# Personnel Employed in Ottoman Libraries

İsmail E. Erünsal\*

In the Ottoman State, as indeed in most Islamic societies, the public library system formed part of a larger system that served the religious and educational functions in society. All mosques, schools, colleges, libraries and indeed many other institutions that one would associate with a welfare society were endowed by wealthy individuals. It was customary for a founder to establish his pious foundation and make provisions for the upkeep of his endowment by allocating revenues to it in perpetuity. These revenues would go towards such things as paying for the staff, lighting, cleaning, and repairs. The running of the foundation was governed by a foundation deed, vakfiue, in which was stipulated in varying degrees of detail the manner in which the foundation was to be run. There was usually a system of strict financial accounting for these endowments, and we find in these account books, which were rendered at regular intervals, more detailed information on the running of these foundations. The present article is based on the study of about 300 foundation deeds and several thousand books of accounts and judicial registers and other records which are interspersed among some two hundred thousand separate documents in the Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi-BOA), the Court Register Archives (Şer'i Siciller) and the Topkapı Palace Archive (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi) at Istanbul and the Archives of the Directorate General of Pious Foundations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi-VGMA) at Ankara and in various libraries. While much of the information in any single document is somewhat patchy, it was hoped that by making a comprehensive survey, some sort of pattern about the employement of personnel would emerge.

Since the circumstances affecting the employment of personnel in Ottoman libraries varied from period to period, a chronological treatment of the subject is perhaps the most useful approach, especially in that it allows us to view historical developments in this field. In the early years of the Ottoman Empire, for instance, as the libraries did not have a separate building, being part of a mosque or a college or a larger complex surrounding these, there was no particular establishment allocated for a body of library

Prof. Dr. İsmail E. Erünsal, Marmara University, Department of Archival Studies.

staff.¹ Indeed, in some cases there was no librarian appointed for the care of the books that were placed within these institutions, and his duties were performed by a member of staff of the institution in which the library was located. For example, there was no allowance made for a librarian in the libraries of the college founded by Umur Bey at Bergama (1440),² in the college founded by Sultan Murad II at Adrianople (1435),³ or in the college founded by Saruca Pasha at Gallipoli (1442).⁴ However, Umur Bey allocated an extra stipend of one asper per day for the *müezzin* of the mosque he built in Bursa to care for the books.⁵ In this early period, the only member of staff for the library tended to be a single librarian appointed with a stipend of between one and three aspers per day. The other duties associated with libraries, such as supervision, cleaning, maintenance and financial control were carried out by the staff of the institution in which the library was located.

#### a. Introduction

Although the Ottoman libraries after the conquest of Istanbul (1453) continued to form part of larger institutions and were administered by them, there is a discernible increase in the number of librarians and the appointment, for the first time, of assistant librarians. The daily stipend however was, with a few exception, not increased. Only with the inflation of the second half of the sixteenth century do we see any significant rise in stipends for library personnel. Moreover, it is only toward the end of the seventeenth century, with the endowment of rich foundations and appearance of libraries independent of colleges or mosques that we find a further increase in the number of library personnel allocated to a library.

While at first the staff appointed to the independent libraries consisted, as for example in the famous Köprülü Library, of personnel whose duties encompassed those of librarians, later, in the  $18^{th}$  and  $19^{th}$  centuries, the staff of the independent libraries proliferated to such an extent that they included teachers who taught part of college syllabus. Thus, over four centuries the Ottoman library evolved from its humble beginnings as an ancillary function of the mosque and college through that of an independent institution to a position where the library itself performed the functions of mosque and college. The difference between libraries in the early period and to a certain extent up to the  $16^{th}$  and  $17^{th}$  centuries and those founded after the  $17^{th}$  century is one of emphasis. While in the first period the library was an extension of the functions of prayer and learning, in the second period, prayer and learning became incidental functions of the library.

