

IMARETS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM THE 14TH CENTURY TO THE
END OF THE FATİH ERA BASED ON WAQFIYYAS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

HATİCE BÜŞRA KÜRK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

JUNE 2024

Approval of the thesis:

**İMARETS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM THE 14TH CENTURY TO
THE END OF THE FATİH ERA BASED ON WAQFIYYAS**

submitted by **HATİCE BÜŞRA KÜRK** in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of **Master of Arts in History, the Graduate School of Social
Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ömer TURAN
Head of Department
Department of History

Prof. Dr. Kayhan ORBAY
Supervisor
Department of History

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Murat BASKICI (Head of the Examining Committee)
Ankara University
Department of Economics

Prof. Dr. Kayhan ORBAY (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of History

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül KARABABA
Middle East Technical University
Department of Business Administration

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Hatice Būşra KÜRK

Signature:

ABSTRACT

IMARETS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM THE 14TH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE FATİH ERA BASED ON WAQFIYYAS

KÜRK, Hatice Büşra

M.A., The Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Kayhan ORBAY

June 2024, 91 pages

This thesis analyzes the waqfiyyas (endowment deeds) of imarets in the Ottoman Empire from the 14th century to the end of Mehmed II's reign to provide an understanding of the functioning and the role of imarets (soup kitchens) in Ottoman society and the intentions of the founders. In this regard, efforts are made to understand the founders' endeavors in providing food in a place specially designed for specific groups by focusing on the diversity of the food receivers, the amounts of ingredients, and menus. While extensive research has been conducted on imarets, waqfiyyas have not been collectively and comprehensively investigated. Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by examining the initial documents composed during the establishment of the waqfs depicting the ideal framework and functioning of the foundations. The waqfiyyas included in this research are published documents previously transcribed from Ottoman Turkish or translated from Arabic by various historians. A total of 32 waqfiyyas were examined for this study by focusing on the parts related to imarets and checking the original documents if necessary. The findings

of this research contribute to a deeper understanding of the historical significance of imarets, offering comprehensive information for comparative analyses with other sources.

Keywords: Imarets in Ottoman Empire, Soup Kitchens, Waqfs and Waqfiyyas, Food Culture

ÖZ

VAKFİYELERİ İŞİĞİNDA OSMANLI İMARETLERİ 14. YÜZYILDAN FATİH DEVİRİ SONUNA KADAR

KÜRK, Hatice Büşra

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Kayhan ORBAY

Haziran 2024, 91 sayfa

Bu tez, 14. yüzyıldan II. Mehmed'in saltanatının sonuna kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki imaretlerin vakfiyelerini (vakıf senetlerini) inceleyerek, Osmanlı toplumunda imaretlerin (aşevleri) işleyişini ve rolünü, ayrıca vakfedenlerin niyetlerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda imaretlerden yemek alanların çeşitliliğine, malzeme miktarlarına ve menülere odaklanarak vakfedenlerin hususi olarak tasarlanmış bir mekânda belirli kişilere yemek sunma konusundaki gayretleri anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmaktadır. İmaretler üzerine geniş araştırmalar yapılmış olmasına rağmen vakfiyeler toplu ve kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmemiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, vakıfların kuruluşları sırasında oluşturulan ve ideal çerçevelerini ve işleyişlerini tasvir eden ilk belgeleri, vakfiyeleri, inceleyerek bu boşluğu gidermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırmada yer alan vakfiyeler, hali hazırda Osmanlı Türkçesi'nden transkribe edilerek veya Arapçadan tercümeyle çeşitli tarihçiler tarafından yayınlanmış belgelerdir. İmaretlerle ilgili kısımlara odaklanılarak ve gerekiyorsa orijinal belgeler kontrol edilerek toplam 32 vakfiye incelenmiştir. Bu araştırmada elde edilen bulgular, diğer kaynaklarla karşılaştırmalı analizler için

kapsamlı bilgiler sunmak suretiyle imaretlerin tarihsel öneminin derinlemesine anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İmaretler, Aşevleri, Vakıf ve Vakfiyeler, Yemek Kültürü

To my beloved daughters, Hanne and Hale

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my esteemed supervisor, Prof. Dr. Kayhan Orbay whose invaluable courses introduced me to this compelling field. His valuable guidance, academic contributions, and patience were indispensable in completing this thesis.

I hold deep regard for all the professors I met in the History department in METU for their contributions and constant support to our academic journey. Special recognition goes to Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur, whose support was instrumental in my adaptation to this new learning environment. I also express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay Peker for allowing me into his courses on Ottoman architecture, which facilitated my understanding of the terminology crucial for the research process.

I sincerely appreciate Dr. Ramazan Pantık's insightful suggestions and invaluable feedback. I am also grateful to my examining committee members, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Murat Baskıcı and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül Karababa, for their constructive criticism and encouragement.

I owe an endless debt of gratitude to my parents for their unwavering support of my academic pursuits and to my entire family for standing by me as I wrote my thesis while caring for two infants. Special thanks to my mother-in-law and father-in-law for their help, which allowed me to focus on my studies. I am grateful to my sisters and brother for their care of their nephews during this demanding period.

Finally, I want to express my deepest appreciation to my spouse for his steadfast support, patience, and understanding. His presence helps me navigate every challenge. And to my beloved baby girls, their presence brings immense joy to this journey and our family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
CHAPTERS	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Studies About Imarets	2
1.2. Predecessors of Imarets	7
1.3. The Usage of the Word Imaret	9
IMARETS THROUGH WAQFIYYAS	15
2.1. Waqfs And Waqfiyyas.....	15
2.1.1. The Role of the Imarets	21
2.2. The Close Examination of the Waqfiyyas	25
2.2.1. Lala Şahin Paşa	26
2.2.2. Gazi Süleyman Paşa	27
2.2.3. Sultan Orhan Gazi	28
2.2.4. Gazi Hudavendigâr.....	29
2.2.5. Ali Paşa	30

2.2.6.	Ebu Ishak.....	30
2.2.7.	Gülçiçek Hatun.....	31
2.2.8.	Yıldırım Bayezid.....	31
2.2.9.	Evrenos Bey	33
2.2.10.	Timurtaş Paşa	33
2.2.11.	Ali Bey (son of Timurtaş Paşa)	34
2.2.12.	Çelebi Sultan Mehmed (Yeşil İmaret).....	34
2.2.13.	Oruç Bey.....	35
2.2.14.	Umur Bey	35
2.2.15.	Şeyh Paşa.....	36
2.2.16.	Mehmed Çelebi bin Hamza bin Biçar	36
2.2.17.	Sultan Murad II (Muradiye)	36
2.2.18.	Emir Sultan.....	37
2.2.19.	Sungur Çavuş	39
2.2.20.	Yörgüç Paşa.....	39
2.2.21.	İsa Bey	40
2.2.22.	Mustafa Bey	40
2.2.23.	Halil Paşa.....	41
2.2.24.	Halil Yahşi Bey (Yeşil İmaret).....	42
2.2.25.	Mehmed Paşa	43
2.2.26.	Mahmud Çelebi	43
2.2.27.	Sultan Murad II (Ergene)	44
2.2.28.	Ali Bey	46
2.2.29.	Ishak Paşa	46
2.2.30.	Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han.....	48
2.2.31.	Yakub Bey (Lapseki Çardak).....	52

2.3. Findings	53
2.3.1. Employees and Administrative Practices of the Imaret	53
2.3.2. Menus and the Amount of Ingredients	59
2.3.3. The Receivers of the Food	65
CONCLUSION	67
BIBLIOGRAPHY	72
APPENDICES	
A. ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS	81
B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	83
C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	91

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The numbers of the cooks mentioned in the waqfiyyas.....	54
Table 2: The payments of the sheikh, vekilharc, and nakib	55
Table 3: The payments of the cooks, bakers, and storekeepers	56
Table 4: The number of employees.....	58
Table 5: The amounts of the ingredients depicted in the waqfiyyas.....	60
Table 6: The amounts of the ingredients for special occasions.....	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Waqfiyya of Mehmed Çelebi bin Hamza bin Biçar	81
Figure 2: Waqfiyya of Sungur Çavuş.....	82

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Imarets, serving as institutions that fed diverse social groups in society, played a pivotal role in upholding the security and welfare of the Ottoman Empire. They typically operated within waqf complexes (vakıf külliyesi) that included areas for eating (me'kel), kitchen (matbah), oven (furun), and cellar (kiler) across Ottoman territories from the 14th to the 19th century to answer the basic needs of the population on numerous occasions. They provided meals to specific groups in predetermined quantities, including employees of the waqf complex, visitors, the poor (fukara), and residents. They also offered food during religious festivals and gatherings. Their services extended to travelers embarking on various journeys, whether for trade or pilgrimage.

Imarets differentiated from their predecessors in terms of the extent of their services, the scope of the recipients, and their widespread existence throughout the empire. Giving food daily to particular people under an institution specially designed for this purpose made imarets significant institutions worth studying from different aspects. Researching imarets can provide substantial insights into various disciplines. As essential elements within waqf complexes, they occupied a central position in the urban development of the Ottoman Empire and the integration of conquered cities. Through the study of imarets, one can explore several topics related to everyday life, the dynamics of giving and receiving, the intricacies of Ottoman society, food and food culture, the social interactions among different groups, cultural practices, economic structures, imperial policies, and institutional histories.

Although there is a considerable amount of study about imarets, there needs to be more collective research on their waqfiyyas (endowment deeds) that provides researchers

with a comprehensive understanding of imarets and the idealized visions of their founders. This study addresses this gap by examining waqfiyyas of imarets dating from the 14th century to the end of Mehmed II's reign. The waqfiyyas analyzed in this study have mainly been previously published, translated, or transliterated documents. Only a few of them were translated specifically for this research. The findings hold potential for comparative analysis with other sources, shedding light on the development of these institutions over time.

1.1. Studies About Imarets

It is essential to draw a general picture of the scholarly efforts to understand the nature and functions of the imaret. They were mainly studied as part of imperial waqf complexes, mentioned and described as soup kitchens. There are several works on the usage of the word imaret and its scope. The studies on imarets can be classified as the studies under architectural history about the functions and structures of the buildings, charity studies about the scope of the beneficiaries and relations of the givers and receivers, socioeconomic studies that focus on the economic, political, and social function of the imarets, their role on urban development, trade, and culture.

With the discussion about the meaning of the term imaret, Osman Nuri wrote two pioneering works on imarets, *Fatih İmareti Vakfiyesi* and *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi* in the 1930s. Ünver has made several significant contributions to the field, especially Fatih Aşhanesi Tevzinamesi, which provided detailed information about the functioning of the imaret, its beneficiaries, and even the order of receiving the food and the number of tables.¹ There are several definitions of imarets in encyclopedias, which have diversified over time. Huart's short entry in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* on Imaret defines it as buildings operated under waqf in Turkey where the madrasa students reside and receive food twice daily, along with a loaf of bread.² Mehmet Zeki Pakalın made a similar definition, quoting from *Kamus-ı*

¹ Süheyl Ünver, "Anadolu ve İstanbul'da İmaretlerin Aşhane, Tabhane ve Misafirhanelerine ve Müessislerinin Ruhi Kemallerine Dair," *Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası*, no. 4 (1941): 2390-2410.

² Clement I. Huart, "İmâret," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5/2 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977), 935.

Osmani. He demonstrated imarets as charitable institutions primarily serving students of madrasas and then the poor and guests. He gave detailed information about the operation of the imarets, the number of portions, and employees.³ Halil İnalçık had a column under the topic of “*matbakh*” about zawiyas (Sufi lodges) and imarets in the second edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam.⁴ Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ wrote a comprehensive column that provides an introductory bibliography.⁵

Barkan paid attention to the imarets by incorporating archival sources such as accounting registers. He provided a comprehensive framework for further research on imarets in the city and the history of urbanization in the Ottoman Empire, offering valuable perspectives in his work *Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar*.⁶ His publication on the construction of Süleymaniye Mosque and its imaret offered exceptional information for future research.⁷ Kiel drew attention to imarets in the Ottoman Balkans, along with other monumental structures that played

³ Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, “İmaret,” in *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983), 61-63.

⁴ Halil İnalçık, “Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey),” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1991), 807-15. Also see details about the structures of several imarets, their architectural plans and possible functions in: M. Baha Tanman, “İmaretler,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayımları, 1994), 163-166.

⁵ Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, “İmaret,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 22 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2000), 219-20. Also see: Amy Singer, “İmarethaneleler,” in *Türkler*, ed. H. C. Güzel, vol. 10 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 483-90.

⁶ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş Ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Çalışmalar,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23, no. 1-2 (Ağustos 2015): 297-341.

See his works on account registers: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti Tesislerine Âit Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585/1586),” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 9, (1971): 109-161.; *idem*, “Edime ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları,” *Belgeler*, no. 1-2 (1964-1965): 235-377.

⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550-1557)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972-1979).

Also see on the role of waqfs: “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I- İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 2 (1974): 279-386.

an essential role in the development of the Ottoman towns.⁸ Rhoads Murphey emphasizes another role of the imarets as control mechanisms of the food supply in determining the quality, price, and amount of the food. In addition to the distribution of large numbers of bread and meals, the grain in the stores of the imarets were used as emergency supplies in case of need.⁹

Yüksel contributed to the discussion about the usage of the word 'imaret,' provided information about the employees based on waqfiyyas, and evaluated their structures and plans technically at the end of his article.¹⁰ Another architectural historian, Tanman, tried to convey the evolution of imarets through their plans, structures, functions, and the reflection of this evolution on the usage of the word by focusing on the works of the most famous Ottoman Empire architect, Sinan.¹¹ Mefail Hızlı tried to investigate the operation of imarets in society by looking at court records of Bursa.¹²

There are multiple studies of independent buildings or complexes of imarets, and part of them was also used in this study. The growing interest in social and economic history beginning from the 1970s has affected the waqf studies as they provided rich

⁸ Machiel Kiel, "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, no. 12 (1983): 117-138. See also Heath W. Lowry, "The 'Soup Muslims' of the Ottoman Balkans: Was There A 'Western' & 'Eastern' Ottoman Empire?," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 36, no. 36 (December 2010): 96-133.

⁹ Rhoads Murphey, "Provisioning Istanbul: The State and Subsistence in the Early Modern Middle East," *Food and Foodways* 2, no. 1 (1987): 219.

¹⁰ İ. Aydın Yüksel, "İmaretler," *Vakıf Haftası Dergisi*, no. 2 (1985): 163-167.

¹¹ M. B Tanman, "Sinan'ın Mimarisi İmaretler," *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan: Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, no. 1 (1988): 333-353.

Also see Müderrisoğlu about 16th century imarets and complexes: Mehmet Fatih Müderrisoğlu, "16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyyeleri" (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1993), 216-293.

For lists of the imarets of Edirne and their current conditions: Ratip Kazancıgil, *Edirne İmaretleri* (Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Edirne Şubesi, 1991).

¹² Mefail Hızlı, "Bursa'da Selatin İmaretleri," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10, no. 1 (2001): 33-62.

sources for comparison; for instance, the account books of imarets provided data for tracking the fluctuations affected by the economic and natural crises. Along with the inclusion of cultural history, imarets gained more attention with the studies on poverty and philanthropy beginning in the 1990s.¹³

Amy Singer wrote about charity and soup kitchens.¹⁴ The growing interest in imarets led to a critical symposium later published as a book, “Feeding People Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire.” It consisted of various works on imarets from different aspects using different sources and provided a general framework about imarets. The introduction also provided a survey of the works made on imarets and the nature and history of the institution.¹⁵

The studies on imarets would also provide valuable information for the history of food and food culture. Suraiya Faroqhi stressed that there are not many sources for food historians other than the travelogue of Evliya and the diary of a dervish from the 17th century who records what he ate. She introduced to the field the archival records about the incomes and expenditures of the kitchens, which are rich sources for understanding Ottoman cuisine. The account books for imarets would demonstrate the luxurious and

¹³Nina Ergin et al. eds., *Feeding People Feeding Power Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007), 20.

Hızlı, Mefail. “Bursa’da Selatin İmaretləri.” *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10, no. 1 (2001): 33-62.

Kazancıgil, Ratip. *Edirne İmaretləri*. Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Edirne Şubesi, 1991.

Ergin, Nina, Singer, Amy and Neumann, K. Christoph. *Feeding People Feeding Power Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007.

¹⁴ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); *idem*, “Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 3, Poverty and Charity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Winter, 2005): 481, 500. Also see *idem*, “Soup and Sadaka: Charity in Islamic Societies,” *Historical Research* 79, no. 205 (May 2006): 306-324.

¹⁵ Nina Ergin et al. eds., *Feeding People Feeding Power Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007).

ordinary foods consumed in these institutions. Moreover, they may reveal the menu changes, shortages, and fluctuations.¹⁶

There are doctoral and master theses and new publications about imarets in the last decade. Ramazan Pantık gave important information about the founder's motivation for constructing the imaret and the operation of the imarets by focusing on the complex of Atik Valide. He combined the waqfiyya and summary account registers in his study to inspect the function of the sultanic waqfs.¹⁷ Gürbıyık tried to create a typology of the structures of imaret by using the plans of 29 imarets.¹⁸ Ayşe Budak also inspected these 29 surviving imarets and focused on the relationship of the imarets with T-type dervish lodges and the peculiarity of the imarets to Ottoman architecture by investigating their plans within the norms of patronage. She broadened her research to explore the power relations of charity by looking at the receivers of the food.¹⁹ Oğuzhan Dönmez depicted imarets according to the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi with the support of archival sources.²⁰ Among the last publications about the imarets, Osman Taşkın investigated five important imarets and compared them according to the prices of the goods, expenses, and amount of the ingredients used.²¹

¹⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, “16. ve 17. Yüzyılda Anadolu İmaretlerinde Ziyafet Yemekleri,” in *Türk Mutfağı*, ed. Arif Bilgin and Özge Samancı (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008), 115-123.

¹⁷ See his chapters about imaret and the expenditures of the kitchen in: Ramazan Pantık, “Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi (1686-1727),” (MA thesis, Hacettepe University, 2014).

¹⁸ Cengiz Gürbıyık, “Osmanlı İmaretleri (Aşevleri)” (PhD diss., University of Ege, 2013); *idem*, “Osmanlı İmaretlerinin (Aşevleri) Tipolojisi Üzerine Bir Deneme,” in *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (April 2015): 23–51.

¹⁹ Ayşe Budak, “Gücü Besleyen Mimarlık: Osmanlı İmaretleri” (PhD diss., University of Erciyes, 2015); *idem*, “İmaret Kavramı Üzerinden Erken Osmanlı Ters T Planlı Zaviyeleri ile Aşhanelerin İlişkisi: Osmanlı Aşhanelerinin Kökenine Dair Düşünceler,” in *METU Journal of The Faculty of Architecture* 33, no. 1 (June 2016): 21-36.

²⁰ Oğuzhan Dönmez, “Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesine’ne Göre İmâret Müessesesi” (Ma thesis, University of Bahçeşehir, 2021).

²¹ Osman Taşkın, “Şükürler Sofrası Rızıklar Kapısı İmaretler (Ayasofya, Nuruosmaniye, Şehzade, Atik Valide, Çinili),” *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2022): 98-116.

See also Akman (Dayanışma Simgesi İmaretler ve Anadolu’dan Bir Örnek).

1.2. Predecessors of Imarets

Amy Singer thinks imarets were unique to Ottomans because of their widespread construction and longtime usage for specific functions.²² There were multiple examples of giving food in various forms under the rule of Seljuqs, Ilkhanids, Fatimids, Ayyubids, and Mamluks.²³ There were kitchens as part of other buildings like mosques, madrasas, dervish lodges, or waqf complexes of the rulers. Food distribution at fests, special occasions, and setting feasts in gatherings were also ancient traditions for the neighboring societies and the Ottomans.

The ruler's obligation as a feeder of its people goes back even to the Orkhon inscriptions, repeated in several legends from different tribes among Turks and Mongols. More relevant examples can be found in the folk tales of Dede Korkut and Kutadgu Bilig, an example of the mirror for Princes, repeating the same terms in the inscriptions: feeding the poor and dressing the naked.²⁴ It was a practical old tradition providing society with basic needs to flourish and redistribute wealth.²⁵ Two prominent works written in the 11th century as “Mirror for Princes” that affected the Ottoman political ideology, *Kutadgu Bilig* (Yusuf Has Hacib) and *Siyasetname* by Nizam al-Mulk deal with the relationship between subject and ruler over food in a similar manner as Amy Singer highlights. The amount of food given to the subjects symbolizes the power and generosity of the ruler and reflects the relationship of

Ahmet Akman, “Dayanışma Simgesi İmareter ve Anadolu’dan Bir Örnek: İlgin Lala Mustafa Paşa İmareti,” *The Journal of Social Science* 6, no. 12 (September 2022): 299 – 31.

²² Singer, “Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen,” 481, 493.

Also, in; Nina Ergin et al. eds., *Feeding People Feeding Power Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, 17.

Amy Singer, “Evliya Çelebi on `imarets,” in *Mamluks and Ottomans*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 123.

²³ Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 145-149.

²⁴ Halil İnalçık, “Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey),” 809.

