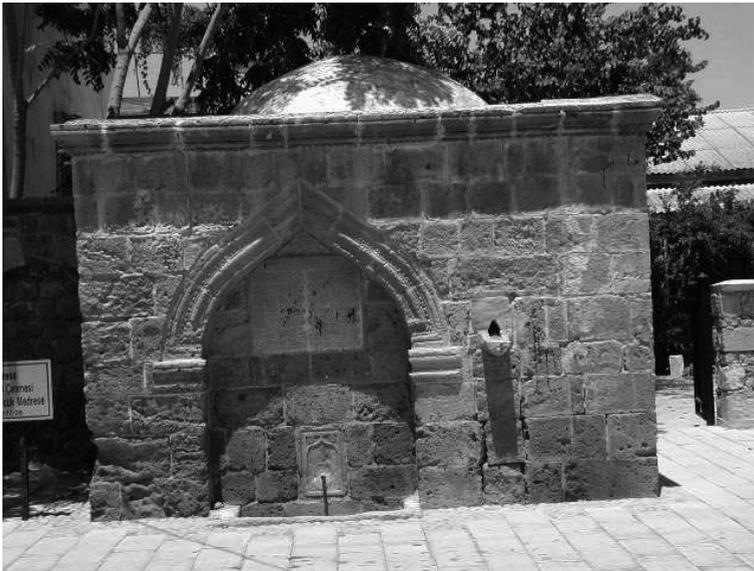


Fig. 9: Ali Ruhi Efendi Fountain, 1828, Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 10: Medrese, Famagusta. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 11: Zuhuri Baba Tekke and Tomb, Larnaka. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 12: Sultan Mahmud II Library, Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 13: Interior view of Sultan Mahmud II Library, Nicosia. (Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 14: Kuran-ı Kerim, Vakf of Lala Mustafa Paşa. (National Archive, Girne; Inv. Mev. T. 135; Photo by N. Yıldız)



Fig. 15: Kuran-ı Kerim, Vakf of Sultan Süleyman II to Aya Sofya Vakf. (Inv. Mev. 134; Photo by N. Yıldız)