In the account books governing the establishment of these pious foundations, the post of librarian is listed among the staff of mosques, colleges or the complexes. See for example, Başvekalet Archive M. Müd. 22, p. 5; M.Müd. 626, p. 72; M. Müd. 5455, p. 18; Ruus 94, p. 674.

<sup>2</sup> VGMA no. 59l, p. l8l.

<sup>3</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive no. D. 708l.

<sup>4</sup> M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul 1952, pp. 248-252.

<sup>5</sup> VGMA no. 59l, p. 182.

Thus, while the staff of the Köprülü Library consisted of three librarians, a binder and a door-keeper, the libraries of Sultan Ahmed III and Hagia Sophia acquired instructors of the *Qur'an*, Tradition and Islamic Law. In this period the complement of library personnel greatly increased. Apart from the teaching staff, the library of Hagia Sophia was able to boast of no less than six librarians, one assistant librarian, one cataloguer, two *noktacis*, two keepers charged with the security and cleaning of the books, two door-keepers, three floor-sweepers, one painter/decorator to keep the walls clean, two building maintenance personnel, one plumber for maintenance of the lead roof, and one *buhurcu*. T

On the staff of those libraries endowed in the  $16^{th}$  and  $17^{th}$  centuries that were not established as independent entities, the staff generally consisted of one librarian, one binder and one door-keeper. Other duties, such as administration, repairing and maintenance were performed by the staff of the complex in which the library was situated. With the emergence of libraries with their own independent buildings, it followed that the staff should be enlarged to include a separate corps of maintenance personnel, but administratively, the library tended to be treated as an annex of the larger complex.

### 1. The Selection and Appointment of Staff to the Libraries

The deed of endowment governing the establishment of a library usually avoided describing the qualifications, duties and selection of the staff in general terms, but tended to specify, at some considerable length, the relevant criteria for each individual post. This section will therefore deal with the general principles governing the appointment and dismissal of staff, while the particular qualifications and duties of each member of the staff will be dealt within pertinent sections.

According to the documents and deeds of endowments, the following procedure seems to have been adhered to in the employment of library staff: whenever a position fell vacant, the administrator of the endowment chose a candidate who met the conditions of the foundation deed and submitted his name to the supervisor ( $n\hat{a}zir$ ).8 The supervisor, in turn, would forward the proposal to the imperial Divan. In the deed for Haci Selim Ağa Library this process is neatly summarized:

<sup>6</sup> Some endowments for mosque complexes made allowance for daily salaries to be paid to persons who were required to read Bukhari's book of Traditions. In order to check that the conditions of the endowment were fulfilled by those persons in receipt of the salaries, *noktacts* were appointed to note the progress of each reader of Bukhari.

<sup>7</sup> The buhurcu was charged with ensuring that incense was burnt throughout the library to keep the air scented.

<sup>8</sup> Each endowment was under the ultimate control of a supervisor (nâzır), usually a high-ranking member of the government who was entrusted with ensuring that the endowment was properly administered.

The administrator of the endowment will select a person possessed of knowledge and virtue and recommend him to the supervisor (*nâzır*). Upon appending his Signature of approval, the person will be appointed.<sup>9</sup>

Having reached the *Divan*, the document of application for the appointment of a member of staff would be sent to the appropriate offices of government, a note to the effect "append records" or "search records" being attached to the application. Firstly, the seal on the application would be checked for authenticity; if authentic a marginal note "seal corresponds" would be made on the document. Meanwhile, the registry copy of the deeds would be brought from store, and the clerks would check that the post did in fact exist and that the procedure for appointment had been followed correctly. On finding everything in order, a note would be made on the top of left-hand corner, and this would be initialed by the head of the office. Thereafter, the application would be checked against the current register of posts to discover whether the post was vacant. Only then was it returned to the *Divan* for final approval. If approval was given, it was appended to the document of application, and the decision was registered in the registry of appointments. The Divan retained the document of application and issued a warrant to the appointee.