²⁵ Bahaeddin Ögel, *Türklerde Devlet Anlayışı* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016), 140.

obligation between the two. The symbolization of giving salt and bread was also repeated in Ottoman literature.²⁶

This tradition was not only continued in the gatherings for various fests, funerals, or meetings of the leaders but also related to helping travelers and providing them with food, dress, and mount. Guests must be treated accordingly without payment since it was the obligation of the host to provide for his needs. This purpose was because of the complexes of Ghazan Khan and his viziers, caravanserais of the Seljuk, and Sufi residences spread around Anatolia. There were references and symbolizations about food and feeding in Sufi orders. The names of the positions, the tradition of eating together, and preparing meals were all part of the journey and rituals. They contributed to the safety of the routes. It was an obligation of the town to host travelers, carried out mainly by wealthy people if there was no such institution, and treat them according to the rank of the guest. In small towns, it was carried out as a community.²⁷

Feeding the guests of the caravanserais with bread, meat, and meals is mentioned among the obligations in the waqfiyya of Karatay. Some employees also served in the cooking services discussed in the waqfiyya of the madrasas in the Seljuk era. It was stipulated in the waqfiyya of *daru'z-ziyafat* of Sahib Ata the obligation of distributing meals twice a day to 30 people, those who came among sayyids, Alawis, scholars, the righteous, and who were present there.²⁸ Food was served also in the 15th-century Beyliks Era, like the complex of Candaroğlu İsmail Bey and Karamanoğlu İbrahim

²⁶ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 145-146.

²⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey)," 812.

Singer, "Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen," 483.

About the tradition of feeding the travelers:

Orhan Kılıç, "Eski Türklerde Açık Doyurma, Çıplağı Giydirmeye Geleneği," *Tarih Bilinci, Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi*, no. 2 (October 2007): 20.

²⁸ Sadi Bayram & Ahmet Karabacak, "Sahib Ata Fahrü'd-Din Ali'nin Konya, İmaret ve Sivas Gök Medrese Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* no. 13 (1981): 53.

Bey. Although there were employees and obligations about feeding, they were not independent parts of the buildings.²⁹

1.3. The Usage of the Word İmaret

“Ottoman public kitchens, known as *'imaret*, *aşhane*, *darü'l-it'am*, or *darü'z-ziyafe*, handed out food, free of charge, to specific groups and to fortunate individuals.”³⁰ Amy Singer sorted the names used for public kitchens as above, of which the word ‘imaret had multiple usages. The dictionary discussions will not be included in this study. Still, it is clear that in contemporary scholars and historical records, the word has been used with different connotations according to context.

The argument regarding the concept of “*imaret*” was initiated by Osman Nuri Ergin. According to any edifices, including mosques, madrasas, tombs, castles, and even minarets, Anatolia and Rumelia could be called imaret. He demonstrated that the Ottomans used the term “imaret” to denote a place that served as a thriving center, facilitating gatherings and fulfilling various needs such as accommodation, food, education, and prayer. To support his argument, Ergin provided the example of Eski İmaret in Istanbul. Originally a church, it was repurposed by the Ottomans as a madrasa, mosque, and bazaar until the construction of the complex of Fatih. Subsequently, it was named Eski İmaret. Ergin highlighted other buildings, such as Tophane (arsenal) and Tersane (navy yard), which served multiple purposes beyond public kitchens. These structures were associated with the term “*amire*,” derived from the same root as “*imar*”(construction activity), the origin of “imaret.” Furthermore, Ergin referred to the writings of Evliya Çelebi, where the term “imaret” was used to describe public buildings. However, he acknowledged that even Evliya occasionally employed the term “incorrectly,” particularly when referring to public kitchens.³¹

²⁹ Arif Bilgin, “Sosyal Hizmet ve İmaretler,” in *Sosyal Hizmet Tarihi*, ed. Recep Çelik, (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2020), 172-3.

³⁰ Singer, “Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen,” 481.

³¹ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939), 5-10.

For him, the root of the word derived from the “polis” of Greek (he wrote it as “*Frenk*,” referring to cities that carry the heritage of the Greek city notion in the West) and the “madina” of Arabs, which was also influenced by Persian and Greek cities. However, its main pillars were based on the prophet's actions, such as building a mosque as a center and adding city walls.³²

Barkan preferred the broader meaning of the word and described the imarets as a collection of institutions (*külliye*/complex) gathered around a mosque, including a madrasa, a place for cooking and distributing meals, a guesthouse (*tabhane*), a hospital (*timarhane*, *darüşşifa*), a public bath (*hammam*), and a caravanserai. These institutions, related to religion, culture, or social assistance, are accompanied by residences for the numerous officials and staff members working there. Civil infrastructure facilities such as water supply, sewage systems, and others are built to provide continuous income for these establishments. Additionally, *han* and *çarşı* (marketplace) buildings are constructed to allocate space for various professions and trades, and there are facilities such as ovens, mills, candle factories, dye houses, prayer houses, administrative centers, holiday and marketplaces, and bridges, which are considered as monopolies and privileges. These facilities and areas often form the vital core of a newly established city or a desired new neighborhood for urban planning and settlement in an existing town or city.³³

For Mustafa Demir, the word imaret was used with different meanings by Anatolian Seljuks and Ottomans. According to him, the latter used the word for soup kitchens instead of complexes or monumental structures. He refuses Ergin’s view because the example of edifices was from the Seljukid buildings, the one from the Ottoman era in the edifice of the complex of Bayezid II imaret referred to soup kitchen by mentioning

³² Ergin, *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi*, 18.

³³ Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş Ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Çalışmalar,” 239.

it separately from the mosque. He concluded that beginning with the imaret of Orhan, Ottomans used it to refer to soup kitchens, replacing the function of sufi lodges.³⁴

Architectural historian Yüksel provided several examples from the archival and material sources of the word imaret, referring to both public kitchens and multifunctional complexes and buildings. One of them is the complex of Bayezid II in Edirne; in the waqfiyya, the complex was described as a mosque and an “imaret-i amire,” while in its inscription, there is no more word than *maşjid* to describe the building. The polysemy started for him after the 14th century, and the second meaning, soup kitchen, gained popularity afterward.³⁵ Tanman thought that the word imaret lost its broader definition of the flourishing complexes beginning in the 16th century and continued to be used with the narrower one, the public kitchen. He supported the idea that dervish lodges were influential in forming the word imaret as public kitchens.³⁶

Pakalın opposed Ergin's criticism by giving an example from the article of one of the last witnesses of the institution, Müftüzade Esat Bey, about the imarets. It was clearly described as public kitchens that served primarily the madrasa students, complex employees, travelers, and the poor in the last legislation about them.³⁷

İnalçık stressed that the function of cooking and distributing the food is prominent among all usages of the word. “The word ‘imaret is sometimes used synonymously with *hanqah* or *zawiya*; but in all categories, the running of a *matbakh* and cooking and distributing food for the needy constituted the most important function.”³⁸ He also

³⁴ Mustafa Demir, “Türkiye Selçuklu Şehirlerinde İmaret Kurumları ve Vakıfları,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 27 (1998): 41-2.

³⁵ Yüksel, “İmaretler,” 164.

³⁶ Tanman, “Sinan’ın Mimarisi İmaretler,” 333.

³⁷ Pakalın, “İmaret,” 62.

³⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey),” 812.

used it to refer to waqf complexes built for the needs of the Muslim community and “the hospices ‘imaret or hospice kitchen.”³⁹

Amy Singer contributed to the discussion and stressed that it was not a change in meaning but enrichment. It gained sub-meanings by protecting the initial form. The term gained “polyvalent usage” has three levels; the first one is more dictionary “habitation and cultivation,” the second one is more terminological, “something that builds and develops society to serve both the spiritual and material needs of Muslims” in Neuman’s words. The third is the public kitchen, and as Nueman explains, this meaning developed along with the T-type convent mosque, which had multifunctional usage, and through the classical sultanic mosque complex, which was formed in Istanbul with Fatih Mosque.⁴⁰

Ayşe Budak explains the relationship between T-type convent mosques and the development of the Ottoman imarets, which may be beneficial. Among the imarets dealt with in this study, some buildings share similarities with T-type convent mosques, such as multifunctional usage and the architectural plan called inverted T shape. These structures were not solely intended for prayers; they served as centers for various activities such as education and gatherings. Although these buildings were inscribed as mosques and masjids, the waqfiyyas reveal that they were also designed as hospices, providing beds and meals for visitors, as explicitly stated. Furthermore, according to the waqfiyyas, additional facilities such as warehouses, barns, and haylofts accommodated travelers. The inverted T type was the most original plan of early Ottoman architecture. It was derived from the zawiyas of Anatolian Seljuk, and

³⁹ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul: An Islamic City,” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, no. 1 (1990): 10-11.

⁴⁰ Christoph K. Neuman, “Remarks on the Symbolism of Ottoman Imarets,” in *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* eds. Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann and Amy Singer, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2007), 279.

there was no minbar, mihrab, or minaret in some of the early examples, which can be related to the primary function of the buildings.⁴¹

Orhan Gazi's imaret in Iznik near the gate of Yenişehir was also a T-type. The waqfiyya did not include information about the foundation kitchen. However, Aşıkpaşazade revealed that Orhan Gazi distributed the food himself during the opening ceremony of the complex.⁴² Both the account of Aşıkpaşazade and the inscription of Orhan Gazi's monumental building in Iznik named it "*imaret*," which is counted among the first imarets of the Ottoman Empire, and the type of the building was a dervish lodge.⁴³ Ayşe Budak stresses that the early buildings of Ottomans were *zawiya* and *hanqah*, which served travelers, ghazis, dervishes, and early settlers instead of mosques. Dervishes before the Ottoman empire gathered around a sheikh and fed by the sheikh continued to be fed by Orhan Gazi's imaret. After the era of Orhan Gazi, the construction of the *zawiya* continued, and the services that *zawiyas* accomplished, like feeding, accommodating, founding new residences, and fastening the process of construction of the settlement places, can be explained as the realization of their crucial role in widening the dominance.⁴⁴ Budak suggested that although the construction of the inverted T-type convents stopped, the kitchens stayed as part of complexes carrying the culture within, including the manager's name as a sheikh and the complex of buildings that flourished in its environment. The sheikh of the kitchen was an official like other officials of the complex, not carrying a particular religious personality. According to Budak, this can be seen as an obvious sign of the relationship between the T-type convents and imarets.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Budak, "İmaret Kavramı Üzerinden Erken Osmanlı Ters T Planlı Zaviyeleri ile Aşhanelerin İlişkisi," 22.

⁴² Nihal Atsız, *Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1970), 46-7.

⁴³ Budak, "İmaret Kavramı Üzerinden Erken Osmanlı Ters T Planlı Zaviyeleri ile Aşhanelerin İlişkisi," 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

Pantık stressed that the purpose and motivation behind building the imarets and how their founders defined it could only be understood by looking at their waqfiyyas. He deduced by looking at the waqfiyyas of multiple imperial waqfs that Ottomans used the term imaret to refer to both the waqf complexes and the kitchens where the meals were cooked and distributed.⁴⁶ It is relatively easy to differentiate within the context in which they used the word to refer to these two meanings.

There is an enrichment of meaning, and both are correct. It was used interchangeably, referring to monumental buildings, a waqf complex, a public kitchen (in a complex), and a place to rest for a certain amount of time according to context. In waqfiyyas, it was also used interchangeably as a monument and to refer to public kitchens. In this study, the term “imaret” refers to a particular institution that provides food in specific manners and to certain groups engaging in various activities within the waqf complex, as stipulated in its waqfiyya.

⁴⁶ Ramazan Pantık, “Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi,” 20-21.

CHAPTER 2

IMARETS THROUGH WAQFIYYAS

2.1. Waqfs And Waqfiyyas

Since the imarets were the institutions that thrived within the framework of the waqf system in the Ottoman Empire, it would be helpful to provide a brief overview of the operational principles of Ottoman waqfs and their contributions in various spheres. According to the favored opinion in the Hanafi school, the definition of waqf can be summarized as the giving of the profits of property to the benefit of people under certain conditions that are determined by the endower and the ownership of it to God (cannot be sold, gifted, or inherited).⁴⁷ The waqf's operation and management principles are determined by its founder, who operated as if they were the law of God. Waqfiyya is the document comprising these principles and the endower's declaration about the property's endowment. Although the terms in waqfiyyas were stated as laws that endower draws, they were also restricted in specific ways, such as being open to substituting its properties or dismissing its administrator by the ruler.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Kayhan Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs Within the Ottoman Waqf System," *Endowment Studies*, (2017):136. <https://doi.org/10.1163/24685968-00102002>

TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Vakıf," by Hacı Mehmet Günay, accessed April 14, 2024,

<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vakif#1>

For historical overview: TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Vakıf," by Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, accessed April 14, 2024, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vakif#2-tarih>

⁴⁸ Ali Himmet Berki, "İslâm'da Vakıf: Zağanus Paşa ve Zevcesi Nefise Hatun Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 4 (1958): 22.

Defining waqf within the social context was essential in understanding it from all aspects and encouraging further research beyond the legal framework. Köprülü attempted to broaden the definition of waqf as a legal-religious institution that gained great importance for its social and economic influence on Islamic lands.⁴⁹ by exemplifying the significant percentage of the endowed lands and various foundational institutions that reached today and shaped the landscape. Waqf institution was utilized in many different spheres of society and operated socio-cultural, economic, administrative, and political services.⁵⁰

Historians often characterize founders' motivation as a quest for divine approval through assisting people, following the depictions in the waqfiyyas.⁵¹ Although the waqfiyyas frame the endower's motivation as a commitment to fulfilling divine orders and treading a righteous path, with an expectation of rewards in the afterlife, they served as a contractual avenue for various other benefits. To comprehend the role of the waqf institution, it is essential to uncover potential motivations by meticulously examining diverse sources, carefully reading between the lines, and deciphering the text to reveal underlying motivations.

Amy Singer lists some possible motivations as “fiscal advantage, family benefit, and political profit” and “the protection of the assets from confiscation, personal glorification, promotion of urban development, the search for political legitimacy or

⁴⁹ Fuad Köprülü, “Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukukî Mahiyeti Ve Tarihi Tekâmülü,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 2 (1942): 1.

⁵⁰ Mehmet Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Vakıflar ve Vakıf Sisteminin Şehre Kattığı Değerler,” *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 10, no. 1 (Aralık 2008): 162

⁵¹ Yediyıldız defines the waqfiyya as a legal contract enabling individuals to permanently allocate a portion of their possessions for religious, charitable, or social purposes, intending to draw closer to God:

Yediyıldız, Bahaeddin. *XIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye’de Vakıf Müessesesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003.

Akbulut pointed out the main motivation of the founders as a quest for the divine approval of God.

İlhan Akbulut, “Vakıf Kurumu, Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Gelişimi,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 30 (2007): 72.

social status.”⁵² Nizri also explains some of the possible objectives of endowments as “ (...) useful tool for patronage, the advancement of education and scholarship, the attainment of legitimacy and status, the protection of personal wealth, the development of cities and villages, and the ensuring of a perpetual source of revenue for the family and offspring of the founder.”⁵³

In his article on waqf, Yediyıldız draws attention to the commendation of the complexes of Kanuni by Kınalızade. He hailed these complexes as exceptional illustrations of the ideal city outlined in *Farabi's al-Madinat al-Fadilah*.⁵⁴ This praise extends beyond the mere aesthetic appeal of monumental structures or the city itself, offering insights into the motivations of the endowers and the essence of the ideal city during that era. Their invaluable contributions to the towns are undeniable, as the monuments showcased the endower's influence and served as enduring records of their founder's lasting impact.⁵⁵

Serving in multiple areas, waqfs were used to improve urbanization, trade, and education, provide employment to many, meet the needs of the society in different

⁵² Amy Singer, “Charity’s Legacies: Reconsideration of Ottoman Imperial Endowment-Making,” in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Context*, ed. Michael Bonner, Mine Ener, Amy Singer (Albany: State University of New York, 2003), 295-299.

⁵³ Michael Nizri, “The Religious Endowments of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi: The Waqf Institution and the Survival of Ottoman Elite Households,” in *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East*, ed. Dror Ze'evi and Ehud R. Toledano, (Warsaw, Poland: De Gruyter Open Poland, 2015), 32.

Nizri, Michael. “The Religious Endowments of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi: The Waqf Institution and the Survival of Ottoman Elite Households.” In *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East*, edited by Dror Ze'evi and Ehud R. Toledano, 31-43. Warsaw, Poland: De Gruyter Open Poland, 2015.

⁵⁴ TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, s.v. “Vakıf,” by Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, accessed April 14, 2024,

<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vakif#2-tarih>

Adnan Ertem, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Vakıflar,” *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, no. 6 (June 1991): 131.

⁵⁵ Singer, “Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen,” 485.

Howard Crane, “The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy,” in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene Bierman, A Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New York: A.D. Caratzas, 1991), 206.

spheres, and used by the state in many other ways as an administrative and political tool. The motivation of the waqfs may differ according to its founder. “sultanic waqfs” and “dynastic waqfs” were supervised by state officials, mostly Chief Black Eunuch or Chief White Eunuch of the imperial palace, the surplus was returned to the treasury, and used in state expenses. In contrast, “large-scale waqfs” endowed by “high-ranking officials and notables” were functioned separately. The trustees of this kind of waqf were mostly from the founder's family. The surplus was not sent to the central treasury as their administrator was not the sultan himself, and the surplus may be spent on the enlargement and repair of the waqf or sent to beneficiaries. The motivation of these notables and high-ranking officials may include protecting their properties from confiscation, bypassing the inheritance law, and providing salaries to their families and servants.⁵⁶

Waqfs played a crucial role in the renovation and foundation of the city, and they also protected the people. By enacting several public buildings, the ruler became the caregiver in the eyes of the people instead of a usurper in the newly conquered areas.⁵⁷ It's important to note that constructing a monument wasn't solely dependent on wealth. It was not possible to establish an imaret with the sultan's permission as the land's grantor. Additionally, the monuments inflicted by the servants of the sultan were constrained to be no more than humble replicas of the sultanic waqfs that were symbols of the ruler's power and benevolence.⁵⁸ Including public kitchens in these complexes underscores that monumental constructions and institutionalized feeding were among the privileges reserved for the ruler and only founded by his permission on more minor scales.

The common categorization of the waqf institutions, as Bahaeddin Yediyıldız explains, is based on the initial beneficiaries of the waqf: charity waqfs (*hayrî*) and family waqfs (*ehlî*). Eventually, all waqfs become charity through the extinction of the

⁵⁶ Kayhan Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” 139.

⁵⁷ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, “Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 9 (Ankara 1970): 31-32.

⁵⁸ Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 35.

family members according to this categorization. He adds a new category, semi-family waqfs (*yarı ehli*), which serves both the good of the people and the family, as the first categorization was inefficient for the waqfs he dealt with from the 18th century.⁵⁹ Roded shares in their quantitative analysis of waqfs the difficulties they faced in categorizing waqfs as charitable or family. Although some waqfs were categorized as purely charitable, half of them “contained material benefits for the founder’s family” by employing the family members in their research.⁶⁰

For Amy Singer, the division of the waqfs as “public, beneficent (*khass, khayri*) and private, family (*‘amm, ahli*)” is wrong “concerning the nature of waqf.”⁶¹ Although widely used, family and public waqfs serve people beyond this categorization. She emphasized the considerable numbers of waqf founders “who created charitable endowments but named themselves and their heirs to positions as salaried managers, teachers, and other beneficiaries or functionaries. These were of a mixed type: sustaining family members while at the same time giving assistance or benefit to others.”⁶²

Orbay categorizes waqfs according to their “budget, income, and expenditure structure, the range and size of their services, and their impact on and the function in economy and society.” According to this classification, the waqfs can be divided into “cash, ordinary, and imperial.”⁶³ What determines the selection of the waqfs in this study is the public kitchens, which were bestowed by sultans, pashas, and women sultans who had the power and money to maintain these facilities. Thus, imperial waqfs are the best categorization to choose in this study.

⁵⁹ Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye’de Vakıf Müessesesi*, 15.

⁶⁰ Ruth Roded, “Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9, no. 9 (June 1989):70.

⁶¹ Amy Singer, “Charity’s Legacies,” 297.

⁶² Singer, “Charity’s Legacies,” 298.

⁶³ Kayhan Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” 138.

Halim Baki Kunter explained the main characters of the waqfs by dealing with several waqfiyyas and highlighted the importance of examining waqfs as social institutions and introducing them to people and scholars. He stated that no independent work dealt with waqfs historically until his day.⁶⁴ Studies on waqfs were based on juristic works and defined in terms of law and religion. The inclusion of different sources in waqf studies sheds light on its function in society and its social and economic role, thus widening its definition and contributing to the categorization of waqfs.⁶⁵

From a theoretical and juristic point of view, waqfs can only be told idealistically without going into their role in social life. Köprülü had drawn attention to this point. According to him, learning the theoretical framework is insufficient to understand the legal function of waqfs in society. Hence, they were based on the theological principles of a certain madhab and did not include even the primary sources; it was not a coincidence that they were not critical nor objective. He listed and categorized Western literature on waqfs and concluded that even though they were more successful in lightening different aspects of waqfs than the former, they were also lacking in telling the basis and historical evolution of the institution.⁶⁶

After him, historians added new materials and waqfiyyas to study in this field. Using archival sources such as “account books, court records, registers of financial decrees and fatwa compilations” helped investigate different aspects of the waqfs.⁶⁷ Barkan is also one of the pioneering scholars who referred to account books as source material to study how waqfs passed through the long years, their resistance to specific events, economic fluctuations, and their social function. His suggestion was followed mainly

⁶⁴ Halim Baki Kunter, “Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1 (1938): 103-104.

⁶⁵ Kayhan Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” 141.

⁶⁶ Fuad Köprülü, “Vakıf Müessesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü,” 2.

Fuad Köprülü, “Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1 (1938): 2.

⁶⁷ Kayhan Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” 142. Orbay talks about the historical process and lists the scholars in this field in this work.

by Faroqhi and Orbay in the projection of financial and institutional history and account books used by many others in different subjects.⁶⁸

Through waqfiyyas, scholars can study the founder's aim, the sources of revenues and where to spend them, the part of the buildings, employees and salaries, administration of the waqf, and related issues. Studies on waqfiyya collections examine waqfs through social, cultural, and economic aspects; they were also used to research certain waqfs individually.⁶⁹

Although waqfiyya collections got their deserved attention and were studied and transliterated by scholars, it is worth dealing with them collectively to compare them and the results of different archival sources. They are consciously chosen in this study to reevaluate the functions of public kitchens in society, the motivation for their services, the beneficiaries, and the extent of the services by providing comparison to historians with the results of other sources.

2.1.1. The Role of the Imarets

Waqfs that were endowed as social and religious monuments complexes in Barkan's usage of the term imarets need to be dealt with, primarily as they differed from the others regarding their endower, nature, purpose, and management style. The

⁶⁸ Some of the related works of Faroqhi:

Suraiya Faroqhi, "Vakif Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya: The Zaviye of Sadreddin-I Konevi," *Journal of The Economic and Social History of The Orient* 17, no. 17 (May 1974): 145-172; *idem*, "The tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 7 (1976): 183-208; *idem*, "Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Documents," *Turcica. Revue D'Etudes Turques*, no. 13 (1981): 90-122; *idem*, "A Great Foundation in Difficulties: Or some Evidence on Economic Contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the Mid-seventeenth Century," *Revue D'Histoire Magrebine* 14, no. 47-48 (1987): 109-121.

See the theses of Pantık on account registers of the waqf complex of Atik Valide in which he examines both the waqfiyya and summary account registers and the waqfs of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa over multiple sources: Ramazan Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi (1686-1727)," (MA thesis, Hacettepe University, 2014); *idem*, "Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakıfları: Yönetimi, Kentsel Gelişime Katkıları ve İktisadi Yapısı," (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2021).

⁶⁹ Kayhan Orbay, "Vakıfların Bazı Arşiv Kaynakları," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 29 (2005): 32-33.

distribution of state revenues, provided in the form of endowments for public services and tax exemptions, played a crucial role in fostering the adaptation and growth of the conquered territories.⁷⁰ While waqfs could be subject to confiscation, their independent operation and protection from external intervention remained a crucial feature in sustaining stability and expanding the lifespan of the institution.

Waqfs played a significant role in the empire's economy with their agricultural lands, production capabilities, and commercial enterprises. They created an enormous purchasing power in the economy. They emerged as a tool that served as a redistributive function in the economy by execution of public and religious services, charity activities, employment of several employees under different titles, making purchases, salary payments, monthly stipends to particular beneficiaries, and giving food and bread by imarets.⁷¹

The role of social assistance and security systems in protecting the entire society in today's societies and the responsibilities of the modern state were carried out partially by the waqfs, especially the imperial ones in the past.⁷² It is a common explanation and metaphor for understanding the scope of influence of the institution that many historians used. Waqf was used by the Ottoman Empire as a tool “to provide essential municipal services, the Ottoman ruling class dedicated to waqf a substantial proportion of tax revenues. Agricultural taxes, in particular, were endowed as waqf to support

⁷⁰ Barkan, “İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler,” 83-84.

Barkan, “İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar,” 240.

⁷¹ Kayhan Orbay, “Vakıfların Bazı Arşiv Kaynakları,” 1.

⁷² Ertem, Adnan, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Vakıflar,” 149

Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 16.

Fuad Köprülü, “Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti,” 2.

Akbulut, “Vakıf Kurumu, Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Gelişimi,” 63.

Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Vakıflar ve Vakıf Sisteminin Şehre Kattığı Değerler.” 170.

urban institutions such as mosques, madrasas, water systems, and kitchens for the poor.”⁷³

The waqf system was central in helping diminish the difference between the rich and the poor. The wealth transition through waqfs supported the lower classes and widened the middle class. The ruling elite, a small part of the society, had an important place in establishing foundations. Education facilities, opportunities to socialize and found networks, and accessibility of basic needs supported the lower class and allowed them to gain wealth.⁷⁴ This system helped prohibit acts that can affect social life negatively, such as rebels, riots, theft, and banditry, and it helped provide justice.⁷⁵ Significantly, imarets contributed both to the legitimacy of the rulers and sustaining security by providing basic food to people in need of it, such as students who resided in waqf complexes, the personnel daily, and helped travelers, the poor, and the needy in search for hot soup and bread.⁷⁶

Endowments were used to foster relations with scholars, thereby bestowing political legitimacy upon rulers. Madrasas and mosques played significant roles in endorsing specific religious and political perspectives. Amy Singer explains the use of the waqfs in the Ottoman Empire by giving references to its predecessors, The Rum Seljuk, who strategically utilized endowments to boost trade and ensure security, thereby strengthening their authority over newly acquired territories. Caravanserais emerged as key players in establishing connections with merchants and travelers. In their ongoing efforts, the Ottomans embraced this legacy to solidify their presence in

⁷³ Robert McChesney, “Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shah Abbas, 1011-1023/1602-1614,” *Asian and Afrikan Studies*, no. 15 (1981): 165.

⁷⁴ Ertem, Adnan, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Vakıflar,” 133.

⁷⁵ Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* ed. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1994), 47.

Akbulut, Vakıf Kurumu Mahiyeti ve Gelişimi, 65.

Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Vakıflar ve Vakıf Sisteminin Şehre Kattığı Değerler,” 162.

⁷⁶ Pantık, “Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi,” 120.

recently conquered lands. They continued to leverage existing institutions and pioneered the creation of more intricate ones, encompassing various buildings designed for distinct purposes. Urban complexes expanded physically and economically, supported by commercial structures, contributing to the growth of cities, villages, and districts in Anatolia, the Balkans, and Arab provinces. Similarly, Sufi lodges played a comparable role in rural areas.⁷⁷

Following the dissolution of the Seljuk's authority over Anatolia, local emirs gained power, reflected in the landscape as the cities expanded around the Sufi lodges instead of the central Sunni mosques that the emirs endowed. These dervish lodges served to gain legitimacy over Turcoman by aligning with Sufi sheiks and creating a new focus for the city. Some scholars saw these places as predecessors of T-type *zawiya/imarets* that Ottomans built to create new hubs for the towns they annexed. Unlike the emirs of Central Anatolia, Ottomans implemented this architectural program on the former Byzantine cities that Christians inhabited. They used this program to modify the urban landscape both culturally and physically by providing new spaces at the edges of the city that give the people new opportunities.⁷⁸ People benefited from some privileges and tax exemptions, being the initial residents of these places, which attracted others and enhanced the population.⁷⁹

Like convent mosques, *imarets* served certain groups defined in the *waqfiyyas*. Sufi lodges were served to and employed by the dervishes; *imarets* were serving following the common principle of answering the needs of the emerging society around the monumental buildings, including the employees of the complex, *madrasa* students, travelers, and guests, along with the poor, widows and neighbors. Public kitchens of Ottomans were unique in that they were built by the imperial family and high-ranking

⁷⁷ Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 27-29.

⁷⁸ Grigor Boykov, "The T-shaped *Zawiye/İmarets* of Edirne: A Key Mechanism for Ottoman Urban Morphological Transformation," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 33-37.

⁷⁹ Barkan, "İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler," 81.

officials, following not only the Islamic obligations and encouragements but also Sufi traditions about food and hospitality and the practices of the neighboring cultures.⁸⁰

The new quarters that created “social and religious focal” were named after these complexes since the beginning of construction activities initiated by Orhan Gazi. Complementary buildings followed them and contributed to establishing commercial centers for the Ottoman cities. This trend was also observed in the new capitals, Edirne and Istanbul.⁸¹ İnalçık explained this process: “Each complex, as it answered the basic spiritual and material needs of a Muslim community in religion and education, as well as in water supply and even (through the hospice *‘imâret* or hospice kitchen) in food, became the center of a settlement which grew over time into a full-fledged *nâhiye*. Through such a system, Muslim Istanbul developed into Europe's largest city in the second half of the 15th century.”⁸²

2.2. The Close Examination of the Waqfiyyas

The first challenge of this study was to reach the names and places of the imarets built around the empire. An article by Amy Singer that lists the imarets mentioned in Evliya’s travelogue helped me to take the first steps to finding them.⁸³ There are collective works on the imarets listed in the travelogue of Evliya or those that survived physically, as mentioned above. However, the waqfiyyas and the list of imarets were obtained from Ayverdi's imarets list following a comprehensive inquiry of *Vakıflar Dergisi*, *Bellekten*, and other sources regarding their waqfiyyas.⁸⁴ Ayverdi's list

⁸⁰ Singer, “Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen,” 483.

⁸¹ Crane, “The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy,” 174-180.

⁸² İnalçık, “İstanbul: An Islamic City,” 10.

⁸³ Amy Singer, “Mapping Imarets,” in *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* eds. Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann and Amy Singer (Istanbul: ErenYayınları, 2007), 43-55.

⁸⁴ In a series of four books on architectural history of Ottoman Empire:

Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi‘mârî Çağının Menşe’i: Osmanlı Mi‘mârîsinin İlk Devri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1966); *idem*, *Osmanlı Mi‘mârîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, (1972); *idem*, *Osmanlı Mi‘mârîsinde Fâtih Devri I-II* (1973-74)

provides a broader scope with detailed information about the sources. Additionally, during the research process, some waqfiyyas of the imarets that were not mentioned in Ayverdi's list were found and added to this study. Most of the waqfiyyas were found in collective publications such as *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri* and individual publications of the waqfs such as *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*.⁸⁵ Although the majority of the waqfiyyas had previously been translated and published individually, the remaining waqfiyyas could not be found in the archive of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, except for a few waqfiyyas. The relevant sections of these waqfiyyas were also examined and included in this study.

Most of the waqfiyyas quoted in this study are from the original versions; on the other hand, some are rewritten, translated, or updated versions of the original documents. Possible updates and changes to the original waqfiyyas were not considered when analyzing their similarities, differences, characteristics, and changes in the waqfiyyas over time and according to the range of the imarets. Thirty-two waqfiyyas were included in this study from 1348 through the end of the Fatih era.

2.2.1. Lala Şahin Paşa

Lala Şahin Paşa was the first *beylerbeyi* of the Ottoman Empire and endowed various waqf buildings across Bursa, Kirmasti, and Filibe and over Rumelia. The waqfiyya about the waqfs in Bursa and the zawiya in Kirmasti was written in 1348. The employees and the amounts of the ingredients of the meals cooked in zawiya were listed in the waqfiyya. Seven dirhams would be spent on meat daily. Four hundred fifty dirhams would be spent on salt annually, and 1000 dirhams would be paid annually for the things that contribute to the deliciousness of the meal, like onion, garlic, pepper, and such. Six thousand dirhams would be spent on oil and rice. Thirty-six *müds* of wheat would be used for bread annually (*müd* of Bursa). The person responsible for the cellar would get a dirham daily and three *müds* of grain yearly.

⁸⁵ Mevlüt Çam and Ramazan Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2022); Hasan Öcalan et al. eds., *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I* (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013); *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938).

Vekilharc (steward) would be paid in cash only, a dirham daily. The cook's duty was preparing and distributing the food in Savile and getting a dirham daily and four *müds* of wheat annually. The *mutevelli* would be chosen from the descendants of the founder. If no more male descendants existed, the daughters and the most appropriate person from their children would be appointed. If there were no descendants, one of the freed slaves of the family would take the position. If no people deserved to be *mutevelli*, then *kadi* would appoint someone according to *waqfiyya*.⁸⁶

2.2.2. Gazi Süleyman Paşa

The preserved copy of the *waqfiyya* of Gazi Süleyman Paşa was arranged from various registers during the era of Fatih, although it was founded during the era of Orhan Bey.⁸⁷ It was situated on the road west of Anatolia to Rumelia at Bolayır, consisting of a *zawiya*, mosque, *han*, and kitchen serving the initial needs of the travelers, settlement, and conquest.⁸⁸

The beneficiaries of the *imaret* were listed as comers and goers, the needy, scholars and righteous, dervishes and sheikhs who follow the Sufi path, worshipers, pious individuals, and the poor. Ten dirhams would be given to the sheikh of the *imaret* daily, ten *müds* of wheat, and ten *müds* of barley annually. The scribe would get six dirhams daily, and five *müds* of barley and wheat, *vekilharc*, and *anbarcı* would be paid four dirhams. *Nakib* (assistant) would get three dirhams; the *bevıab* would get a dirham, three dirhams for both cooks each, and the baker would get three dirhams, *kayyım*s (deals with various works in *waqf* complexes) of each building would get a dirham. The specified expenses and amounts of the ingredients for a day were 50 dirhams for 37,5 *ukiyye* meat, four *kiles* for the bread, and a *kile* of rice for the soup. Furthermore, extra food would be prepared for the sacred nights and religious

⁸⁶ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 54-55.

⁸⁷ Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşe'i*, 41; *idem*, "Gaazî Süleyman Paşa Vakfiyesi ve Tahrir Defterleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 7 (1968): 19-28.

⁸⁸ Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşe'i*, 42.

celebrations. The waqf administration would determine expenses for the sacred nights and special occasions.⁸⁹

2.2.3. Sultan Orhan Gazi

The waqfiyya of Orhan Bey Imaret in Bursa was prepared in 1360 and rewritten according to the original Turkish document in the Yıldırım era in 1400.⁹⁰ The building was called zawiya in the waqfiyya, indicating that people were calling the zawiya *imaret*.⁹¹ There is no information about the people eating from the kitchen. However, the sources from the preceding centuries and court registers from the 17th century gave information about those allocated to benefit from the kitchen.⁹² In addition, it is indicated in the waqfiyya that the zawiya was endowed for the service of sheikhs, scholars, sayyids, the poor, and the guests who stay there. There is an essential detail in the waqfiyya about who will be accepted to zawiya. Anyone but the sinners who display his transgressions openly to the public, or those who neglect the prayers or engage in innovations and manifest deviation in the eyes of society, would be accepted to the zawiya. The most extended duration of the visit was determined to be three days. The conditions of the stay were to be explained to the visitors, and anyone who disobeyed would be excluded from zawiya. The deputy or the trustee of the *mutevelli* would be responsible for welcoming the guests from the important scholars, sheikhs, and sayyids (the descendants of the prophet), meeting their needs, dealing with their animals, etc.⁹³ The waqf's income would initially be spent on investments to increase revenue and repair, construct, and maintain the zawiya. Then, the income would be spent on the important needs of the zawiya. The expenditures of the zawiya and the amount of the employees' payments would be left to the waqf administrators to

⁸⁹ Ayverdi, "Gaazî Süleyman Paşa Vakfiyesi ve Tahrîr Defterleri," 22.

⁹⁰ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 3.

⁹¹ Ibid., 16. "Mahrûse-i Burusa humiyet ani'n-nuhûsada binâ eyledüğü zâviyeyi ki beyne'n-nâs imâret dimekle ma'rûftur (...)"

⁹² Mefail Hızlı, "Bursa Selatin İmaretleri," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi* 10, no. 1 (2001): 5.

⁹³ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 18.

decide.⁹⁴ The sheikh of the imaret receives 90 *akçes* and three *müds* (volume measurement unit for grains) of wheat monthly.⁹⁵ The words imaret and zawiya were used interchangeably in this document.

2.2.4. Gazi Hudavendigâr

The waqfiyya of Gazi Hüdavendigâr about his imaret in Bursa was prepared in 1385, 20 years after the construction (767, 1366), and its remaining copy is from 1400. Its transliteration can be found in Tayyip Gökbiçgin's article.⁹⁶ According to the waqfiyya, even individuals from lower classes were treated with respect during their three-day stays, with the possibility of extended accommodations subject to the discretion of the waqf's administration. While those from higher social strata, including ulama and *sadat* (plural form of sayyid), may have received preferential treatment following their status, the document explicitly excludes hospitality for *fasıks* (sins openly) and those who have abandoned the practice of salat. The conditions of the stay would be explained to the visitors so that the visitor would not be upset about the possibility of exclusion due to improper behaviors. It is indicated in the waqfiyya that zawiya was endowed to the service of ulama, sheikhs, sayyids (the leading figures or descendants of the prophet), *huffaz* (memorizers of the Quran), preachers, the poor and the needy who came as visitors. The decisions about payments, recruitment, and administration of employees like an imam, *müşrif* (supervisor), *hâdim* (retainer), *ferraş* (janitor), *câbi* (collects the revenue), *tabbah* (the cook), and *bevvab* (gatekeeper) were left to the discretion of *mutevelli*. The first *mutevelli* was appointed as Grand

⁹⁴ Ibid., 19.

“(…)eyyâm-ı mu’tâdede fukarâyâ verilen helâvi bahâsına ve leyâlîde evkât-ı lâzîmede ikâd olunan şem’ ile ve istidâa için iştirâ olunan zeyt ve sâir edhân bahâsına ve zâviye-yi mezkûrede lâzım ve mühim olan sahanlara ve çanak ve çölmekle ve kepçe ve kazğan ve süpürgeler ve bunlardan mâ’adâ mezkûr ve gayr-I mezkûr umûr-I lâzîme ve eşyâ-i mühimme bahâsına harc ve sarf olunan nukûdu cem’ân mütevelli re’yine tefvîz eyledi”

⁹⁵ Ibid., 18-19.

⁹⁶ Tayyip Gökbiçgin, “Murad I. Tesisleri ve Bursa İmaretî Vakfiyesi,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, no. 10 (December 2010): 219-220.

Vizier Hayreddin Paşa.⁹⁷ In the sacred days, additional meals and desserts would be prepared, and the expenses of oil and kitchen tools would be spent from its income according to waqfiyya.⁹⁸ The salaries of other employees would also be up to the decision of the waqf administration.⁹⁹

2.2.5. Ali Paşa

The imaret of Ali Paşa in Bursa, called zawiya in its waqfiyya, was translated from its Arabic origin (1394) by Uzunçarşılı. The hospitality in this zawiya took no more than three days, as in other hospices. The meal is served twice a day. The income was to be spent on the accommodation expenses of anyone from scholars, the poor, and the visitors, especially the poor those who belong to the zawiya of Ebu İshak Kazeruni, the orphans, and food for the visitors' animals. Three dirhams would be spent on the maintenance of the building. Two dirhams would be spent on the visitors' clothes, beds, and blankets. The second poor in this section possibly refers to the dervishes who also do not have many physical belongings.¹⁰⁰ There is interesting information in the waqfiyya about the share of the mutevelli from income, kadi of the time appointed as a mutevelli, and in addition to his share from the profit, he would be served twice a day from the meal.¹⁰¹

2.2.6. Ebu Ishak

The date of this waqfiyya is also in 1400. It was endowed by Yıldırım Bayezid to help with the needs of the dervishes of Sheikh Ebu Ishak Kazerunî, the visitors and residents, the notables, and the poor who came across to the zawiya in Bursa. The sheikh had to be pious, knowledgeable about the Sufi order, guiding, and virtuous,

⁹⁷ Gökbilgin, "Murad I. Tesisleri ve Bursa İmaretleri Vakfiyesi," 221.

⁹⁸ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 160.

⁹⁹ Hızlı, "Bursa Selatin İmaretleri," 66.

¹⁰⁰ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 182.

¹⁰¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Çandarlızade Ali Paşa Vakfiyesi," *Belleten* 5, no. 20 (1941): 558.

could be a model to dervishes, and would be paid 10 dirhams daily. The janitor, *bevtab*, and cook would get a dirham daily. The cook counted among the employees, but there is no information about the way of cooking, the amounts of the ingredients, etc.¹⁰²

2.2.7. Gülçiçek Hatun

The kitchen and tomb of the Gülçiçek Hatun in Bursa accompanied the zawiya. The memorizers of the Quran were appointed to reside daily in return for money and clothing. The food and clothing needs of the visitors from the neighbors, the poor, the needy, the scholars, and students would be fulfilled according to its waqfiyya. The founder of this waqfiyya is the mother of Yıldırım Bayezid, and it was prepared in 1400.¹⁰³

2.2.8. Yıldırım Bayezid

There is plenty of information about how the public kitchen works in the waqfiyya from 1400 about the complex found in Bursa. The people present at the foundation should be fed two times a day, regardless of who they are. The workers of the foundation also get the same meal at their home. On sacred nights like Friday night, the holy month of Ramadan, or in the days of the two religious festivals (the feasts of holy Ramadan and *Kurban* in another name, eid al-adha), the amount of food given to people should be increased according to waqfiyya.¹⁰⁴

Each *batman* had 16 *okkas* and each *okka* 400 dirhams; eight *batmans* of meat for each day was served with a compatible amount of rice, and bread would be spent for meals twice a day for the morning and evening to the people from lower or higher strata, rich

¹⁰² Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 122; H. Adnan Erzi, "Bursa'da İshakî Dervişlerine Mahsus Zâviyenin Vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 2 (1942): 429.

¹⁰³ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 192.

¹⁰⁴ Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşe'i*, 40-41.

or poor, resident or guest who were present in the zawiya. The meal was to be sent to those who provided services and the neighbors as in the tradition. It was also among the duties to serve meals to anyone who came to the imaret from the ingredients that were present at that particular time. On the nights of Fridays, Ramadan, sacred days, and religious festivals, additions would be made to the regular meals. The patient in *daru's-shifa* would be fed from its kitchen and by its employees following their needs from the total amount of 260 dirhams (money) per day for a quarter *müd* of rice, 93.600 *akçes* for 93 *müds* of rice for a year, and wheat (for bread) according to the need.¹⁰⁵

Although meals prepared in the public kitchen would be sent to the workers' homes, they were paid in cash daily and in kind (wheat, barley, or rice) monthly, according to their ranks. The students get bread in addition to their allowance.¹⁰⁶ The guests would be served three days long, and long stayers would be warned kindly about the principles of the imaret. The infidels, the ones who oppose Islam, those who commit sins publicly, those who follow heretical innovations, and those who act contrary to the practices of Prophet Muhammad would not be accepted to the zawiya.¹⁰⁷

According to Ayverdi's comment, the payments were so excessive that, in time, the public kitchen became incapable of serving even the madrasa students.¹⁰⁸ However, for the sake of this study, the document can give an ideal picture of how public kitchens work. The employees would get salaries in cash and generously in kind. For example, the sheikh of the imaret would get 20 *akçes* per day and three *müds* of rice per month,

¹⁰⁵ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 109-110.