The reason for this painstaking process becomes clear when examining the correspondence and records surrounding such appointments. The forging of documents and applications for unvacated posts were common offenses. <sup>10</sup> According to one registry of appointments, the post of librarian at Balıkesir was awarded when it was claimed that its holder had died. <sup>11</sup> A similar case can be found in an account book dealing with the Süleymaniye endowment. When the irregularity was discovered, it was immediately rectified. <sup>12</sup>

In another document, it is noted that a certain Musa, who was working as a second librarian in the Merzifonlu Mustafa Pasha Library in Istanbul, had applied for a copy of his warrant which had been lost. The document notes tersely: "No record of a Musa appointed as second librarian can be found". <sup>13</sup> When the librarian of Fazlullah Pasha Mosque in Adrianople died, the judge of this city, who was also supervisor of this endowment, submitted the name of Sunullah Efendi, for the post. However, on checking the application against the current register of posts it was discovered that the post had already been given to a certain Ali without the knowledge of the judge of the city, whose recommendation was a necessary condition of appointment for this endowment. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> VGMA 579, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> See, for some examples: BOA. Mühimme Register 6, pp. 177 and 458; Mühimme Register 14, p. 1080; Mühimme Register 16, p. 181; Ruus 30, p. 357; Ruus 35, pp. 56, 294 and 353; Ruus 37, p. 179; Cevdet-Evkaf 10 344.

<sup>11</sup> BOA. Ruus 64, p. 295.

<sup>12</sup> BOA. Müteferrik 89, p. 114a.

<sup>13</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive E. 474/7.

<sup>14</sup> BOA. Ruus 13.

Library personnel therefore carefully guarded their warrants of appointment against loss, lest fraudulent claims be made to the post. Should a warrant be lost, the same procedure was followed as in the original appointment, in order to avoid any possibility of fraud. It often happened that all posts were reviewed on the accession of a new sultan and fresh warrants were issued. <sup>15</sup> In the Hacı Beshir Agha endowment register there is a fresh entry for every member of the library staff on the accession of a sultan, indicating that warrants were renewed with a change of sultan. <sup>16</sup>

# 2. Dismissal of Library Personnel

As with appointments, dismissals were also made on the recommendation of the administrator of the endowment. Because the administrator was usually the founder of the endowment and, thereafter, one of his descendants, the founder was able to keep the prerogative of appointments and dismissals within his family. A recommendation for dismissal was forwarded to the *nâzır* who then submitted it to the *Divan* where it was treated very much in the same way as a recommendation for an appointment. There was also a procedure for dismissing personnel when the administrator was unprepared to do so either out of favoritism or some other reason. It was possible to raise a complaint against a member of staff through the inspector of endowments who was able to forward the complaint to the imperial *Divan*. <sup>17</sup>

In endowment deeds, the reasons for dismissal of library personnel were indicated in the broadest terms with the exception of the post of librarian, where specific faults are listed as cause for dismissal.

On dismissal, a member of staff had his warrant taken away or rendered void, and a new warrant was issued for his replacement, these warrants being registered in the appropriate offices of government.

## 3. The Salaries of Library Personnel

The salaries allocated for the staff of the library was specified by the founder in the endowment deed. In the early period when libraries were located within a mosque or dervish convent, the payment for the staff servicing the library was usually an additional payment and, consequently, very small. For example, while the preacher at the Umur Bey Mosque in Bursa was given 4 aspers a day, the *mūezzin*, who received two aspers, was given one additional asper for performing extra duties as the librarian. <sup>18</sup> In the college of Sultan Murad II at Adrianople, the teacher received 50 aspers

<sup>15</sup> BOA. Mühimme Register 27, p. 50; İbnülemin-Evkaf 3109 and 3194.

<sup>16</sup> VGMA 29, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> BOA. Mühimme Register 35, p. 340.