¹⁰⁶ Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşesi*, 41.

¹⁰⁷ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 111.

¹⁰⁸ Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşesi*, 43.

for the imam, four dirhams per day and a *müüd* wheat, etc. The students get a dirham allowance with daily bread.¹⁰⁹

2.2.9. Evrenos Bey

The waqfiyya was prepared for zawiya, built in Serez by Hacı Evrenos bin Isa Bey in 1415. It was written in Arabic. The descendants of the founder handed it out to the VGM archive in 1944. The translated version of the waqfiyya was published by Salih Zeki Zengin.¹¹⁰ The founder allocated 3 dirhams daily and provided two portions of a meal with meat twice a day (morning and evening) to the person traditionally known as “ahi,” who was responsible for the kitchen's needs. Other employees received cash payments, and the portion they would receive from the food was left to the discretion of the mutevelli and ahi. It was specified that every visitor, whether a traveler or a resident, irrespective of their economic status, should be served following the traditional customs of Serez. If there was any remaining food and there were needy people among the neighbors of the zawiya, it was also distributed to those who depended on the meals of this place and the poor among the neighbors of the zawiya. These decisions were left to the discretion of the mutevelli and ahi (vekilharc). Furthermore, the surplus covered the meals provided to guests upon arrival and departure. If the income from endowments was sufficient, the deputy and the trustee might also offer pickles and honey in amounts deemed appropriate to those staying in the zawiya and needy individuals at specific times.¹¹¹

2.2.10. Timurtaş Paşa

The waqfiyya was prepared in 1416 by Ali Bey, the son of Timurtaş Paşa, who built a zawiya in Bursa. The income from the waqf was intended to be allocated to the zawiya

¹⁰⁹ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 109-110.

¹¹⁰ Zeki Salih Zengin, “İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden Serez’de Evrenuz Gazi’ye Ait Zaviye Vakfiyesi,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 28 (2004): 104.

¹¹¹ Zengin, “İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden,” 110-111.

that served passersby and guests. From this income, free meals were to be prepared for those staying at the zawiya. Hafizs, scholars, orphans, the poor, the weak, and even the rich were allowed to participate in these meals.¹¹²

2.2.11. Ali Bey (son of Timurtaş Paşa)

Timurtaşoğlu Ali Bey built a mosque, imaret and a bath in Manisa, the date of the waqfiyya is 1416. It was stipulated in its waqfiyya that the income would be spent on zawiya and its visitors, scholars, memorizers of the Quran, the imam, orphans, the poor, and the needy.¹¹³

2.2.12. Çelebi Sultan Mehmed (Yeşil İmaret)

It was declared in the waqfiyya that the income of the waqf, first and foremost, would be spent on the upkeep of the zawiya and madrasa and the buildings that contribute to the income following the tradition, then to the meal that was served twice a day. The amounts of the ingredients are specified following the amount of meat. For the preparation of the meal, six *ölçek* meat would be purchased for a day (every *ölçek* equals 16 okka, and every okka equals 400 dirhams according to waqfiyya). The rice would equal the amount of meat, and the bread would be baked according to need.

For the guests of the zawiya, the meal would be cooked with qualitative ingredients, and the meal *zerde* would also be cooked. The meals in the imaret should be as different as possible, weighing 40 dirhams daily. Anyone who came to the zawiya, rich or poor, resident or traveler, the neighboring poor, the young servants, and everyone present in the imaret would be served the meal. Following the tradition that also applied in his father's imarets, the meal would be sent to the houses of the poor and neighbors. In addition to the meal, *helva* (dessert), fruits, and foam *helva*, according to the amount determined by mutevelli, would be presented on the sacred nights, the nights of every Friday, Ramadan, and the days of the two religious festivals.

¹¹² Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 289.

¹¹³ İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa Tarihinde Vakıflar ve Hayırlar* (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1948), 35-40.

The waqf employees were usually paid in cash and kind, such as rice, wheat, and barley. The sheikh would get five dirhams daily, a *müid* of wheat, barley, and a quarter *müid* of rice monthly. The madrasa students would also get an allowance in cash and bread twice a day from zawiya.¹¹⁴

2.2.13. Oruç Bey

It was endowed by Oruç Bey in 1420 for the zawiya that was built in Geyve. The meal would be cooked twice daily for those staying in the zawiya and those passing by. The expenses were listed as ten dirhams for bread, five for meat, two for wood daily, and half a kile of wheat would be purchased for meals. *Mutevelli* would get five *akçes* daily, the scribe two dirhams daily, and the cook would get a dirham daily. The sheikh of the imaret would be righteous, pious, and virtuous and get a dirham daily.¹¹⁵

2.2.14. Umur Bey

The waqfiyya of Umur and Saruca Bey consists of an original waqfiyya written in 1415 and addendums made in the following years until 1421. In this study, they are all considered as one waqfiyya. All the income of the waqf that had come from various sources like baths, shops, and lands would be spent on the expenses of zawiya in Çirmen and its visitors. The services were carried out by the slaves that were endowed with zawiya. The sheikh would get a dirham daily, five *müds* of wheat, and three *müds* of barley yearly. The bread would be made from 30 *müds* of grain annually and 12 *müds* for the meal.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 141-142.

¹¹⁵ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 336.

¹¹⁶ Murat Yıldız, *Sarıca Paşa ve Umur Bey Vakfı* (İstanbul: Timaş Akademi, 2022), 36-40.

2.2.15. Şeyh Paşa

The waqf was endowed by Hacı Şeyh Paşa bin Şehabeddin to a masjid in Bursa and zawiya in Mudurnu in 1427. The founder was a prominent Merchant; his daughter had also contributed to the endowment. The remaining income after the employee expenses and other expenditures would be spent on the meal. It would be served to the poor, travelers, and the weak. The employees would be paid in cash daily and in-kind annually. *Mutevelli* would get 20 percent of the income. The first *mutevelli* of this waqf was the founder's daughter, and others were the sons. Nazır would get three *müds* of wheat and two *müds* of barley annually. The sheikh would get a dirham daily, three *müds* of wheat, and two *müds* of barley annually. The cook would get half a dirham daily, two *müds* of wheat, and a *müd* of barley. *Ferraş* (janitor) would do the job of *nakib* and get half a dirham daily, two *müds* of wheat, and a *müd* of barley annually.¹¹⁷

2.2.16. Mehmed Çelebi bin Hamza bin Biçar

The waqfiyya of this zawiya/imaret was written in 1429. There is not much information about the function of imaret but the determined beneficiaries in the waqfiyya.¹¹⁸ Like in other imarets here, the receivers are listed as anyone who comes to the imaret as poor, needy, and who visits from ulama. The guests would benefit from the services of the imaret. That was built in Geyve.¹¹⁹

2.2.17. Sultan Murad II (Muradiye)

The complex of Muradiye was found on the west of Bursa, consisting of a zawiya, madrasa, imaret, hammam, fountains, and garden in the mid-1420s. Its waqfiyya was

¹¹⁷ Çam-Pantık, Bursa Selatin Vakıfları, 366-8.

¹¹⁸ VGMA, 730:85/50.

¹¹⁹ “صادرین وواردین من الفقراء والمساكين والعلماء والأضياف النازلین”

written in 1430, a transcribed version of the waqfiyya published in the book *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, a Turkish version of the original waqfiyya that was copied in 1907.¹²⁰

The income would be allocated to madrasa and other charitable buildings and used for repair expenses. After that, it would be spent on the costs of the meals that were cooked in the imaret twice a day. The amount of the ingredients and the menus would be up to an employee, was called *sofra buzeri*, and further decisions were to be determined by *mutevelli*. In addition to the regular menus, on the nights of Fridays, Ramadan, *kandil* (sacred nights), and the days of the two religious festivals, several other meals and sweets would be prepared specially.¹²¹

Following the arrangements of the imarets of former sultans, the food would be provided to anyone present, including the young or old, poor or rich, residents or travelers. Servants and passersby were allowed to receive food as well. Following the tradition, the food would also be sent to neighboring homes. The students would get two breads each day and their two *akçes* stipends. The employees get paid in cash daily and in kind as wheat annually. The *mutevelli* would get 20 percent of the income, *kilerci* and *ambarcı* would get two *akçes* daily and six *müds* of wheat for each. The two *nakibs* would get two *akçes* daily, *bevvals* would get two *akçes*, the scribe would get five *akçes* daily and half *müd* of wheat and barley monthly, and *vekiliharc* would get five *akçes* daily. The number of cooks was increased in this waqf, and it was decided to be four, the same as the bakers. They would get two *akçes* every day, the apprentice would get two *akçes*, and the washer of the dishes would get an *akçe*.¹²²

2.2.18. Emir Sultan

Emir Sultan was a famous religious and Sufi leader of his time, married to the daughter of Yıldırım Bayezid. He came from Buhara after his visit to Makka and Madina to

¹²⁰ Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 153.

¹²¹ Ibid., 163.

¹²² Çam-Pantık, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 163.

fulfill the obligation of the Hajj. He resided in Bursa, where people loved and respected him, even the sultans. He joined his dervishes in the battles, such as the siege of Istanbul with Murad II. In addition to his religious affiliation, he was also respected for being the descendant of the prophet. He was called Emir Seyyid Buhari or Emir Sultan (sultan for being the groom of Yıldırım Bayezid). He founded a zawiya, and others, including Mehmed II, added further to his waqf. The oldest waqfiyya can be reached is the version written after his contributions and regulations in 1470.¹²³

As the income of the waqf grew over time, the expenses increased for Mehmed II, including the number of employees and the amount of food served in the imaret. The kitchen's daily expenses are listed as three batmans of meat; it was a batman before, four keyls of rice, and two *keyls*. Wheat for bread was determined as daily 12 *keyls*, for meal three *keyls*. Ten dirhams were allocated for the meal for the guests daily, and its usage was up to *mutevelli*; he may increase or lower the expenses accordingly. For the nights of *Regaib*, *Berat*, *Kadir*, Ramadan, and Fridays, the amount of rice that would be cooked was determined as two *müds*. In the days of the two religious festivals, two *müds* and a *keyl* of rice would be cooked.¹²⁴

The payments also increased according to the needs of time. The employees are listed in a more detailed version. *Kayyim* would get two dirhams, cooks 4 dirhams daily, and two *müds* of wheat annually. The dishwasher would get one and a half dirham daily and half *müd* of wheat annually. Two bakers would share five dirhams and two *müds* of wheat payment. *Bevvab* of imaret would be paid a dirham daily and four *müds* 16 *keyls* of wheat. *Ferraş* would get a dirham and a *müd* of wheat. The meat carrier would be paid a dirham daily, and the person responsible for *kiler* would get two dirhams, four *müds*, and 16 *keyls* of wheat. The scribe who records the income and expenses of the foundation with trust and honesty, without getting involved with deceit and

¹²³ Ibid., 186.

¹²⁴ Halim Baki Kunter, "Emir Sultan Vakıfları ve Fatih'in Emir Sultan Vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 4 (1958): 50-52.

betrayal in his work, would be paid three dirhams and three *müds* of barley and the same amount of wheat annually.¹²⁵

2.2.19. Sungur Çavuş

It was endowed in 1435 by Sungur Çavuş Bey bin Abdullah. The income of several mills, gardens, and houses devoted to zawiya in Manastır is 1/5 to its sheikh and the remaining to the expenses of the food given to the poor and needy. A madrasa, han, and mosque accompanied the imaret. The expenses of the mosque and the salaries of the employees of the mosque were paid from separate sources of income.¹²⁶

2.2.20. Yörgüç Paşa

The waqfiyya that was prepared by Yörgüç Paşa in 1436 was translated in 1950. The examination of this translation was published by Ferruh Toruk in 2006, and this version is used in this research.¹²⁷ The imaret was built in 1430 within a complex that consists of a mosque, madrasa, han, and bath in Amasya.¹²⁸ The imaret was endowed to the comers and goers from the poor and needy among the followers of the prophet Muhammed.¹²⁹

The ingredients of the meals were given in a more detailed version. For the bread, there should be ten *kilçes* of wheat. For the meat, the amount determined as 20 dirhams; for rice, 12 okkas, which would be equal to 200 dirhams; for bezir and hasır, a dirham would be spent daily; for honey, oil, salt, vinegar, and other necessities, six

¹²⁵ Öcalan, *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, 194.

¹²⁶ VGMA, 989:204/157.

¹²⁷ Ferruh Toruk, “Yörgüç Paşa Vakfiyesi,” *Bilge Dergisi* 12, no. 48 (2006): 16–26.

¹²⁸ Çiğdem Belgin Dikmen and Ferruh Toruk, “Amasya Yörgüç Paşa Cami ve Türbesi,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 51 (2019): 50.

¹²⁹ Toruk, “Yörgüç Paşa Vakfiyesi,” 19.

dirhams. The rice will be cooked with sweet oil and black pepper on Friday nights. On the nights of Ramadan and other sacred nights, three types of meals that were common among the people will be cooked. The payments of the employee were in cash and kind; the sheikh of the imaret would get five dirhams daily and six *müds* of wheat.¹³⁰

2.2.21. İsa Bey

This waqf consisted of the madrasa, which contained an iwan, a room, a bath, an imaret, a kitchen, an oven, and a few rooms, each within a garden inside the castle of Bursa. Its waqfiyya was written in 1436; İsa Bey Çelebi bin Bayezid Paşa endowed the waqf.¹³¹

The amount of the ingredients listed as 20 dirhams of meat, five *keyls* of wheat, one and a half *keyl* of rice one day, and the same amount of wheat the other for the preparation of soup (the word *marak* used here means soup). The founder set aside ten dirhams for the expenses of the visitors, another ten for honey, oil, and jam, and five for salt and wood daily. Every room will get a dirham and enough bread and soup (*marak*). The annual payments for the residents of the rooms and the imam at the village that was mentioned were determined as four akçes daily, six müds of wheat, and four müds of barley annually. The founder prohibited his daughters, brothers, and sisters from eating meals; if they ate the meal, they had to pay for their portions. *Mutevelli* would be from the descendants of the brother of İsa Bey after him.¹³²

2.2.22. Mustafa Bey

Mustafa Bey, son of Yörgüç Paşa, built a *han* and imaret in Havza. Its waqfiyya was prepared in 1437; it was translated in 1951 by Osman Keskinoglu. It was determined in the waqfiyya that the sheikh of the imaret would be righteous and pious among the

¹³⁰ Ibid., 20

¹³¹ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 445-6.

¹³² Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1984), 270.

scholars and treat people who came to the imaret according to their rank. Some people were responsible for reading the Quran in addition to imam and muezzin. The sheikh also had to read twenty pages of the Quran daily. A righteous person would serve people who come and go in the traditional way as *nakib*. A person would be *ferraş* and fulfill the duties of *bevıab* and *kandilci*. The cook would be responsible for preparing both the meal and dessert. The baker would prepare enough bread daily. A *Cabi*, who would be the scribe and inspector (*nazır*), would record the incomes of the waqf and write accounting records. A *hazın* would protect the cellar. Twenty percent of the revenue would be given to *mutevelli*. The sheikh would get four dirhams a day and six *müds* of wheat and six *müds* of barley, *nakib* a dirham and four *müds* of wheat, *ferraş*, and baker would get a dirham and three *müds* of wheat. The baker would get a dirham daily and three *müds* of wheat annually.¹³³

2.2.23. Halil Paşa

This waqf was established by Halil Paşa Bin İbrahim Paşa (Çandarlı Halil Paşa) in 1436/7 in Iznik. The original waqfiyya was lost and rewritten by his son İbrahim in 1497. The translation of the waqfiyya is published in *Bursa Vakfiyeleri*. The imaret was endowed for visitors, the poor, and travelers. The daily meal's expenses are determined as 30 dirhams for meat, eight dirhams for wood, one dirham each for salt and bowls, half a dirham for lamp oil, and half a dirham for mats. Ten dirhams were allocated for the special meal that was designated for those who came to the *pazar* (it is used as a bazaar or referring to the meal that was served to the guests who gathered for trade or other purposes as mentioned in other documents *pavzar sofrası*). For jams and pickles, three dirhams would be spent. Additionally, 1.75 *kiles* of wheat would be added to the soup, and five *kiles* of wheat would be used for bread. On blessed nights such as *Berat*, *Regaib*, and *Kadir*, as well as during the days of the feast of Ramadan and *Kurban*, six *kiles* of rice would be used for pilaf, and two *kiles* of yellow rice would be used for *zerde*. In Ramadan, pilaf would be cooked every three days using

¹³³ Ferruh Toruk, "Yörgüç Paşa Oğlu Mustafa Bey Vakfiyesi'nin Mahiyeti," *Social Mentality and Researcher Thinkers Journal* 7, no. 52 (November 2021): 2966-8.

six *kiles* of rice. The sheikh of the imaret would take six *müds* wheat and barley annually in addition to his daily cash payment of six dirhams. The sheikh had to be pious, honorable, and righteous and would be chosen from the freed slaves of waqf or their descendants. Similarly, the *mutevelli* was to be selected from the descendants of the founder after his death. It was indicated that the cook and baker should be skilled in their duties. The cook would take three dirhams and the baker two and a half daily. *Nakib* had to be capable of performing his duties and would get three dirhams daily. *Kilari* would protect the needs of imaret, such as food, and get four dirhams daily.¹³⁴

2.2.24. Halil Yahşi Bey (Yeşil İmaret)

As the governor of Aydın province, Halil Yahşi Bey built a complex in Tire that contributed to the city's northward growth.¹³⁵ The waqf was established in 1441. The document is in Arabic and is used in this research through the translation by Abdullah Tanrıkulu. According to the waqfiyya, several mills, baths, and stores in the *han*, all he constructed, were endowed for the upkeep of the complex. One-tenth of the income was allocated for the repair and renovation of the buildings, and another one-tenth for the *mutevelli*. The remaining income was distributed among the employees, as well as the expenses of the zawiya. Fifteen dirhams were allocated daily for meat, eight for bread flour, and five for rice, wheat, pepper, and other spices. The cook and baker would each get two dirhams; three dirhams would be spent on the meals of the special guests every day. Two dirhams would be spent on the straw mats and lamp oil daily. Two thousand dirhams annually for honey, vinegar, pickles, and jams, 3000 dirhams annually for meals prepared on Ramadan, Friday nights, blessed nights, and two festivals, and 1500 dirhams annually for firewood and salt were stipulated to be spent.

¹³⁴ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 462-4.

¹³⁵ Levent Ertekin, *Tire'de Aydın Sancağı İlk Sancakbeyi Halil Yahşi Bey Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi* (Tire: Tire Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 2.

The meal would be distributed to whoever was present at the zawiya, poor or rich, local or guest, two times a day.¹³⁶

2.2.25. Mehmed Paşa

The waqf was endowed to the zawiya built in the village of Gemiç (Bursa) in 1442 by Mehmed Paşa Bin Şahin Lala Paşa. The income would be spent on the expenses of the zawiya, the guests, and comers and goers. Ten percent of the budget surplus was left to the *mutevelli*. One hundred dirhams per month would be spent on the meals, one and a half *müd* of wheat and four *kiles* for rice. Two hundred dirhams would be spared for extra meals cooked during the two religious festivals and sacred nights. A cow would be butchered annually. The employees were listed as sheikh and imam. Their payments would be determined by *mutevelli*.¹³⁷

2.2.26. Mahmud Çelebi

The waqfiyya of this imaret was published in the book *Bursa Vakfiyeleri* from its Turkish translation. The waqfiyya was written in 1447. The waqf was endowed to benefit anyone who came to the imaret as a guest, poor or needy, to the imaret in Iznik. It describes the complex as a zawiya, consisting of a monumental building and masjid, two houses, a kitchen, a cellar, and a woodshed. A meal would be prepared on a determined day. The ingredients for daily meals were determined as two *vukiyyes* of meat for soup and a *kile* of wheat. Additionally, 30 *akçes* would be spent on bread, and ten *akçes* on salt and wood would be spared daily. Special meals were added to the menus on special occasions (blessed nights such as Fridays and religious festivals). The amount of rice was determined as five *kiles*, 12 *vukiyyes* of meat, and five *vukiyyes* of ghee (*sade yağ*) for pilaf, a *kiles* of rice and four *vukiyyes* of honey for *zerde*. The employees were paid according to their duties in cash daily and in-kind annually.

¹³⁶ Levent Ertekin, *Tire'de Aydın Sancağı İlk Sancakbeyi Halil Yahşi Bey Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi* (Tire: Tire Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 2.

¹³⁷ Öcalan, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri I*, 519-20.

Mutevelli would be the oldest, the cleverest, and the most faithful of the descendants of the founder after his death. After the upkeep expenses, the remaining income was paid for the food and employees. The sheikh would be a deserved person for that position after Sheikh Abdurrahim bin Alaaddin and would get five *akçes* daily, five *müds* of wheat, five *müds* of barley, and a *müd* of rice annually. *Kilerci* (*kilerdar*) would protect the necessary goods and foods of the imaret and get two *akçes* daily in addition to three *müds* of wheat annually. *Kayyim* would get two *akçes* daily. The cook must cook adequately and get four *akçes* daily, according to waqfiyya. For the job, the janitor has to sweep and guard the zawiya, three *akçes* daily, and two *müds* of wheat annually. *Bevvab* would open and close the door of the imaret in determined times to protect and guard it. He would be paid three *akçes* daily, and two *müds* of wheat would be allocated for this job annually. *Gassal* would wash the dishes of the imaret in exchange for an *akçe* daily. The wheat thresher would do the job neatly. One person would be a water carrier and get three *akçes* daily.¹³⁸

2.2.27. Sultan Murad II (Ergene)

On the road from Edirne to Gelibolu, the Ergene River was an obstacle, thus leading to the construction of a bridge; the reason for the construction was depicted in the Ottoman chronicles as a means to secure the lives and the goods of the travelers. The bridge's construction took a lot of time and was finished in 1443. The imaret was endowed in 1447 when Ergene was a town.¹³⁹

Cengiz Parlak analyzes the waqfiyya of Sultan Murad II on the imaret of Ergene in Köprübaşı and describes its probable working style in detail. The fresh meat spent daily for feeding the employees, travelers, and people in need was determined in the waqfiyya as 100 lodra, which equals 56,45 kg daily, according to the calculations of

¹³⁸ Ibid., 562-563.

¹³⁹ Cengiz Parlak, “Sultan II. Murad’ın Köprübaşındaki Hayrâtı Ergene İmaretî (XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Evkâfı ve İdaresi),” *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 52 (September 2022) 112.
<https://doi.org/10.30794/pausbed.1096500>.

Parlak. The amount of wheat was determined in the waqfiyya as six *kiles* daily, equal to approximately 154 kg. Four kiles of it were allocated for the bread (103 kg), and the remaining is for the soup; even though it was not mentioned in the waqfiyya, it was in the account registers. The amount of wheat for bread was determined annually as 72 *müds*. There is no more information about the amount of the ingredients.¹⁴⁰

Mutevelli was to be a trustworthy person who would conduct the administration of waqf with diligence and excellence. The scribe named *müşrif* in this waqfiyya was responsible for recording the incomes and expenditures. The sheikh of the imaret would be righteous and, pious, proficient. The janitor, shouldering extensive responsibilities, would also serve as *nakib*, the sheikh's assistant, and perform tasks such as addressing visitors' needs, maintaining cleanliness, and ensuring guest comfort. The janitor's attributes were highly valued, including trustworthiness, righteousness, competency, strength, and power. Due to the demanding nature of these responsibilities, careful personnel selection was emphasized. Two personnel were to be appointed with the help of the *ferraş/nakib* and two for threshing the wheat. The cook and bread maker were to be competent in their jobs.¹⁴¹

Mutevelli would get ten *akçes* daily, *müşrif* (the scribe) would get six *akçes* daily, and ten *müds* of wheat annually. The sheikh would get ten *akçes* and ten *müds* of wheat. *Hazın* would get six *akçes* and six *müds* of wheat as an annual payment. *Ferraş/nakib* would get three *akçes* daily and three *müds* of wheat annually. The two assistants would get two *akçes* daily. The cook would get two *akçes* daily. The wheat thresher would get two; the apprentice would get an *akçe* daily. The baker would get two *akçes* daily.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Parlak, "Sultan II. Murad'ın Köprübaşındaki Hayrâtı Ergene İmaretı," 114.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 115.

¹⁴² Ibid., 117.

2.2.28. Ali Bey

The imaret was established in Malkara. Ayverdi gave details about the employees and meals of the imaret according to its waqfiyya. The *nakib* of the kitchen would receive an *akçe*, and the chef would receive two *akçes*. Six *akçes* would be allocated for bread, seven for meat, and two for salt, wood, dishes, wicker, and other miscellaneous materials for the masjids. Every afternoon, a *şinik* of wheat would be cooked and distributed according to the procedure: a cup of soup, a bread, and a serving of meat to five students, *imams*, *müezzins*, *cabi*, *kâtip*, *nazır*, and *nakibs*. The remaining meal would be distributed to passersby.¹⁴³

2.2.29. Ishak Paşa

The waqfiyya was probably rewritten in 1486, as it contains additions made by his wife. The imaret was endowed to serve the poor and needy as a place for dwelling, guests, visitors, and Muslims seeking shelter and a mansion, including all its buildings: houses, yard, kitchen, barn, etc, in Inegöl. The sheikh would be among pious and righteous, and two cooks and bakers would be skilled in preparing every kind of food and bread. The sheikh would receive five dirhams a day, each cook would receive four dirhams, and the bakers would receive three. Forty dirhams would be allocated for meat, and 10 dirhams would be set aside for the expenses of the feast for guests. The wheat would be two *kiles* for meals, and the flour would be a *kile* for bread. For jam and pickles, 1000 dirhams would be spent annually. On blessed nights such as Ramadan and during the feasts of Ramadan and *Kurban*: A single grain of rice and saffron will be cooked in the delightful and subtle dishes. Matters such as vegetables, salt, and the like are left to the discretion of the other trustee in charge of meals.¹⁴⁴

Eyub Sultan

¹⁴³ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1972), 521.

¹⁴⁴ Vehbi Tamer, "Fatih Devri Ricalinden İshak Paşa'nın Vakfiyeleri ve Vakıfları," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 4 (1958): 110-115.

The officials of the imaret are described in the waqfiyya and have various characteristics according to their duties. According to the waqfiyya, the sheikh of the imaret must be orderly, maintain purity, and distance from evil tendencies or harmful behavior. The scribe must record everything that enters and exits without skipping any detail, even the dots. A *vekilharc* must be experienced, capable of distinguishing between the good and the bad, and skilled in handling transactions. A *kilerdar* would be responsible for preserving the necessities in the warehouse; an official would control the affairs and supplies of the imaret. Two janitors would serve the ones who come to imaret. The endower stipulated the presence of three well-known cooks, each engaged in rotating shifts, to perform their duties diligently, cleanly, and with pure intentions. Additionally, two bakers were on rotating shifts to bake clean bread. Furthermore, two individuals known as “*ambarci*” would be responsible for storing wood and wheat, and their services were prioritized. One person would be responsible for grinding wheat and chopping wood when required. Another person would be responsible for cleaning rice, a porter bringing bread from the town, a gatekeeper in charge of preserving the entrance to the printing house, and two designated people would be responsible for safeguarding the door in the warehouse by giving utmost attention in rotating shifts.¹⁴⁵

The sheikh would get 10 dirhams, the scribe of the kitchen would get 5 dirhams, *vekilharc* would get two dirhams, *kilerdar* two dirhams, the provider of meat and bread for imaret would get two dirhams, the three cooks would each get seven dirhams, the two bakers would get five dirhams for each, *bevtab* of the kitchen would get a dirham, and the rice cleaner would get a dirham, *ambarci* in the store of wheat would get two dirhams daily.¹⁴⁶

It was specified that daily meals would be prepared in the morning using rice and wheat in the evening, to be served to everyone in the imaret. However, on Fridays and sacred days, wheat would be used for the morning meals, while delicate and delicious

¹⁴⁵ Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, 321.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 321-322.

meals would be cooked in the evenings. It was stipulated that 30 *okkas* of meat (half in the morning and half in the evening) would be spent on the daily meals. On Ramadan nights, all of it would be cooked, and one and a half *kile* of pure (*halis*) wheat would be used in the soup. In addition, 5.5 *kiles* of flour would be used daily for the bread. Every Thursday, 13.5 *okkas* of ghee, 12.5 of honey, 450 dirhams of saffron (yearly amount), and two *okkas* of black pepper would be purchased. The amount of salt daily would be eight *okkas*; the chickpeas would be a quarter of a *kile*, three *okkas* of onion, and three *okkas* of dried grape. Forty *okkas* of plum, 35 *okkas* of almond, 120 *okkas* of starch, 85 *okkas* of dried apricot, and 60 *okkas* of *pestil* (dried fruit pulp) would be purchased annually. The amount of wood used for cooking for each meal was decided as 48 *okkas*. On Fridays, the nights of Ramadan, and the night of Berat, the poor are fed with Ashura. *Zerde*, *zerbaç*, and pilav from white rice would be cooked in religious festivals on the day the prophet was born to feed the poor.¹⁴⁷

2.2.30. Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han

The waqfiyya used in this study is a translation of the Arabic version to Turkish in the 16th century. This text was written between 867-875. The waqfiyyas that were used in this study were published under the title of *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri by Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı*.¹⁴⁸

In addition to imaret, the meals were served to the patients in *Darüüşşifa* with recipes that the doctors controlled. The meals were cooked by two cooks employed in *Darüüşşifa*; each one would get three *akçes* daily.¹⁴⁹

The employees of the imaret, their duties, and their qualities were described in detail in the waqfiyya of Mehmed II, as compared to their predecessors. According to the stipulations, the sheikh of the imaret would be pious, trustworthy, righteous,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 323.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 5-8.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 249.

knowledgeable, humble, generous, and benevolent. He has to welcome everyone with open arms. Delivering food and similar items allocated for the visitors of the imaret accordingly on time and to the rightful recipients mentioned in the waqfiyya among his responsibilities. A daily allowance of 20 *akçes* was designated for this task.¹⁵⁰

According to the detailed explanation in waqfiyya, to ensure meticulous record-keeping of the entries and exits to the public kitchen, the endowment required the presence of an accounting, trustworthy, and reliable scribe. A daily allowance of six *akçes* had been designated for him. Furthermore, a steward (*vekil-i harc*) was appointed for the public kitchen. This individual was required to possess experience in custody and administration related to buying and selling. A daily allowance of five *akçes* was assigned for this role. Also, a trustworthy storekeeper, known as a *kilerdar*, would be appointed to preserve and regulate everything in the cellar. He would receive a daily allowance of five *akçes*.¹⁵¹

Two skilled janitors would be appointed to maintain the cleanliness and organization of the imaret. These individuals were required to be capable of cleaning, making beds, and tidying up the inside and outside of the imaret promptly. Each janitor received a daily allowance of three *akçes*. Similarly, two *kayyıms* were designated to provide services to guests arriving at the imaret. Their responsibilities included making beds, timely tidying up, and arranging accommodations. A daily allowance of three *akçes* for each was designated for this job.¹⁵²

Furthermore, two lamp lighters (*serrac*) would be appointed to light the lamps and perform associated duties on a rotational basis every night. Their job includes locking the doors of the imaret after the last evening prayer and opening them before dawn. Three *akçes* per day were designated for each of them. Four overseers, known as *nakib*, were required to be proficient in the administration, service, and distribution of bread

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 251.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 251.

¹⁵² Ibid., 251.

and meals carefully to the assigned students, the poor, and the guests in the morning and evening. One of their responsibilities was assuring the preparation of meals for everyone staying at the imaret as guests until the third day. They must adhere to honesty and virtuousness. Each of them would get three *akçes* daily. Two capable *bevvals* would be appointed to prevent improper behavior and, if necessary, to advise and, if required, to physically intervene against those who misbehave during mealtime. Each of them would receive three *akçes* daily.¹⁵³

Six skilled cooks capable of preparing various meals would be appointed for the kitchen, and they would each get four *akçes* daily. Six experienced bakers, who would work on a rotational basis, would be appointed for the soup kitchen. Each of them would receive four *akçes* per day. A trustworthy person would be appointed as a porter to transport meat to the kitchen. He would receive three *akçes* per day. Similarly, two reliable personnel would work in the cleaning of wheat. They would be paid three *akçes* for each per day. Two reliable personnel would be appointed for washing dishes. They would receive three *akçes* daily. They would also get an extra five *akçes* for their work.¹⁵⁴

Two pious individuals were to be appointed to guard the stable, watch over the animals placed there, lock the stable door after the evening prayer, and open it before the morning prayer. Each of them was to receive two *akçes* per day. A person would be appointed as a barley caretaker to store the barley for the guests' animals. He was required to be trustworthy and appropriately distribute the barley to the guests' animals. For this role, the daily wage has been set at two *akçes*. A person would be appointed as a porter to transport wood from the storage to the kitchen. For this job, the daily wage has also been set at two *akçes*.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Ibid., 252.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 252.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 253.

An interesting duty was assigned to protect the walls of the imaret. A person was responsible for preventing the writing of inscriptions, drawing pictures on the walls of the imaret, and preserving the walls in general. For this role, two *akçes* per day were assigned. Along with this duty, the total wages of the imaret staff reach 200 *akçes*.¹⁵⁶

The expenses of the imaret are listed separately. The wheat for imaret was designated as one and a half *müd* (*müd* used in İstanbul). The flour had to be of good quality and clean. The meat had to be fresh from well-fed sheep 240 *vukiyyes* in weight. The amount of rice for the soup was specified as six *kiles* (*kile* used in İstanbul). For the nights of Ramadan, Fridays, and religious festivals, one *müd* and five *kiles* of rice, *zerde*, and *zirbace* would be used daily. Forty-two *vukiyyes* of strained pure honey would be served for the days and nights of these days. The soup to be cooked in the remaining days would be made from six *kiles* of rice for the soup of rice and six *kiles* of wheat for the soup of wheat. The wheat had to be cracked from the quality and clean wheat. The number of chickpeas was determined to be half a *kiles*. The amount of salt for every month was determined as three *kiles*.¹⁵⁷

For the days and nights of the sacred days mentioned above, 62.5 *vukiyyes* of pure jasmine would be used. For the special meal *zirbac* that was cooked on these occasions, eight *akçes* would be spent on the vegetables; a sufficient number of almonds, dried fruits, and similar things would be used. The trustee's opinion would be sought in all mentioned matters; he would decide on these matters without falling into extravagance or stinginess. It was decided that all measurement units mentioned in the *waqfiyya* would be those used in İstanbul during those days. 15.000 *akçes* were decided to spend for the special meals for the noble visitors and widows. The endower stipulated not to exceed the mentioned measurements and amounts, requiring carefully preserving the remaining items.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 253.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 253.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 254.

2.2.31. Yakub Bey (Lapseki Çardak)

The waqf was endowed by Hacı Yakub bin Abdullah Bey in 1484. The imaret was built in Çardak with a mosque, madrasa, school, *han*, bath, fountains, and waterways. There were other monumental structures in Gelibolu and Kilitbahir as well. The imaret consisted of three houses; one was small, and the other was large. The third included three rooms: an oven, kitchen, and warehouse. The baker will be chosen for being “secure,” the chef for being “skilled,” and the pantry worker for being “trustworthy.” Another employee was called *ferraş* and was responsible for multiple jobs such as cleaning, grinding wheat, and washing the dishes.

According to the waqfiyya, bread would be prepared daily using one *kile* of the finest wheat flour. The designated dough weight for each bread is eighty dirhams. The morning soup, which includes 1/8 *kile* of rice, would be cooked with meat broth. On the other hand, the evening meal will be prepared using a quarter of a *kile* of wheat flour. The measurement for a *kile* is one-twentieth *müd* of Lapseki. On days when the base price of meat is 250 dirhams, 12 dirhams' worth (48 *akçes*) of meat would be purchased. On days when this amount was exceeded, 10 dirhams' worth (40 *akçes*) of meat would be bought. Although the endowment does not specify the type of meat, freshness was a requirement.

Half of the meat would be used in the morning and the other half in the evening. For the kitchen and the bakery, three dirhams' worth of wood (12 *akçes*) would be purchased daily; one dirham's worth of salt (four *akçes*) would be bought for bread and meals. The cooked meals in the charity kitchen would be distributed to students, foundation personnel, visitors to the lodge/charity, and the poor. The surplus meals would be shared with the poor residing in Çardak.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Yusuf Sağır, “Fatih ve II. Bayezid Ümerâsından Yakub Bey ve Vakıfları,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no.46 (December 2016): 52-4.

2.3. Findings

2.3.1. Employees and Administrative Practices of the Imaret

In most of the waqfiyyas, matters relating to quality and quantities of the ingredients of food, characteristics, and duties of the employee, their salary, and working conditions were explained in detail as shown. However, in some of the waqfiyyas, the information about the ingredients or salaries was not detailed. About these matters, the decision was left to the discretion of the administration of the waqf.¹⁶⁰

An essential role after *mutevelli* for the administration of imarets was the sheikh. The features that the sheikh of the imaret must bear were listed as pious and righteous in the *waqfiyyas*.¹⁶¹ The sheikh of the imarets of Ali Paşa and Mustafa Bey had to be chosen from scholars. The imaret of Ebu Ishak primarily served dervishes. Thus, the sheikh had to be a Sufi leader, knowledgeable about the Sufi order, virtuous, guiding, and a model to dervishes. Similar to its *mutevelli*, the sheikh of Halil Paşa's imaret also had to be chosen from descendants of the endower or the freed slaves of the waqf.

In addition to being pious and righteous, the qualities of the sheikh about his profession, like being orderly, deserving, and proficient,¹⁶² were also mentioned in waqfiyyas. The sheikh had to welcome everyone and treat them according to their status.¹⁶³ The payment of the sheikhs differed and did not follow a specific pattern. It was stipulated in the waqfiyyas that the sheikh was to receive a daily cash payment and annually a designated amount of wheat or barley. Only in the imarets of Orhan Gazi and Yıldırım in Bursa were their payments designated monthly, both in cash and

¹⁶⁰ The imarets of Orhan Gazi, Gazi Hudavendigâr, and Muradiye in Bursa, Gazi Süleyman Paşa in Bolayır, Evrenos Bey in Serez, Mehmed II in İstanbul.

¹⁶¹ The imarets of Ebu Ishak, the zawiya of Oruç Bey, the imaret of Mustafa Bey, Halil Paşa, Sultan Murad, İshak Paşa, Eyub Sultan, and the imaret Mehmed II.

¹⁶² Parlak, "Sultan II. Murad'ın Köprübaşındaki Hayrâtı Ergene İmareti," 115.

¹⁶³ Toruk, "Yörgüç Paşa Oğlu Mustafa Bey Vakfiyesi'nin Mahiyeti," 2966-8
Also in: Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, 251.

in kind. The sheikh's payment was higher than that of other employees, as seen in Table 4.

Vekilharc was responsible for buying and selling the necessary goods for the imarets. The duties of the vekilharc were described in the waqfiyyas of the imaret of Eyub Sultan and Fatih. In the waqfiyya of Evrenos, Bey vekilharc was also called ahi, and his responsibilities were broader, including decisions about the employees and administration.

Table 1: The number of cooks enrolled in the imarets.

The Name of the Imaret	Chef(s)	Apprentices
Gazi Süleyman Paşa, İshak Paşa, Yörgüç Paşa	2	-
Eyub Sultan	3	-
Muradiye	4	-
Mehmed I	4	1
Mehmed II	6	-
Yıldırım Bayezid	1	6

The cooks of the imarets were designated to be proficient, skilled, and knowledgeable about the recipes and cooking meals.¹⁶⁴ In the waqfiyya of Eyub Sultan Imaret, the cooks are described as well-known and perform their duties diligently and cleanly with pure intentions. One cook was enough for most of the imarets. As seen in the table, three or more cooks were appointed in the waqfs of the sultans. Similarly, the baker was designated as skilled and proficient in the waqfiyyas.¹⁶⁵ Like the cooks, bakers also had to maintain cleanliness according to the waqfiyya of Eyub Sultan Imaret. The numbers and the amount of the payments were similar to the cooks in most of the waqfiyyas.

¹⁶⁴ Halil Paşa, Mahmud Çelebi, Sultan Murad in Ergene, İshak Paşa, Mehmed II, Yakub Bey

¹⁶⁵ Halil Paşa, Sultan Murad in Ergene, İshak Paşa

Table 2: The payments of the sheikh, *vekilharc*, and *nakib*

The Name of Imaret	Sheikh	Vekilharc	Nakib
Gazi Suleyman Paşa	10 dirhams daily; 10 müds of wheat and 10 müds of barley annually	4 dirhams daily	3 dirhams daily
Orhan Gazi	90 akçes and 3 müds of wheat monthly		
Ali Paşa	5 dirhams daily		
Ebu Ishak	10 dirhams daily		
Yıldırım Bayezid	20 akçes daily and 3 müds of rice monthly		2 dirhams daily and 1 müd of wheat monthly to each of 2 nakibs
Evrenos Bey		called as “ahi” 3 dirhams daily and meal twice a day	called as feke1 dirham daily
Mehmed I	5 dirhams daily; 1 müd of wheat, 1 müd of barley, and quarter müd of rice monthly		2 dirhams daily and 1 müd of wheat monthly to 2 nakibs
Oruc Bey	1 dirham daily		
Umur Bey	1 dirham daily; 5 müds of wheat and 3 dirhams of barley annually		
Şeyh Paşa	1 dirham daily; 3 müds of wheat and 2 müds of barley annually		0.5 dirham daily; 2 müds of wheat and 1 müd of barley annually
Muradiye		5 akçes daily	The two nakibs would get 2 akçes daily.
Sungur Çavuş	20 percent of the income		
Yörgüç Paşa	5 dirhams daily; 6 müds of wheat annually		1 dirham daily and 3 müds of wheat annually
Mustafa Bey	4 dirhams daily; 6 müds of barley and 6 müds of wheat annually		1 dirham and 4 müds of wheat

Halil Paşa	6 dirhams daily; 6 müds wheat and 6 müds of barley annually	1 dirham daily and 6 müds of wheat annually	3 dirhams daily
Mahmud Çelebi	5 akçes daily; 5 müds of wheat, 5 müds of barley, and 1 müd of rice annually		
Sultan Murad (Ergene)	10 akçes daily and 10 müds of wheat annually		3 akçes daily and 3 müds of wheat annually
Ali Bey İmareti			1 akçe daily
Ishak Paşa	5 dirhams daily		
Eyub Sultan	10 dirhams daily	2 dirhams daily	
Mehmed II	20 akçes daily	5 akçes daily	3 akçes for each of 4 nakibs

The payments were designed in kind and cash. Although there was no standard amount between different waqfs, the difference was not huge, following a similar pattern. The payments were distributed according to the employees' hierarchy and their duties. Some personnel carried out multiple duties. As shown in Table 2, while in some waqfs, the duties were carried out by different persons under different titles, in others, some of the titles were missing. There may be no need for some of the personnel, or their duties may be carried out under different titles. The payments for the sultanic waqfs were generally higher than those for the others.