<sup>18</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 22, p. 5; M. Müd. 626, p. 72.

per day, the preacher four and the librarian two. <sup>19</sup> In the Conqueror's complex at Istanbul, there was allocated 50 aspers a day for the teachers, ten for a preacher and five for a librarian. In the Hagia Sophia Mosque, which was administered under the same endowment, the preacher's salary was 25 aspers and, in Eyüp complex, the preacher's salary was five aspers while the librarian's was one. <sup>20</sup>

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can observe that the salaries of college librarians increased and that the differential between their salaries and those of other staff of the colleges decreased. In Hekimoğlu Pasha's College in the Davud Pasha district of Istanbul, a certain Mehmed Efendi who was a teacher at the college was also appointed as supervisor of the library with a daily stipend of 30 aspers. At the same time, librarians were receiving 10 aspers a day.<sup>21</sup> The teacher at Nevshehirli Ibrahim Pasha's College in the Shehzadebashı district of Istanbul was in receipt of a daily stipend of 100 aspers, while the *Qur'an* teacher received 30 aspers and the librarians 15 aspers.<sup>22</sup> The teacher of the Hacı Beshir Aga College in Eyüp was given 25 aspers, the teacher of Tradition 20, and the librarian 15.<sup>23</sup>

With the emergence of the independent libraries, we can observe that provision was made for the appointment of librarians in receipt of relatively high salaries. While the librarians of the colleges were receiving between 15 and 20 aspers, the librarians in independent libraries were receiving between 20 and 140 aspers. In spite of these enhanced salaries, within less than a century, the staff of the libraries had to demand large increases in order to counteract the effect of inflation. <sup>24</sup>

The salaries of the library personnel were paid by the administrators. If the administrator did not reside in the same city, he would appoint a deputy to carry out his duties including the payment of salaries. Although library personnel were usually paid monthly, some libraries situated in distant provinces made allowance for the librarians to be paid twice yearly, e.g. Yusuf Ağa in Konya and Rashid Efendi libraries in Kayseri.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ömer L. Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları", Belgeler, 1/2 (1965), p. 322.

<sup>20</sup> Ömer L. Barkan, "Fatih Camii ve İmareti Tesislerinin 1489-1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, XXIII/1-2 (1962), pp. 311-12.

<sup>21</sup> Millet Library, Feyzullah Efendi section 2197.

<sup>22</sup> VGMA Defter 38, p. 90.

<sup>23</sup> VGMA 736, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> The librarians at the Atıf Efendi Library, in 13 Receb 1251 (1835), submitted a petition requesting an increase in their salaries:

The salaries allocated to librarians are small and the librarians having families to support are suffering deprivation. Although they have requested the administrator of the endowment for an increase, the administrator rejected the request on the grounds that the endowment was unable to afford an increase. According to another document, in Muharrem of 1252 (1836) the salaries of the librarians of Aşir Efendi Library, which was set at 12 piastres, were increased to 46 piastres. Cevdet Türkay, "İstanbul Kütüphaneleri", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, XII/69 (1973), pp. 13 and 32.

<sup>25</sup> Müjgan Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphane Vakfiyesi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1/1 (1963), p. 216.

### 4. Increases in Salaries of Library Personnel

Because salaries were specified by the foundation deeds of the endowment libraries, the conditions of which were strictly upheld by law, there was no way in which salaries could be increased to counteract the ravages of inflation. Any increase had to be awarded by extraordinary measures. An exception to this principle were the imperial endowments founded by the sultans themselves; the terms of these could often be reviewed by succeeding sultans. <sup>26</sup> In the account books of the Mehmed the Conqueror's mosque in Fatih, we can clearly observe the mechanism for reviewing salaries: While the salaries for the librarian had been set at 6 aspers in a deed prepared during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), it was revised upwards to 8 aspers on 28 Cem II 1000 after a petition had been submitted by the judge of Istanbul for approval of the sultan, who gave his consent. <sup>27</sup> This salary was again revised to 12 aspers on 21 Z. Kade 1003 after a petition had been submitted by the *reisülküttab*. <sup>28</sup>