Table 3: The payments of the cooks, bakers, and storekeepers

The Name of Imaret	Cook	Baker	Storekeeper
Lala Şahin Paşa			1 dirham daily and 3 müds of wheat an.
Gazi Suleyman Paşa	3 dirhams for each of 2 cooks daily	3 dirhams daily	4 dirhams daily
Ali Paşa			1 dirham daily
Ebu Ishak	1 dirham daily		

Yıldırım	2 dirhams and 1 müd of wheat for the chef and 1 dirham for each of 6 cook apprentices	2 dirhams for 2 bakers	
Mehmed I	1 dirham for every 4 cooks, 2 dirhams for the chef daily, and 1 müd of wheat monthly	1,25 dirhams to 5 bakers	2 dirhams daily
Oruc Bey	1 dirham daily		
Şeyh Paşa	0.5 dirham daily; 2 müds of wheat and a müd of barley		
Muradiye	4 cooks would get 2 akçes for each daily	4 breadmakers would get 2 akçes everyday	2 akçes daily and 6 müds of wheat
Emir Sultan	4 dirhams d. and 2 müds of wheat an.	2 breadmakers would share 5 dirhams and 2 müds of wheat	2 dirhams daily and 4 müds 16 keyls of wheat
Yörgüç Paşa	2 dirhams daily; 3 müds of wheat annually to chef, and the apprentice get 1 dirham daily	1 dirham daily and 4 müds of wheat	
Mustafa Bey		1 dirham and 3 müds of wheat	
Halil Paşa	3 dirhams daily	2.5 dirhams daily	4 dirhams daily
Yeşil İmaret Camii	2 dirhams	2 dirhams	
Mahmud Çelebi	4 akçes daily		2 akçes daily and 3 müds of wheat annually
Sultan Murad (Ergene)	2 akçes daily	2 akçes daily	6 akçes daily and 6 müds of wheat annually
Ali Bey İmareti	2 akçes daily		
Ishak Paşa	4 dirhams daily for both of 2 cooks	3 dirhams daily for both of 2 bakers	
Eyub Sultan	7 dirhams for each of 3 cooks	2 bakers would get dirhams for each	2 dirhams daily
Mehmed II	4 akçes for each of 6 cooks	4 akçes for each of 6 bakers	5 akçes daily

Table 4: The number of the employees

The Name of Imaret	The Year of Waqfiyya	The sum of the Personnel
Lala Şahin Paşa	1348	2
Gaazi Süleyman Paşa	1324-62 rewritten in 1451-81	11
Orhan Gazş	1360	2
Gazi Hüdavendigâr	1385	1
Ali Paşa	1394	4
Ebu İshak	1400	4
Gülçiçek Hatun	1400	no information
Yıldırım	1400	19
Evrenos Bey	1415	3
Timurtaş Paşa	1416	no information
Ali Bey	1416	no information
Yeşil Camii	1419	18
Oruç Bey	1420	4
Umur Bey	1415 and 1421	2
Şeyh Paşa	1427	4
Mehmed Çelebi bin Hamza bin Bicar	1429	no information
Muradiye	1430	16
Emir Sultan	1413-29, rewritten in 1470	11
Sungur Çavuş	1435	1
Yörgüç Paşa	1436	7
İsa Bey	1436	1
Mustafa Bey	1437	5
Halil Paşa	1436/7 rewritten in 1497	8
Yeşil İmaret	1441	3
Mehmed Paşa	1442	1
Mahmud Çelebi	1447	9
Sultan Murad (Ergene)	1447	11
Ali Bey	1455/6	2
İshak Paşa	rewritten in 1486	5
Eyüb Sultan	1457 1582	13
Mehmed II	1470	39
Yakub Bey	1484	3

The number of employees and types of duties increased in the endowments of the sultans following the pattern of payments. As time progressed, the endowments of the pashas also began to follow this increase, as seen in the tables. The cooks entered the waqfiyyas as employees after 1400. So many employees are listed in the waqfiyya of

Yıldırım Bayezid, which is striking compared to its time. Waqfiyyas of the imarets endowed by Mehmed II provides detailed information about the function of imarets and the services they offer. In addition to the employees that were mentioned in the previous waqfiyyas, the porters of meat, wood, and water, the lighter of candles, dishwasher, wheat cleaner, wheat grinder, rice destoner, barn keeper, the protector of the walls of the imaret were exclusive to the imaret of Mehmed II. The duties were carried out by multiple people as the capacity of the imaret rises. There were numerous cooks or several *kayyims*. These waqfiyyas may be seen as frameworks for their successors.

2.3.2. Menus and the Amount of Ingredients

In some of the waqfiyyas, the ingredients and their amounts were mentioned in detail. In contrast, others were left to the decision of *mutevelli*¹⁶⁶ or other personnel (*sofra büzeri* in the imaret of Muradiye). The ingredients and menus are similar, although the amounts differ in the waqfiyyas. Most of the imaret gave information about the amount of meat, although other ingredients were not mentioned, so it can be said that meat was the essential ingredient in the meals. The wheat was used both in the soup and bread. The salt was an important component; oil, pepper, vinegar, spices, onion, garlic, jam, and pickles can be counted among other ingredients, as shown in Table 5. While some of the ingredients would be used according to their designated amount or weight, some of them were to be bought accordingly with the mentioned price designated for them. The meat would be purchased according to the designated price in most of the waqfiyyas, in some of them the weight of the meat is mentioned instead of the cost. The amount of wheat was usually mentioned in the particular measure used at that time, while in a few of the waqfiyyas, the price of the flour was given instead. It can be related to the revenue of the waqf, although it is hard to speculate with the restricted information; the meat may be bought in most of the waqfiyyas while in some of them, the animals of the waqf may be used.

¹⁶⁶ Orhan Gazi, Gazi Hudavendigâr

Table 5: The amounts of the ingredients depicted in the waqfiyyas.

The Name of the Imaret	Meat	Wheat	Rice	Wood	Other Ingredients
Lala Şahin Paşa	7 dirhams worth	36 müds of wheat for bread	6000 dirhams on oil and rice		1000 dirhams annually for onion, garlic, pepper and such
Gazi Süleyman Paşa	50 dirhams for 37,5 ukiyye	1 for the soup and 4 kile for the bread	1 kile		
Yıldırım Bayezid	8 batmans (1 batman=16 okka, 1 okka=400 dirhams)	in competence with the amount of meat	in competence with the amount of meat		
Mehmed I	6 batmans	bread would be baked according to the need	in competence with the amount of meat		
Oruc Bey	5 dirhams worth	10 dirhams would be spent on bread, 0.5 kiles of wheat for the meal		2 dirhams	
Umur Bey		30 müds of wheat for bread per year and 12 müds of wheat for meal			
Emir Sultan	3 batmans, it was 1 batman before	12 keyls for bread, 3 keyl for meal daily	4 keyls of rice, it was 2 keyls before		
Yörgüç Paşa	20 dirhams worth	10 kilçes wheat for bread	12 okkas		6 dirhams for honey, oil, salt, vinegar and other necessities
İsa Bey		5 keyls for bread, 1.5 keyls for soup	1.5 keyls of rice (one-day rice, one-day wheat)		10 dirhams for honey, oil, and jam and 5 for salt and wood

Halil Paşa	30 dirhams worth			8 dirhams	1 dirham for salt, 1 for bowls, 0.5 for lamp oil, and 0.5 for mats.
Halil Yahşi Bey	15 dirhams worth	8 dirhams for flour			5 dirhams for rice, wheat, pepper, and spices; 2000 for honey, jams, pickles, and vinegar; 1500 dirhams an. for firewood and salt
Mehmed Paşa		1.5 müds monthly	4 kiles of rice monthly		100 dirhams per month for meals. A cow would be butchered annually.
Mahmud Çelebi	2 vukiyyes of meat for soup	1 kile of wheat for soup, 30 akçes for bread			10 akçes daily for salt and wood
Sultan Murad (Ergene)	100 lodras (56,45 kg)	6 kiles daily, 4 kiles of it would be used in bread, 72 müds of wheat for bread annually			
Ali Bey	7 akçes	6 akçes for bread, 1 şinik of wheat for meal			2 akçes for salt, wood, dishes, wicker, and other miscellaneous materials for the two mentioned maşjids
Ishak Paşa	40 dirhams worth	2 kiles for meals, and the flour would be 1 kile for bread			1000 dirhams annually for jam and pickles

Eyub Sultan	30 okkas	1.5 kiles of pure wheat would be used in the soup, 5.5 kiles of flour for bread daily	2.5 kiles of high-quality rice	48 okkas of wood would be burned for each meal	8 okkas of salt, 0.25 kile of chickpeas, 3 okkas of onion, and 3 okkas of dried grape daily. 40 okkas of plum, 35 okkas of almond, 120 okkas of starch, 85 okkas of dried apricot, 60 okkas of pestil an.
Mehmed II	240 vukiyyes (fresh and from well fed sheeps)	1.5 müds of wheat, the flour has to be quality and clean. 6 kiles of rice one day and 6 kiles of wheat for the soup the other.	6 kiles		0.5 kile of chickpeas. 3 kiles of salt monthly
Yakub Bey	when the base price of meat is 250 dirhams, 12 dirhams (48 akçes); when the base price of meat is higher, 10 dirhams (40 akçes) for meat	1 kile of the finest wheat flour. The designated dough weight for each bread is 80 dirhams.		3 dirhams (12 akçes)	1 dirham for salt (4 akçes)

In nearly half of the waqfiyyas, it was stipulated that special meals were to be cooked and distributed to a more significant number of people on sacred days. Through time, the menus were told in detail, but from the imaret of Yıldırım to Mehmed II, it was determined in the waqfiyyas that the number of meals would be increased to feed anyone present. Ashura, zerde and zirbac were the meals that were added to menus in the sacred days and nights. The menus and details about the sacred days are given in Table 6.

Table 6: The amounts of the ingredients for special occasions.

Imaret	The Stipulations About Sacred Days
Gazi Suleyman Paşa	Extra food would be prepared.
Yıldırım Bayezid	Extra food would be prepared.
Evrenos Bey	Pickles and honey might be offered to the guests and the poor if the income was sufficient with the decision of <i>nakib</i> or <i>mutevelli</i> .
Mehmed I	Helva (dessert), fruits, foam <i>helva</i> would be served in addition to the meal with the amount determined by <i>mutevelli</i> .
Muradiye	Meals and sweets would be prepared specially.
Emir Sultan	2 <i>müds</i> of rice would be cooked on sacred nights. In the days of the feast of Ramadan and <i>Kurban</i> , 2 <i>müds</i> and 1 <i>keyl</i> of rice would be cooked.
Yörgüç Paşa	The rice would be cooked with sweet oil and black pepper on Friday nights. On the nights of Ramadan and other sacred nights, three courses of meals that were common among the people would be cooked.
Halil Paşa	In Ramadan, <i>pilav</i> would be cooked every three days using 6 <i>kiles</i> of rice. In other sacred times, 6 <i>kile</i> of rice would be used for <i>pilav</i> , and 2 <i>kiles</i> of yellow rice would be used for <i>zerde</i> .
Halil Yahşi Bey	3000 dirhams annually were spared for extra meals.
Mehmed Paşa	200 dirhams would be spared for extra meals.
Mahmud Çelebi	5 <i>kile</i> of rice, 12 <i>vukiyye</i> of meat, and 5 <i>vukiyye</i> of ghee (<i>sade yağ</i>) for <i>pilaf</i> , a <i>kile</i> of rice and 4 <i>vukiyye</i> of honey for <i>zerde</i> .
Ishak Paşa	A single grain of rice and saffron would be cooked in the delightful and subtle dishes.
Eyub Sultan	On Fridays and sacred days, wheat would be used for the morning meals, while delicate and delicious meals would be cooked in the evenings. On Ramadan nights, 30 <i>okkas</i> of meat would be prepared, and 1.5 of pure (<i>halis</i>) wheat would be used in the soup. Every Thursday, 13.5 <i>okkas</i> of ghee, 12.5 of honey, 450 dirhams of saffron (yearly amount), and 2 <i>okkas</i> of black pepper would be purchased. On Fridays, on the nights of Ramadan, and on the night of Berat, the poor are fed with Ashura. <i>Zerde</i> , <i>zerbaç</i> , and <i>pilav</i> from white rice would be cooked to feed the poor on the feast of Ramadan and <i>Kurban</i> , and the day the prophet was born.
Mehmed II	For days and nights of the sacred times, 5 <i>kiles</i> of rice, <i>zerde</i> , and <i>zirbace</i> would be used daily. 42 <i>vukiyyes</i> of strained pure honey would be served. 62.5 <i>vukiyyes</i> of pure jasmine would be used. For the special meal <i>zirbac</i> that was cooked on these occasions, 8 <i>akçes</i> would be spent on the vegetables; a sufficient number of almonds, dried fruits, and similar things would be used.

In addition to meals cooked on regular and special occasions, the menus were also adjusted according to the recipients as indicated in certain waqfiyyas. 10 dirhams daily was stipulated to be spent on the meals for guests in the waqfiyyas of Isa Bey, Halil Paşa, Emir Sultan, and Ishak Paşa imarets in addition to regular meals that were served daily at certain times (usually twice a day). Three dirhams were decided to be spent on the meals for guests in the waqfiyya of Halil Yahsi Bey, and 15.000 *akçes* were determined to be spent on special meals for guests and widows in the waqfiyya of Mehmed II. In the waqfiyyas of Yıldırım Imaret and Evrenos Bey, a meal was to be served with the arrival of someone as a guest or from local people. According to the waqfiyya of Evrenos Bey Imaret in Serez, it would be covered by the surplus. In the imaret of Muradiye, the issues relating to the meals for guests were operated by “*sofra büzeri*”; in the waqfiyya of Emir Sultan, the meals that were designated for guests were called “*pavzar sofrası*”, and in the waqfiyya of Halil Paşa 10 dirhams were allocated for the one who come to “*pazar*”.

The waqfiyyas were insufficient to understand whether these words were related and the exact definition of the term. However, it can be stated confidently that there was a special meal for unique visitors. The guests were welcomed and fed by *mutevelli*, sheikh of the imaret, *nakibs*, *kayyims* or *sofra büzeri*. Although in most of the waqfiyyas, the guests were not explained in the waqfiyya of Orhan Gazi, they were listed as important scholars, sheikhs, and sayyids. It is possible to speculate that they can also be among not only ulama but also askeri, local notables, and merchants. The meal would be cooked with fine ingredients, named feast (*ziyafet*) for guests in some waqfiyyas.

While special meals could be served whenever guests arrive, regular meals were usually served and cooked twice daily. The meal would be prepared twice a day according to the waqfiyyas of Ali Paşa, Yıldırım, Evrenos Bey, Mehmed I, Halil Yahşi Bey, and Yakub Bey. In the imaret of Eyup Sultan, the morning and evening meals were to be made from different ingredients.

2.3.3. The Receivers of the Food

The regular receivers of the food were outlined in the waqfiyyas, encompassing anyone present in the imaret, whether poor or rich, resident or traveler.¹⁶⁷ In the early waqfiyyas, the beneficiaries were especially listed as ulama, sheikhs, sayyids, the poor, guests and students. In the imaret of Evrenos Bey, the food was to be served primarily to the personnel. The decision about the amount of their meal was left to *mutevelli* and *ahi (vekilharc)*.¹⁶⁸ In the imaret of Ali Bey (Malkara), the receivers were primarily among the personnel, in addition to five students. Imams, muezzins, *cabi*, scribes, *nazır*, and *nakibs* would eat from the meal and the remaining would be distributed to passersby. In the waqfiyya of Yakub Bey, foundation personnel were counted among the receivers, students, visitors, and the poor.¹⁶⁹ The waqfiyyas also specify the *mutevelli*'s right to partake in the meals.¹⁷⁰ The imaret of Evrenos Bey in Serez *ahi (vekilharc)* would be served from the meal (two bowls of meal with meat twice daily) in addition to his payment.¹⁷¹

The neighbors were counted among the receivers of remaining food in the imaret of Yıldırım, Evrenos Bey, Mehmed I, Muradiye, and Yakub Bey. The surplus meals would be shared with the poor residing in Çardak, according to the imaret of Yakub Bey. The meals would be sent even to the neighbors' houses in the imarets of Yıldırım and Muradiye. According to the waqfiyya of Ali Bey about the imaret in Malkara, the remaining meal would be distributed to anyone comes. Hafızs, scholars, orphans, the poor, and the rich were to be served from the meal in the imaret of Timurtaş Paşa. The

¹⁶⁷ Yıldırım Bayezid, Timurtaş Paşa, Yeşil Camii, Mehmed Çelebi in Biçar, Muradiye, Halil Yahşi Bey, Sungur Çavuş, Ali Bey (Malkara), Eyub Sultan

¹⁶⁸ Zengin, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden," 110.

¹⁶⁹ Sağır, "Fatih ve II. Bayezid Ümerâsından Yakup Bey ve Vakıfları," 54.

¹⁷⁰ Uzunçarşılı, "Çandarlızade Ali Paşa Vakfiyesi," 558.

¹⁷¹ Zengin, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden," 110-111.

meals of the imaret of Şeyh Paşa would be given to the poor, travelers, and the weak. In the waqfiyya of Sungur Çavuş, only the poor and needy were counted as receivers.

CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSION

Imarets served various groups beyond just the poor and needy, including those involved in multiple functions of waqf complexes. In most of the waqfiyyas, it was stipulated that individuals should not be turned away, and food should be provided without discrimination based on economic or social status, except for public sinners who openly display their transgressions, opponents of Islam, and those who followed heretical innovations.¹⁷² The variety of food recipients can provide insight into the groups that gather in the waqf complexes for various reasons. They provided food for the employees of the waqf complex, students, scholars, and the mosque staff. Then, they would serve the comers and goers, travelers, the poor and needy, and people residing nearby. If imarets were part of a dervish lodge, they would provide food primarily for the dervishes.

Although imarets played a significant role in redistributing wealth and sustaining social services through income from devoted lands and properties, their food services were limited to specific groups; the poor were not prioritized in every case as opposed to the common assumption. The receivers of the food were listed in detail, and the amounts of the ingredients were limited. It demonstrates that the food was to be served to certain groups in specific amounts, and the excessive food was to be given to neighbors and the poor in general.

The inclusion of neighbors as food receivers can be seen as an instrument for boosting urbanization by supporting newcomers and pleasing the residents. Having settled in

¹⁷² It was highlighted in the waqfiyyas that not all infidels or sinners were excluded. The exclusion was for the ones who had a bad influence on society as disobeyers by spreading their ideas and for the ones who openly rejected the rules, prohibitions, or beliefs of Islam.

the neighboring residents of the imaret made them rightful receivers of the daily meals. The presence of the neighbors in the waqfiyya can be seen as a kind of opportunity or privilege that historians pointed out while explaining the attraction tools used to modify the urban landscape.¹⁷³ Considering the locations of the waqf complexes, they played an essential role in creating new hubs by accommodating multiple functions. Imarets were established to support the people who gathered around complexes. Not only neighbors but also offering special meals to guests and local notables can be seen as an act of supporting economic and political activities.

The meals were not only served for charity purposes but also given as a kind of payment or privilege for imaret employees and, in some cases, served even to the trustees.¹⁷⁴ In some of the waqfiyyas, the personnel's meals were to be given twice a day, the usual amount given to other groups. Still, in a few of the waqfiyyas, the decision about the amounts and who was deemed deserved was left to the administration.¹⁷⁵ In the waqfiyyas, the people who will regularly receive food are described in detail, and it is also mentioned that these people should be treated according to their status. The existence of specially prepared meals and feasts for guests also shows that considering imarets solely as soup kitchens is a misconception. In addition, the presence of *bevvabs* in the waqfiyyas as protectors of imaret doors indicates that not everyone had the privilege of attending meals. Not only were the receivers told in detail, but also the primary receivers were described, and the excessive amounts were shared with other groups. It can be concluded that there was a hierarchy in receiving food from the imarets.

Although there were special meals for guests, imarets provided the same menu for most of the year. As Pantık concluded, these meals played an essential role in preventing the uprisings by sustaining necessary food for those in need. Serving soup

¹⁷³ Barkan, "İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler," 81; Boykov, "The T-shaped *Zaviye/İmarets* of Edirne," 33-37; Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," 174-180; Halil İnalçık, *İstanbul: An Islamic City*, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990), 10.

¹⁷⁴ Sağır, "Fatih ve II. Bayezid Ümerâsından Yakup Bey ve Vakıfları," 54.

¹⁷⁵ Zengin, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden," 110.

and bread bearing almost the same ingredients with high nutritional value regularly in every imaret has eliminated the possibility of going hungry, not just for regular recipients like employees and students, but also for anyone with an empty stomach. Their fixed menus were a symbolic value that contributed to the imperial legitimacy.¹⁷⁶ The power of the sultans and the ruling elite was supported by the means of feeding people in need. The menus of all the imarets in this study also followed this pattern. The main ingredients were meat, wheat, rice, oil, and spices, only on special occasions, and for special guests, the menus were diversified with desserts, honey, and pickles.

The meals were increased on special religious occasions, reaching more people as they probably attended the ceremonies. The change in the meaning of the word imaret from the waqf complexes to public kitchens might also be related to this practice. Friday prayers, religious nights, and festivals (Ramadan and *Kurban*) were when many more people gathered for the ceremonies and engaged in the services of the waqf complexes. Extra food for crowded people who attend the prayers prepared for these occasions might shape the people's perception according to their relation with these institutions.