However, with those endowments founded by statesmen, scholars, merchants and others, we notice that they invariably provided for fixed salaries that could not be revised with the passage of time. For example, the librarian at the complex of Çoban Mustafa Pasha at Gebze was in receipt of a daily stipend of three aspers in 1522,<sup>29</sup> and, almost one century later, it can be noted that in the account book for the period 1602-1606 his salary remained unaltered.<sup>30</sup> However in some account books, we observe that the librarian was given irregular supplements to his salary out of the money that remained unallocated at the end of the fiscal year. We can therefore assume that this practice of making up the fixed salaries from the yearly financial surplus was not an uncommon practice.<sup>31</sup>

There were also other extraordinary methods for increasing the salaries of library personnel, of which the most common was for the descendants of the founder to establish a foundation supplemental to the original endowment, precisely for the purpose of increasing salaries by enriching the original endowment. We can see supplementary foundations endowed for the purpose of providing additions to salaries in the

<sup>26</sup> This imperial endowments were considered inheritable endowments (*irsādī vaktīs*) and the law books provided means whereby alteration could be made to their original conditions.

<sup>27</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5103, p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5305, p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 626, p. 244.

<sup>30</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5070, pp. 4, 24, 40, 114 and 126.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Vahid Pasha, in his endowment deed, specifies that the librarians at his mosque should receive not only their fixed salary, but also the revenue from a certain flour mill. VGMA 579, p. 702.

deed trusts of the Köprülü, $^{32}$  Atıf Efendi, $^{33}$  Âshir Efendi, $^{34}$  Süleymaniye $^{35}$  and Abdullah Münzevi $^{36}$  libraries.

Another method for keeping incomes abreast of inflation was to allocate extra duties to the incumbent of a post, thus providing him with a further source of income: for example, in an account book dated 1766, we observe that the second librarian of the library of Ahmed III also acted as a factor for the foundation of the Valide Sultan endowment.<sup>37</sup> This multiple tenure of posts can be seen in some other cases, for example, in the Mihrimah Valide Sultan mosque, where we can see that on the death of the librarian in 1595 the librarian's post at 3 aspers was given to the preacher of the mosque who earned 10 aspers.<sup>38</sup> In the same mosque the post of librarian was held by the sheikh of the dervish convent situated in the complex according to the accounts of 1629.<sup>39</sup> We also see in Mehmed IV's mosque on Crete that in 1630 a certain Hasan Efendi, who was the librarian, also occupied the posts of preacher and teacher of the mosque.<sup>40</sup>

Two entries in the account book of the Valide Sultan endowment in Bahçekapı at Istanbul give us a clearer idea of the extra duties performed by librarians. According to these accounts, which were for the year 1727, the monthly stipend of Mustafa Efendi, a librarian, was 450 aspers, but this was supplemented by the salaries for three other duties, boosting his salary to a total of 730 aspers. The second entry in this account book shows that although the assistant librarian's monthly stipend was fixed at 300 aspers a month, he performed 4 additional duties, leaving him with a total monthly salary of 1, 290 aspers. <sup>41</sup>

This system of supplementing fixed incomes of personnel by appointing them to extra salaried duties was the method most favored for combating inflation in those endowments founded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where the stipends are likely to have become inadequate. Thus, we see in a record from 1761 that Mehmed Efendi, a librarian in the mosque founded by Süleyman the Magnificient's mother Hafsa Sultan at Manisa, had 11 extra duties. <sup>42</sup> In a library in Balat at Istanbul, founded

<sup>32</sup> VGMA 580, pp. 13-14; VGMA 76, pp. 42-43 and 46-47.

<sup>33</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği 164, p. 383b; Atıf Efendi Library 2858, p. 133b, and 2859, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi section 473, p. 8b; Hafid Efendi section 486, pp. 6b-9b.

<sup>35</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği 233, p. 82b; Kısmet-i Askeriyye 533, pp. 91b-92a.