As previously mentioned, the capacity and services provided by sultanic waqfs exceeded those of pashas, viziers, and notables. The extent of these services varied according to the founder's power.¹⁷⁷ The waqfiyyas examined in this study demonstrate that the number of employees and the quantity of food were more significant in sultanic waqfs. Others emulated the conditions and style of their waqfiyyas on a smaller scale. Over time, the capacities of imarets increased, with waqfiyyas becoming more detailed in describing job roles, meal ingredients, and the conditions of receiving food. They provided more information about the function of the imaret.

¹⁷⁶ Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 120.

¹⁷⁷ Kayhan Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System," 139; Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 35.

Several historians counted the family benefit among the possible motivations of the founders.¹⁷⁸ The family benefit was sustained by allocating income, food, or employment in several positions in the waqf. Especially in the descriptions of the selections of *mutevelli* and sheikh it is explicitly seen that the family members, freed slaves, and certain groups in society continued to be protected and gain profit from the waqfs. However, they may also be exempt from taking advantage of certain services, as depicted in the waqfiyya of Isa Bey. Family members were prevented from receiving imaret service. They must pay for their portions if they eat or take food from imaret.¹⁷⁹

In some of the waqfiyyas, the sheikh is specified to be among scholars or a leader of a Sufi order, as mentioned before. The necessary characteristics of the sheikh also were related to the meaning of the word, being virtuous and pious. In the waqfiyya of Mehmed II, the sheikh is described as knowledgeable, humble, generous, benevolent, trustworthy, etc., following the tradition.¹⁸⁰ Although the “sheikh” literally refers to an elderly person, a scholar, a teacher, or a Sufi leader, the sheikh of the imaret was not necessarily required to be one of these. The sheikh was used in its literal meaning in the waqf complex of a particular Sufi order, the imaret of Ebu İshak, and his features were described in detail. According to other waqfiyyas, he had to be pious and righteous as other employees who came face to face with people like *mutevelli* or *nakib*. The duties of the sheikh of imaret were not necessarily about leading dervishes or guiding visitors; they were about welcoming them and providing them with food and necessary items. The term is used to name a position in the administration of imarets in waqfiyyas. As İnalçık highlights, the terms about kitchens were bonded to Sufi order and continued to be used, although they lost some of their functions.

¹⁷⁸ Singer, “Charity’s Legacies: Reconsideration of Ottoman Imperial Endowment-Making,” 295; Michael Nizri, “The Religious Endowments of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi,” 32.

¹⁷⁹ Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 270.

¹⁸⁰ Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, 251.

As mentioned, waqfs can be endowed for several reasons, such as doing good deeds for Allah's sake, as depicted in waqfiyyas. There are numerous clues and information about other intentions in the waqfiyyas. Some intentions of enactment of the imarets can be listed as a contribution to urban development, seeking political legitimacy, a tool for patronage, and family benefit. Prescriptions about feeding the neighbors to the extent of sending meals to their houses and sustaining the food for various groups that keep the complex lively and appealing contribute to the urban development, although it is not mentioned explicitly in the waqfiyya. Preventing shortages by providing waqfs with annual incomes as grains and perpetual sustenance of meat, in addition to providing storage, serves the purpose of provisioning the city's food. Thus, preventing rebellions and revolts can also be one of the motivations of the founders. The differences in the number and quality of meals that are cooked following the rank of the receivers, from special guests and scholars to the poor and needy, and the feeding of various people proves that seeking political legitimacy and declaration of status and power were among the possible motivations of the founders. The protection of family and servants and providing privileges to certain people to support the relations of patronage can also be sustained by providing food and employment in the imarets.

In conclusion, the comprehensive research on waqfiyyas demonstrates that imarets served multiple purposes by fulfilling the needs of various groups in society, especially those around them. Their services extended through time and according to the power of their founders. The waqfiyyas get more detailed and clearer over time. The receivers were diversified and described in detail compared to the early examples. Imarets were crucial not only in feeding various groups but also in the continuity of certain religious and cultural practices. They have carried out multifunctional roles in their environment since the early examples, and their functions and influence have expanded over time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

a. Archival Sources

Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 730:85/50

Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 989:204/157

b. Published Primary Sources

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. “Gaazî Süleyman Paşa Vakfiyesi ve Tahrîr Defterleri.” Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 7 (1968): 19-28.

Çam, Mevlüt., and Ramazan Pantık. Bursa Selatin Vakıfları Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2020.

Dikmen, Çiğdem B., and Ferruh Toruk., “Amasya Yörgüç Paşa Cami ve Türbesi.” Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 51 (2019): 45-84.

Ertekin, Levent. Tire’de Aydın Sancağı İlk Sancakbeyi Halil Yahşi Bey Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi. Tire: Tire Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2008.

Erzi, H. Adnan. “Bursa’da İshakî Dervişlerine Mahsus Zâviyenin Vakfiyesi.” Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 2 (1942): 423-429.

Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938.

Gökbilgin, Tayyip. “Murad I. Tesisleri ve Bursa İmareti Vakfiyesi.” Türkiyat Mecmuası, no. 10 (December 2010): 217-234.

Kunter, Halim Baki. “Emir Sultan Vakıfları ve Fatih’in Emir Sultan Vakfiyesi.” Vakıflar Dergisi, 4 (1958): 36-63.

Öcalan, Hasan, Sezai Sevim, and Doğan Yavaş, eds. Bursa Vakfiyeleri I. Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013.

Parlak, Cengiz. "Sultan II. Murad'ın Köprübaşındaki Hayrâtı Ergene İmareti (XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Evkâfı ve İdaresi)." Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, no. 52 (September 2022): 111-28. <https://doi.org/10.30794/pausbed.1096500>.

Tamer, Vehbi. "Fatih Devri Ricalinden İshak Paşa'nın Vakfiyeleri ve Vakıfları." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 4 (1958): 107-124.

Toruk, Ferruh. "Yörgüç Paşa Vakfiyesi." Bilge Dergisi 12, no. 48 (2006): 16–26.

Toruk, Ferruh. "Yörgüç Paşa Oğlu Mustafa Bey Vakfiyesi'nin Mahiyeti." Social Mentality and Researcher Thinkers Journal 7, no. 52 (November 2021): 2962-70.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Çandarlızade Ali Paşa Vakfiyesi." Belleten 5, no. 20 (1941): 547-76.

Yıldız, Murat. Sarıca Paşa ve Umur Bey Vakfı. İstanbul: Timaş Akademi, 2022.

Zengin, Zeki Salih. "İlk Dönem Osmanlı Vakfiyelerinden Serez'de Evrenuz Gazi'ye Ait Zaviye Vakfiyesi." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 28 (2004): 101-120.

Secondary Sources

Akbulut, İlhan. "Vakıf Kurumu, Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Gelişimi." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 30 (2007): 61-72.

Akman, Ahmet. "Dayanışma Simgesi İmaretlere ve Anadolu'dan Bir Örnek: İlgın Lala Mustafa Paşa İmareti." The Journal of Social Science 6, no. 12 (September 2022): 299 - 319.

Atsız, Nihal. Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1970.

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşesi: Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri. İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1966.

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri. İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1972.

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde Fâtih Devri I. İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1973.

Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde Fâtih Devri II. İstanbul: İstanbul Fatih Cemiyeti Enstitüsü, 1974.

Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, XIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), 9.

Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. "Edime ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları." Belgeler, no. 1-2 (1964-1965): 235-377.

Barkan, Ömer L. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I- İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 2 (1974): 279-386.

Barkan, Ömer L. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş Ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Çalışmalar." İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası 23, no. 1-2 (Ağustos 2015): 297-341.

Barkan, Ömer L. Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaretini İnşaatı (1550-1557). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972-1979.

Barkan, Ömer L. "Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaretini Tesislerine Âit Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585/1586)." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 9, (1971): 109-161.

Bayram, Sadi, & Ahmet Hamdi KARABACAK. "Sahib Ata Fahrü'd-din Ali'nin Konya, İmaret ve Sivas Gökmedrese Vakfiyeleri." Vakıflar Dergisi no. 13 (1981): 21-69.

Bayartan, Mehmet. "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Vakıflar ve Vakıf Sisteminin Şehre Kattığı Değerler." Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 10, no. 1 (Aralık 2008): 157-75.

- Berki, Ali Himmet. "İslâm'da Vakıf: Zağanus Paşa ve Zevcesi Nefise Hatun Vakfiyeleri." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 4 (1958): 19-36.
- Bilge, Mustafa. *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1984.
- Bilgin, Arif, "Sosyal Hizmet ve İmaretler." In *Sosyal Hizmet Tarihi*, edited by Recep Çelik, 169-184. Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2020.
- Boykov, Grigor. "The T-Shaped Zaviye/İmaret of Edirne: A Key Mechanism for Ottoman Urban Morphological Transformation." *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 29-48. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jottturstuass.3.1.04>.
- Budak, Ayşe. "Gücü Besleyen Mimarlık: Osmanlı İmaretleri." PhD diss., University of Erciyes, 2015.
- Budak, Ayşe. "İmaret Kavramı Üzerinden Erken Osmanlı Ters T Planlı Zaviyeleri ile Aşhanelerin İlişkisi: Osmanlı Aşhanelerinin Kökenine Dair Düşünceler." In *METU Journal of The Faculty of Architecture* 33, no. 1 (June 2016): 21-36.
- Crane, Howard. "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy." In *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, Edited by Irene Bierman, A Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, 173-243. New Rochelle New York: A.D. Caratzas, 1991.
- Demir, Mustafa. "Türkiye Selçuklu Şehirlerinde İmaret Kurumları ve Vakıfları." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 27 (1998): 41-5.
- Dönmez, Oğuzhan. "Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesine'ne Göre İmâret Müessesesi." Ma thesis, University of Bahçeşehir, 2021.
- Ergin, Nina, Singer, Amy and Neumann, K. Christoph. *Feeding People Feeding Power Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007.
- Ergin, Osman Nuri. *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939.

- Ertem, Adnan. "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Vakıflar." *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, no. 6 (June 1999): 111-50.
- Ertuğ, Zeynep. "İmaret," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 22. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2000.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "16. ve 17. Yüzyılda Anadolu İmaretlerinde Ziyafet Yemekleri." In *Türk Mutfağı*, edited by Arif Bilgin and Özge Samancı, 115-123. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "A Great Foundation in Difficulties: Or some Evidence on Economic Contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the Mid-seventeenth Century." *Revue D'Histoire Magrebine* 14, no. 47-48 (1987): 109-121.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Documents." *Turcica. Revue D'Etudes Turques*, no. 13 (1981): 90-122.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "The tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 7 (1976): 183-208.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "Vakif Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya: The Zaviye of Sadreddin-I Konevi." *Journal of The Economic and Social History of The Orient* 17, no. 17 (May 1974): 145-172.
- Gökçen, İbrahim. *Manisa Tarihinde Vakıflar ve Hayırlar*. İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1948.
- Gürbıyık, Cengiz. "Osmanlı İmaretleri (Aşevleri)." PhD diss., University of Ege, 2013.
- Gürbıyık, Cengiz. "Osmanlı İmaretlerinin (Aşevleri) Tipolojisi Üzerine Bir Deneme." In *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (April 2015): 23-51. <https://doi.org/10.29135/std.272952>

- Hızlı Mefail. "Bursa Selatin İmaretleri." Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi 10, no. 1 (2001): 33-62.
- Huart, C. I. "İmâret." In İslam Ansiklopedisi. Edited by Osman Nuri Ergin. Vol. 5/2. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977.
- İnalcık, Halil. "Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey)." In Encyclopedia of Islam. 2nd ed. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1991.
- İnalcık, Halil. "İstanbul: An Islamic City." Journal of Islamic Studies, no. 1 (1990): 1-23.
- İnalcık, Halil. "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600." In An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire eds. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, 1-409. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1994.
- Kazancıgil, Ratip. Edirne İmaretleri. Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Edirne Şubesi, 1991.
- Kılıç, Orhan. "Eski Türklerde Açık Doyurma, Çıplağı Giydirmeye Geleneği." Tarih Bilinci, Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi, no. 2 (October 2007): 17-20.
- Kiel, Machiel. "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans." Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, no. 12 (November 1983): 117-44
- Köprülü, Fuad. "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukukî Mahiyeti Ve Tarihî Tekâmülü," Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 2 (1942): 1-35.
- Köprülü, Fuad. "Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 1 (1938): 1-6.
- Kunter, Halim Baki. "Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd." Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 1 (1938): 103-129.
- Lowry, Heath W. "The 'Soup Muslims' of the Ottoman Balkans: Was There A 'Western' & 'Eastern' Ottoman Empire?." Osmanlı Araştırmaları 36, no. 36 (December 2010): 96-133.

- McChesney, Robert. "Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqfs of Shah Abbas, 1011-1023/1602-1614." *Asian and Afrikan Studies*, no. 15 (1981): 165-190.
- Murphey, Rhoads. "Provisioning Istanbul: The State and Subsistence in the Early Modern Middle East." *Food and Foodways* 2, no. 1 (1987): 217-63. doi:10.1080/07409710.1987.9961920.
- Müderrişođlu, M. Fatih. "16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyesi." PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1993.
- Neuman, Christoph K. "Remarks on the Symbolism of Ottoman Imarets." In *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* eds. Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann and Amy Singer, 275-286. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2007.
- Nizri, Michael. "The Religious Endowments of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi: The Waqf Institution and the Survival of Ottoman Elite Households." In *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East*, edited by Dror Ze'evi and Ehud R. Toledano, 31-43. Warsaw, Poland: De Gruyter Open Poland, 2015.
- Orbay, Kayhan. "Imperial Waqfs Within the Ottoman Waqf System." *Endowment Studies* 1, (2017): 135-153. <https://doi.org/10.1163/24685968-00102002>
- Orbay, Kayhan. "Vakıfların Bazı Arşiv Kaynakları." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 29 (2005): 27-41.
- Ögel, Bahaeddin. *Türklerde Devlet Anlayışı*. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2016.
- Pakalın, Mehmed Zeki. "İmaret." In *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*. Vol. 2. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983, 61-63.
- Pantık, Ramazan. "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi (1686-1727)." MA thesis, Hacettepe University, 2014.

- Pantık, Ramazan. "Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakıfları: Yönetimi, Kentsel Gelişime Katkıları ve İktisadi Yapısı." (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2021).
- Roded, Ruth. "Quantitative Analysis of Waqf Endowment Deeds: A Pilot Project." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9, no. 9 (June 1989): 52-76. Sağır, Yusuf. "Fatih ve II. Bayezid Ümerâsından Yakup Bey ve Vakıfları." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no.46 (December 2016): 81-47.
- Singer, Amy. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Singer, Amy. "Charity's Legacies: Reconsideration of Ottoman Imperial Endowment-Making." In *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Context*, ed. Michael Bonner, Mine Ener, Amy Singer, 295- 313. Albany: State University of New York, 2003.
- Singer, Amy. "Evliya Çelebi on İmarets." In *Mamluks and Ottomans*, edited by David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon, 123-33. London and New York: Routledge, 2006
- Singer, Amy. "İmarethaneler." In *Türkler*. Edited. H. C. Güzel. Vol. 10. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002.
- Singer, Amy. "Mapping İmarets." In *Feeding People, Feeding Power: İmarets in the Ottoman Empire* eds. Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann and Amy Singer, 43-55. Istanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007.
- Singer, Amy. "Serving up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 3, *Poverty and Charity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Winter, 2005): 481, 500.
- Singer, Amy. "Soup and Sadaka: Charity in Islamic Societies." *Historical Research* 79, no. 205 (May 2006): 306-324.
- Tanman, M. Baha. "İmaretler." *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4 İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1994, 163-166.

Taşkın, Osman. “Şükürler Sofrası Rızıklar Kapısı İmaretler (Ayasofya, Nuruosmaniye, Şehzade, Atik Valide, Çinili).” Gümüşhane Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 13, no. 1 (2022): 98-116.

Ülken, Hilmi Ziya. “Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği.” Vakıflar Dergisi, no. 9 (Ankara 1970): 13-38.

Ünver, Süheyl. “Anadolu ve İstanbul'da İmaretlerin Aşhane, Tabhane ve Misafirhanelerine ve Müessislerinin Ruhi Kemallerine Dair.” Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası, no. 4 (1941): 2390-2410.

Yüksel, İ. Aydın. “İmaretler.” Vakıf Haftası Dergisi, no. 2 (1985): 163-167. Tanman, M. Baha. “Sinan'ın Mimarisi İmaretler.” Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan: Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri, no. 1 (1988): 333-353.

APPENDICES

A. ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Figure 1: Waqfiyya of Mehmed Çelebi bin Hamza bin Biçar

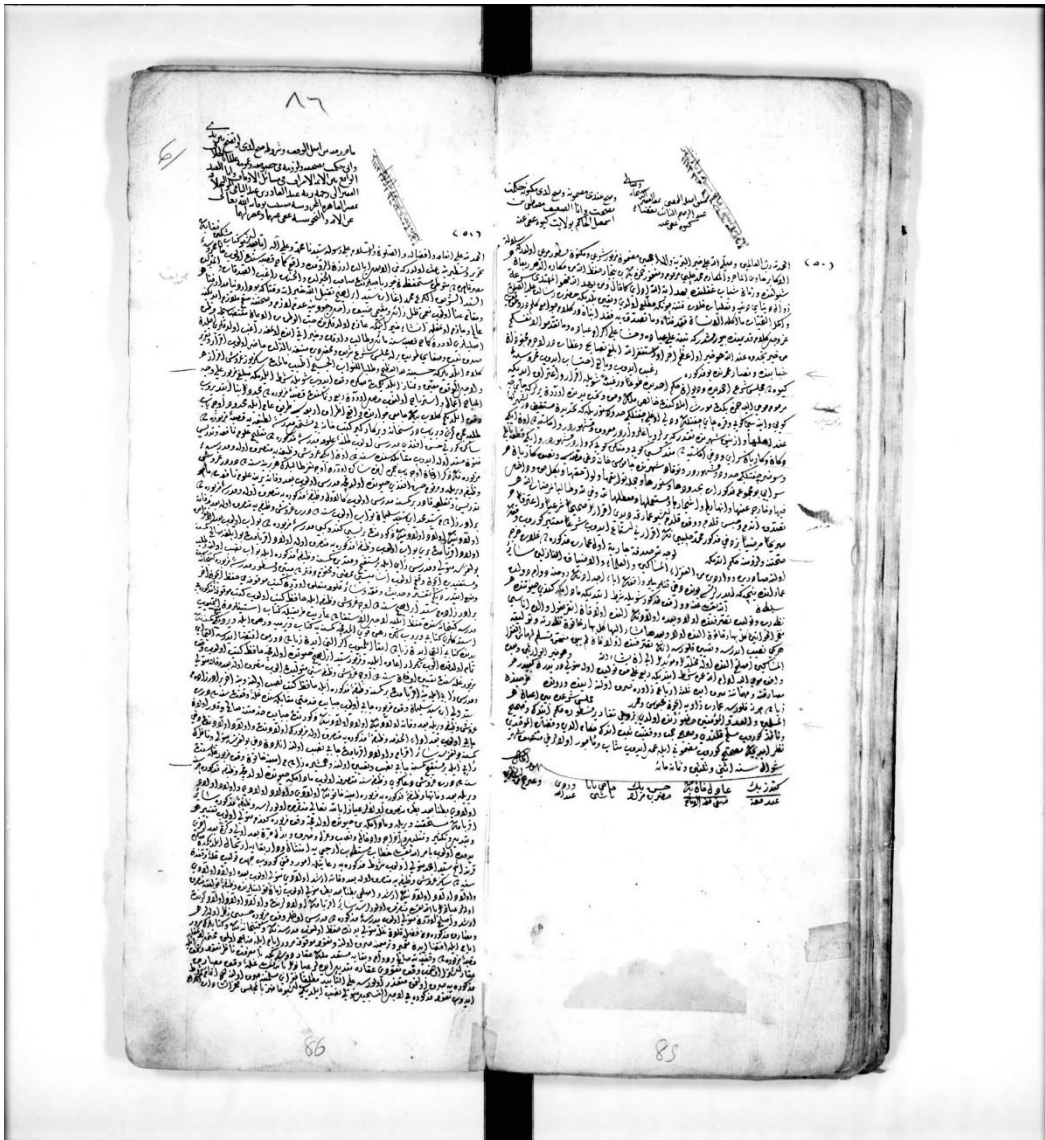


Figure 2: Waqfiyya of Sungur Çavuş



B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Toplumdaki farklı sosyal grupları besleyen kurumlar olarak hizmet veren imaretler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun güvenlik ve refahının sağlanmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Genellikle 14. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyıla kadar Osmanlı topraklarında yemek yeme (me'kel), mutfak (matbah), fırın (furun) ve kiler (kiler) alanlarını içeren vakıf külliyesi içinde faaliyet göstererek halkın temel ihtiyaçlarını birçok kez karşılamışlardır. Vakıf külliyesi çalışanları, ziyaretçiler, yoksullar (fukara) ve bölge sakinleri gibi belirli gruplara önceden belirlenmiş miktarlarda yemek sunmuşlardır. Hizmetleri, mübarek sayılan gün ve bayramlarda toplananlardan ticaret ya da hac için çeşitli yolculuklara çıkan yolcuları doyurmaya kadar uzanıyordu.

Hususiyle belirli kişileri belirli zamanlarda doyurmak üzere bina edilmesi imaretleri farklı açılardan incelenmeye değer önemli kurumlar haline getirmiştir. İmaretlerin araştırılması, çeşitli disiplinler hakkında önemli bilgiler sağlayabilir. Vakıf külliyelerinin temel unsurları olarak imaretler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kentsel gelişiminde ve fethedilen şehirlerin entegrasyonunda merkezi bir konuma sahiptir. İmaretlerin incelenmesi yoluyla, gündelik yaşam, verme ve alma dinamikleri, Osmanlı toplumunun incelikleri, yemek ve yemek kültürü, farklı gruplar arasındaki sosyal etkileşimler, kültürel uygulamalar, ekonomik yapılar, imparatorluk politikaları ve kurumsal tarihlerle ilgili birçok konu keşfedilebilir.

İmaretler hakkında kayda değer miktarda çalışma olmasına rağmen, araştırmacılara imaretler ve kurucularının idealize edilmiş vizyonları hakkında kapsamlı bir anlayış sağlayan vakfiyeleri (vakıf senetleri) hakkında daha fazla kolektif araştırmaya ihtiyaç vardır. Bu çalışma, 14. yüzyıldan Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han'ın saltanatının sonuna kadar uzanan dönemdeki imaretlerin vakfiyelerini inceleyerek bu boşluğu gidermektedir. İncelenen vakfiyeler çoğunlukla daha önce yayımlanmış, tercüme edilmiş veya çevriyazısı yapılmış belgelerdir. Bunlardan sadece birkaçı bu araştırma için özel olarak tercüme edilmiştir. Bulgular, bu kurumların zaman içindeki gelişimine

ışık tutarak diğer kaynaklarla karşılaştırmalı analiz yapılabilmesi için önemli bir potansiyel taşımaktadır

Günümüz toplumlarında sosyal yardım ve güvenlik sistemlerinin tüm toplumu korumadaki rolü ve modern devletin sorumlulukları geçmişte kısmen vakıflar, özellikle de imparatorluk vakıfları tarafından yerine getirilmiştir. Bu, vakıf kurumunun etki alanını anlamak için birçok tarihçinin kullandığı ortak bir açıklama ve metafordur. Vakıf, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından "temel belediye hizmetlerini sağlamak için bir araç olarak kullanılmış, Osmanlı yönetici sınıfı vergi gelirlerinin önemli bir kısmını vakfa ayırmıştır. Özellikle tarımsal vergiler, camiler, medreseler, su sistemleri ve yoksullar için mutfaklar gibi kentsel kurumları desteklemek için vakıf olarak vakfedilmiştir."

Vakıflar, tarım arazileri, üretim kapasiteleri ve ticari girişimleriyle imparatorluk ekonomisinde önemli bir rol oynamış, Osmanlı ekonomisinde muazzam bir satın alma gücü yaratmışlardır. Kamu ve dini hizmetlerin yürütülmesi, hayır faaliyetleri, farklı unvanlar altında çok sayıda çalışanın istihdam edilmesi, satın almalar yapılması, maaş ödemeleri, belirli hak sahiplerine aylık bağlanması ve imaretler tarafından yiyecek ve ekmek verilmesi yoluyla ekonomide yeniden dağıtım işlevi gören bir araç olarak ortaya çıktılar.

Vakıf sistemi, zengin ve fakir arasındaki farkın azaltılmasında merkezi bir rol oynamıştır. Vakıflar aracılığıyla servet aktarımı alt sınıfları desteklemiş ve orta sınıfı genişletmiştir. Toplumun küçük bir bölümünü oluşturan yönetici elit, vakıfların kurulmasında önemli bir yere sahipti. Eğitim olanakları, sosyalleşme ve ağ kurma fırsatları ve temel ihtiyaçların erişilebilirliği alt sınıfı desteklemiş ve servet kazanmalarını sağlamıştır. Bu sistem isyan, ayaklanma, hırsızlık ve eşkıyalık gibi toplumsal hayatı olumsuz etkileyebilecek eylemlerin önüne geçilmesine ve adaletin sağlanmasına yardımcı olmuştur. İmaretler, vakıf külliyelerinde ikamet eden öğrenciler, personel, sıcak çorba ve ekmek arayışındaki yolcular, yoksullar ve muhtaçlar gibi ihtiyaç sahiplerine temel gıda sağlayarak hem yöneticilerin meşruiyetine hem de güvenliğin sürdürülmesine katkıda bulunmuştur.

Vakıflar, ulema ile ilişkileri geliştirmek ve böylece yöneticilere siyasi meşruiyet kazandırmak için kullanılmıştır. Medreseler ve camiler, belirli dini ve siyasi perspektiflerin desteklenmesinde önemli roller oynamıştır. Amy Singer, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda vakıfların kullanımını, ticareti artırmak ve güvenliği sağlamak için vakıfları stratejik olarak kullanan ve böylece yeni kazanılan topraklar üzerindeki otoritelerini güçlendiren selefleri Rum Selçuklularına atıfta bulunarak açıklamaktadır. Kervansaraylar, tüccarlar ve gezginlerle bağlantı kurmada kilit oyuncular olarak ortaya çıktı. Osmanlılar, yakın zamanda fethedilen topraklardaki varlıklarını sağlamlaştırmak için bu mirası sahiplendiler. Mevcut kurumlardan yararlanmaya devam ettiler ve farklı amaçlar için tasarlanmış çeşitli binaları kapsayan daha karmaşık kurumların oluşturulmasına öncülük ettiler. Ticari yapılarla desteklenen kentsel kompleksler fiziksel ve ekonomik olarak genişleyerek Anadolu, Balkanlar ve Arap vilayetlerindeki şehirlerin, köylerin ve mahallelerin büyümesine katkıda bulundu. Sufi tekkeleri de kırsal alanlarda benzer bir rol oynamıştır.

Selçukluların Anadolu üzerindeki otoritesinin dağılmasının ardından yerel emirler güç kazanmış, bu durum şehirlerin, emirlerin vakfettiği merkezi Sünni camiler yerine Sufi tekkeleri etrafında genişlemesiyle manzaraya yansımıştır. Bu tekkeler, Sufi şeyhleriyle ittifak kurarak ve şehir için yeni bir odak noktası yaratarak Türkmenler üzerinde meşruiyet kazanmaya hizmet etti. Bazı araştırmacılar bu mekânları, Osmanlıların ilhak ettikleri şehirlerde yeni merkezler oluşturmak için inşa ettikleri T tipi zaviye/imarların öncülleri olarak görmektedir. Orta Anadolu'daki emirlerin aksine Osmanlılar bu mimari programı Hıristiyanların yaşadığı eski Bizans şehirlerinde uygulamışlardır. Bu programı, şehrin kenarlarında insanlara yeni fırsatlar sunan yeni alanlar sağlayarak kent yapısını hem kültürel hem de fiziksel olarak değiştirmek için kullandılar. İnsanlar bu yerlerin ilk sakinleri olarak bazı ayrıcalıklardan ve vergi muafiyetlerinden yararlandılar, bu da diğerlerini cezbedi ve nüfusu artırdı.

Tekkeler gibi imaretler de vakfiyelerde tanımlanan belirli gruplara hizmet vermiştir. Tekkeler dervişlerin üstlendiği görevlerle işleyerek yine dervişlere ve halka hizmet etmekteydi. İmaretler ise, külliye çalışanları, medrese öğrencileri, yolcular ve misafirlerin yanı sıra yoksullar, dullar ve komşular da dahil olmak üzere anıtsal yapıların çevresinde ortaya çıkan toplumun ihtiyaçlarına cevap verme ortak ilkesine

hizmet ediyordu. Osmanlı imaretleri, hanedan üyeleri ve yüksek rütbeli memurlar tarafından İslami bir görev ve sorumluluğun yerine getirilmesinin yanı sıra, yemek ve misafirperverlikle ilgili Sufi geleneklerin ve komşu kültürlerin uygulamalarının takip edilerek inşa edilmesi bakımından benzersizdir.

Orhan Gazi tarafından başlatılan inşaat faaliyetlerinin başlangıcından itibaren “sosyal ve dini odak” oluşturan yeni mahalleler bu külliyelerin adını almıştır. Bunları tamamlayıcı yapılar takip etmiş ve Osmanlı şehirleri için ticari merkezler oluşturulmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu eğilim yeni başkentler Edirne ve İstanbul'da da gözlenmiştir. İncılık bu süreci şöyle açıklamaktadır; her külliye, Müslüman bir topluluğun din ve eğitimin yanı sıra su temini ve hatta (imâret veya darüşşifa mutfağı aracılığıyla) gıda gibi temel manevi ve maddi ihtiyaçlarına cevap verdiği için, zamanla tam teşekküllü bir yerleşimin merkezine dönüştü. Böyle bir sistem sayesinde Müslüman İstanbul, 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Avrupa'nın en büyük şehri haline geldi.

Bu çalışma sırasında karşılaşılan ilk zorluk, imparatorluk çevresinde inşa edilen imaretlerin isimlerine ve yerlerine ulaşmaktı. Amy Singer'ın Evliya Çelebi'nin seyahatnamesinde bahsi geçen imaretleri listelediği makalesi bu konuda ilk adımları atmama yardımcı oldu. Evliya Çelebi'nin seyahatnamesinde yer alan ya da fiziksel olarak günümüze ulaşan imaretler hakkında toplu çalışmalar mevcuttur, ancak bu çalışmada yer alan vakfiye ve imaretlerin listesi, Ayverdi'nin Osmanlı mimarisi ile ilgili kapsamlı eserlerinden elde edilmiştir. Ayrıca, araştırma sürecinde Ayverdi'nin listesinde yer almayan bazı imaretlerin vakfiyeleri bulunmuş ve bu çalışmaya eklenmiştir. Vakfiyelerin çoğuna *Bursa Selatin Vakıfları*, *Bursa Vakfiyeleri* gibi toplu yayınlarda ve *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* gibi vakıfların bireysel yayınlarda rastlanmıştır. Vakfiyelerin büyük çoğunluğu daha önce tercüme edilmiş ve müstakil olarak yayınlanmıştır, birkaç vakfiye dışında geri kalan vakfiyeler Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü arşivinde bulunamamıştır. Bu birkaç vakfiyenin ilgili bölümleri de incelenerek bu çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir.

Vakfiyelerin benzerlikleri, farklılıkları, özellikleri ve zaman içinde ve imaretlerin çeşitliliğine göre vakfiyelerde meydana gelen değişiklikler analiz edilirken orijinal

vakfiyelerdeki olası güncellemeler ve deęişiklikler dikkate alınmamıştır. Bu çalışmaya 1348'den Fatih döneminin sonuna kadar otuz iki vakfiye dâhil edilmiştir. Vakfiyelerin çoğunda, gıda malzemelerinin kalitesi ve miktarları, çalışanların özellikleri ve görevleri, maaşları ve çalışma koşulları ile ilgili konular ayrıntılı olarak açıklanmıştır. Ancak bazı vakfiyelerde malzemeler veya maaşlar hakkında ayrıntılı bilgi verilmemiştir. Bu konularda karar vakıf yönetiminin takdirine bırakılmıştır.

İmaretler, fakir ve muhtaçların ötesinde, vakıf komplekslerinin çeşitli işlerinde görev alanlar dahil olmak üzere çeşitli gruplara hizmet vermiştir. Vakfiyelerin pek çoğunda, günahlarını açıkça sergileyen aleni günahkârlar, İslam düşmanları ve sapkın bidatleri takip edenler dışında, gelenlerin geri çevrilmemesi ve ekonomik veya sosyal statüye dayalı ayrımcılık yapılmaksızın yiyecek sağlanması şart koşulmuştur. Yemek verilenlerin çeşitliliği, farklı amaçlarla vakıf komplekslerinde bir araya gelen gruplar hakkında fikir verebilir. İmaretler öncelikli olarak vakıf külliyesinin çalışanları, öğrenciler, âlimler ve cami görevlileri için yemek sağlamaktaydı. Daha sonra, gelen ve gidenlere, yolculara, fakir ve muhtaçlara ve yakınlarda ikamet edenlere hizmet ederlerdi. Eğer imaretler bir dergâhın parçasıysa, öncelikle dervişler için yemek sağlardı.

Her ne kadar imaretler servetin yeniden dağıtımını ve sosyal hizmetlerin sürdürülmesinde vakfedilen arazi ve mülklerden elde edilen gelire önemli bir rol oynasa da, yemek dağıtımıyla ilgili hizmetleri belirli gruplarla sınırlıydı; yaygın varsayımın aksine yoksullar her durumda öncelikli değildi. Yiyecekleri alacak olanlar ayrıntılı olarak listelenmiş ve malzemelerin miktarları sınırlandırılmıştır. Bu da yiyeceklerin belirli gruplara belirli miktarlarda sunulacağını, fazla yiyeceklerin ise komşulara ve genel olarak yoksullara verileceğini göstermektedir.

Bazı vakfiyelerde mahalle sakinlerinin yemek verilenler arasına dahil edilmesi, yeni gelenleri destekleyerek ve halihazırda yerleşik olanları memnun ederek kent popülasyonunu imaretlerin yapıldığı alanlarda artırmanın bir aracı olarak görülebilir. İmarete komşu olarak imaretten günlük olarak yemek alma hakkına sahip olunması, tarihçilerin kentsel yapıyı değiştirmek için kullanılan cazibe araçlarını açıklarken işaret ettikleri bir tür fırsat veya ayrıcalık olarak görülebilir. Vakıf külliyelerinin

konumları göz önüne alındığında, birden fazla işlevi barındırarak yeni merkezler yaratmada önemli bir rol oynadıkları söylenebilir. Külliyelerin etrafında toplanan insanları desteklemek için imaretler kurulması, sadece komşulara değil, misafirlere ve yerel eşrafa özel yemekler sunarak da ekonomik ve siyasi faaliyetleri destekleyen bir eylem olarak görülebilir.

Yemekler sadece hayır amaçlı değil, aynı zamanda imaret çalışanlarına bir tür ödeme veya ayrıcalık olarak verilmekte ve bazı durumlarda mütevellilere dahi ikram edilmekteydi. Bazı vakıflarda, personele günde iki kez, diğer gruplara verilen normal miktarda yemek verilmekteydi. Yine de birkaç vakıfta, miktarlar ve kimlerin hak ettiği konusunda karar idareye bırakılmıştır. Vakfiyelerde düzenli olarak yemek verilecek kişiler ayrıntılı olarak tarif edilmiş ve bu kişilere statülerine göre davranılması gerektiği de belirtilmiştir. Misafirler için özel olarak hazırlanan yemeklerin ve ziyafetlerin varlığı imaretleri sadece aşevi olarak görmenin yanlış bir kanı olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca vakfiyelerde imaret kapılarının koruyucuları olarak bevvaların bulunması, herkesin yemeklere katılma ayrıcalığına sahip olmadığını gösterebilir. Vakfiyelerde sadece yemek alacak olanlar ayrıntılı olarak anlatılmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda birincil alıcılar da tarif edilmiş ve fazla miktarlar diğer gruplarla paylaşılmıştır. Bundan hareketle imaretlerden yemek alma konusunda bir hiyerarşi olduğu sonucuna varılabilir.

Misafirler için özel yemekler olsa da imaretler yılın büyük bölümünde aynı menüyü sunuyordu. Dr. Ramazan Pantık'ın da belirttiği gibi, bu yemekler ihtiyaç sahiplerine gerekli gıdayı sağlayarak ayaklanmaların önlenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Her imarete düzenli olarak besin değeri yüksek, hemen hemen aynı malzemeleri içeren çorba ve ekmeğin servis edilmesi, sadece çalışanlar ve öğrenciler gibi düzenli alıcılar için değil, karnı aç olan herkes için de aç kalma ihtimalini ortadan kaldırmıştır. Sabit menüleri, imparatorluk meşruiyetine katkıda bulunan sembolik bir değerdi. Sultanların ve yönetici elitin gücü, ihtiyaç sahibi insanları doyurma araçlarıyla destekleniyordu. Bu çalışmadaki tüm imaretlerin menüleri de bu modeli takip etmiştir. Ana malzemeler et, buğday, pirinç, yağ ve baharattı; sadece özel günlerde ve özel misafirler için menüler tatlılar, bal ve turşularla çeşitlendiriliyordu.

Yemekler mübarek günlerde artırılmış, menüler çeşitlendirilmiştir. İmaret kelimesinin anlamının vakıf külliyelerinden aşevlerine dönüşmesi de bu uygulamayla ilgili olabilir. Cuma namazları, mübarek geceler ve bayramlar (Ramazan ve Kurban) çok daha fazla insanın bir araya geldiği ve vakıf külliyelerinin hizmetlerinden yararlandığı zamanlardır. Bu durumlar için ibadetlere katılan kalabalık insanlar için hazırlanan ekstra yiyecekler, insanların algısını bu kurumlarla olan ilişkilerine göre şekillendirmiş olabilir.

Selatin vakıfların kapasitesi ve sunduğu hizmetler paşaların, vezirlerin ve eşrafınkinden fazladır. Hizmetlerin kapsamı kurucunun gücü ile doğru orantılıdır. Bu çalışmada incelenen vakfiyeler, selatin vakıflarında çalışan sayısının ve yemek miktarının daha yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir. Diğerleri ise selatin vakıflarının vakfiyelerinin koşullarını ve tarzını daha küçük ölçekte taklit etmiştir. Zaman içinde imaretlerin kapasiteleri artmış, vakfiyeler iş rollerini, yemek malzemelerini ve yemek alma koşullarını daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde tanımlar hale gelmiştir. İmaretin işlevi hakkında daha fazla bilgi vermişlerdir.

Bazı tarihçiler aile yararını kurucuların olası motivasyonları arasında saymıştır. Aile yararı, gelir, yiyecek veya vakıfta çeşitli pozisyonlarda istihdam tahsis edilerek sürdürülmüştür. Özellikle mütevellî ve şeyh seçimlerine ilişkin açıklamalarda aile üyelerinin, azatlı kölelerin ve toplumdaki belirli grupların korunmaya ve vakıftan kazanç elde etmeye devam ettiği açıkça görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, İsa Bey'in vakfiyesinde tasvir edildiği gibi, bazı hizmetlerden yararlanmaktan da muaf tutulabilirler. Aile üyelerinin imaret hizmeti alması engellenmiştir. İmaretten yemek yemeleri ya da yiyecek almaları durumunda kendi paylarını ödemek zorundadırlar.

Bazı vakfiyelerde, şeyhin âlimlerden veya bir tarikat liderinden olması gerektiği belirtilmiştir. Şeyhin sahip olması gereken özellikler ise erdemli ve dindar olmasıyla ilişkilendirilmiştir. Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in vakfiyesinde de gelenekler takip edilmiş ve şeyh; bilgili, alçakgönüllü, cömert, yardımsever, güvenilir vb. olarak tanımlanmıştır. “Şeyh” kelime anlamı bakımından yaşlı bir kişi, âlim, öğretmen veya Sufi lider anlamlarına gelse de imaretin şeyhinin mutlaka bunlardan biri olması gerekmiyordu. Şeyh, bir tekkenin vakıf külliyesinde, Ebu İshak'ın imaretinde gerçek

anlamıyla kullanılmış ve özellikleri ayrıntılı olarak tarif edilmiştir. Diğer vakfiyelere göre, mütevellî veya *nakib* gibi insanlarla yüz yüze gelen görevlilerin dindar ve salih olması gerekiyordu. İmaret şeyhinin görevleri sadece dervişleri yönetmek ya da ziyaretçilere rehberlik etmek değildi, ayrıca onları ağırlamak ve onlara yiyecek ve gerekli eşyaları sağlamak da söz konusu sorumluluklar arasında yer almaktaydı. “İmaret şeyhi” ifadesi, vakfiyelerde imaretlerin yönetimindeki bir pozisyonu adlandırmak için kullanılırdı. İnalçık'ın vurguladığı gibi, mutfaklarla ilgili görevler Sufi tarikatlarındaki mertebelerin de ismiydi ve bazı işlevlerini yitirmiş olsalar da kullanılmaya devam ettiler.

Vakıflar, vakfiyelerde tasvir edildiği üzere Allah rızası için iyi işler yapmak gibi çeşitli nedenlerle vakfedildiği gibi, gözetilen diğer niyetler hakkında da çok sayıda ipucu ve bilgi yine vakfiyelerde bulunmaktadır. İmaretlerin kuruluşundaki bazı niyetler kentsel gelişime katkı, siyasi meşruiyet arayışı, himaye aracı ve ailenin yararı olarak sıralanabilir. Vakfiyelerde direkt olarak sebebi belirtilmese de komşuların evlerine yemek gönderecek kadar geniş çapta insanların doyurulması, külliye canlı ve cazip tutan çeşitli grupların yiyeceklerinin sağlanmasına, vakıf kilerlerinde devamlı olarak gıda bulundurulması kıtlığın önlenmesine yardımcı olmakta kentsel gelişime katkıda bulunmaktadır. Özel misafirler ve âlimlerden fakir ve muhtaçlara kadar, yemek alanların rütbesine göre pişirilen yemek miktarındaki farklılıklar olması ve çeşitli grupların beslenmesi, kurucuların olası motivasyonları arasında siyasi meşruiyet arayışının yanı sıra statü ve güç gösterisinin de olduğunu gösterir. İmaretlerde verilen yemeklerden pay ayırılarak veya imaretlerde istihdam edilerek vakıf kurucuları ailelerine ve kölelerine veya çevrelerine ayrıcalıklar sunarak katkı sağlayabilir.

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

(Please fill out this form on computer. Double click on the boxes to fill them)

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Kürk
Adı / Name : Hatice Büşra
Bölümü / Department : Tarih / History

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): İmaretin in the Ottoman Empire from the 14th Century to the End of the Fatih Era Based on Waqfiyyas

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

- Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.**
- Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. ***
- Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. ***

* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date

(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.