<sup>36</sup> Bursa Eski Eserler Library, Abdullah Münzevi Vakfiyesi pp. 17-26.

<sup>37</sup> BOA. Süleymaniye 26, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5455, pp. 85, 91.

<sup>39</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 6483, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> BOA. Süleymaniye 2918, p. 2a.

<sup>41</sup> BOA. Sül. 2874, p. 1b.

<sup>42</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 360.

by Ferruh Kethüda also during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, the librarian received 10 aspers per day from extra duties over and above his fixed stipend of 5 aspers.  $^{43}$  The assistant librarian of the Fatih Mosque library at Istanbul had 4 extra duties according to a record from 1818.  $^{44}$ 

These extraordinary measures necessary to combat inflation continued up to the time of the foundation of the Ministry of Endowments (1826). Shortly after this date, the Minister of Endowments began to adjust salaries to realistic levels. Correspondence concerning the salaries of librarians in the Atıf Efendi and Aşir Efendi libraries shows that the Ministry made considerable charges to the stipends of personnel, especially after 1834. With the amalgamation of all the separate account offices into a single centralized office under the control of the Minister of Endowments in 1838, the state was for the first time in a position to direct policy concerning all foundations.

### b. The Supervisors of Endowments

Although there were many personnel who performed a supervisory role in the administration of an endowment there were only two offices directly concerned with the running of libraries: the *nazır* of the endowment and the administrator.

### 1. The Supervisor (Nâzır)

The function of the  $n\hat{a}zir$  was to represent the State in its role of supervising the endowment and in particular to ensure that the administrator was running the endowment properly and in accordance with the conditions specified in the foundation deeds. The founders of the endowments usually specified that the holders of a particular post were to act as  $n\hat{a}zir$ . Before the creation of the Ministry of Endowments in 1826, the  $n\hat{a}zirs$ , whose function was to represent the state, were usually chosen from among the highest ranks of the state, for example the grand vizier, the Sheikhulislam, the darüssaade ağası (chief eunuch), and the kazasker of Rumeli and Anatolia. Some endowments were under the  $n\hat{a}zir$ ship of the sultan himself.

Besides supervising the endowment, the *nāzırs* were also able to play a part in the appointment and dismissal of library personnel. The recommendations for appointments and dismissals forwarded by the administrator required the approval of the *nāzır*. It was also his duty to inspect the yearly accounts of all the endowments under his charge, which he did by appointing his own auditors. <sup>46</sup> Furthermore in some library deeds, it is specified that the *nāzır* should count the books at specific intervals, either himself or by means of his auditor. <sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Evkaf 711.

<sup>44</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 7991.

<sup>45</sup> C. Türkay, "İstanbul Kütüphaneleri", Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, XII/69 (1973), pp. 31-32.

<sup>46</sup> BOA. Mühimme Register 55, p. 151.

<sup>47</sup> VGMA 82, p. 8; Şer'i Siciller Archive, Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği 171, p. 10b.

The most influential of the *nāzırs* were the chief eunuchs. Koçi Bey, an important early  $17^{\rm th}$  century critique of governmental maladministration, states that the number of endowments under the control of the chief eunuch was at one time 360. The chief eunuch would in fact set aside Wednesdays as his day to convene meetings, to discuss matters pertaining to the endowments in his charge, and to approve or veto appointments and dismissals. The grand vizier, on the other hand, was too busy to supervise the endowments in his charge, and the supervision was carried out on his behalf by the *reisülküttab*. The

The founders of an endowment would allocate a stipend to the  $n\hat{a}zir$ . At one point it was claimed that the Chief Eunuch was receiving 38.280.000 piastres a year from the endowments. Some founders made no provision for a stipend for the  $n\hat{a}zir$ , wishing the  $n\hat{a}zir$  to perform his duties gratis. <sup>50</sup>

With the creation of the large library collections, which were to become more numerous particularly from the middle of  $18^{th}$  century onwards, we observe that the founders of libraries, appointed a further  $n\hat{a}zir$  of books or  $n\hat{a}zir$  of the library besides the normal  $n\hat{a}zir$  of the endowment. The reason for this was that it was realized by the founders in this period that the statesmen from whose ranks the  $n\hat{a}zir$ s were chosen were usually too concerned with affairs of state to occupy themselves with the necessary intricacies of supervising the running of a library. It can be seen from this trend that the founders considered that close supervision by a secondary  $n\hat{a}zir$ , who was to be chosen from among the employees of the endowment was essential for preserving the libraries that they had endowed.

Thus, Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha appointed the chief eunuch as *nâzır* for his endowment at Davudpasha at Istanbul, and chose a teacher from his college to act as *nâzır* of books. <sup>51</sup> In Hüseyin Agha's library at Bursa, there was, in 1760, a *nâzır* of books. <sup>52</sup> According to some endowment records, the *nâzır* of the library of Hagia Sophia founded by Mahmud I, was in 1747, the Palace preacher Mehmed Efendi, who had a stipend of 20 aspers a day, <sup>53</sup> and, in 1786, it was the librarian Süleyman Efendi. <sup>54</sup> Other examples from this period were the appointments of supervisors to the libraries of Nuruosmaniye (1755), <sup>55</sup> Bostancılar Ocağı (1768), <sup>56</sup> Galata Sarayı (1754), <sup>57</sup> Kılıç Ali Pasha (1801) <sup>58</sup> and Rashid Efendi (1797). <sup>59</sup>

<sup>48</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1945, p. 179.

<sup>49</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1948, p. 176.

<sup>50</sup> VGMA 579, pp. 69 and 704; VGMA 730, p. 86.

<sup>51</sup> VGMA 736, p. 68.

<sup>52</sup> VGMA 578, p. 41.

<sup>53</sup> VGMA Defter 87, p. 1b.

<sup>54</sup> BOA. Süleymaniye, Sultan Mahmud I's File.

<sup>55</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive D. 3311; VGMA 98, pp. 10-12.

<sup>56</sup> VGMA Kasa 187, pp. 356-358.

<sup>57</sup> VGMA Defter 87, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa section 1050, p. 9a.

<sup>59</sup> VGMA 579, p. 67.

We can see from foundation deeds that the  $n\hat{a}zirs$  of the libraries were expected to oversee the counting of the books at a specified time, to ensure that the library hours were carefully kept, and, generally, to safeguard the books. In his foundation deed of 1559, Bedreddin Mahmud stipulated that one of the two keys to the bookstore should be given to the  $n\hat{a}zir$  of the library and that the store should not be opened unless he was present.<sup>60</sup>

Some founders specified that the people of the quarter in which the library was found were to act communally, and without payment, as  $n\hat{a}zir$ . Thus we see in the libraries of the Üsküplü mosque in Cibali at Istanbul<sup>61</sup> and in the İplikçi mosque library at Konya<sup>62</sup> and in the dervish convent library in the Tenmiye quarter of Bursa,<sup>65</sup> no individual  $n\hat{a}zir$ , but rather the communal supervision of the local population.

#### 2. The Administrator (Mütevellî)

Because the administrator was the person most directly involved in the running of an endowment, there was a tendency for founders to make provisions for the post to be kept within his or her family. Thus, many endowments remained within the control of a single family over several centuries. In cases where the founder did not nominate a person to the post, he would usually specify those qualities necessary for the post, and it would be left to the local judge to select a suitable candidate.

The administrators were usually required not only to be scholarly, religious and virtuous, but also to have the necessary experience for administration. Founders often went to great lengths to ensure that the administrator was a man of religious orthodoxy, so that we find that in 1681, the preacher of Hagia Sophia, Sheykh Ali, when donating his books to this mosque, stipulated that the administrator should be a supporter of the Kadızâde movement, a puritanical group noted for their overzealous propagation of strict orthodoxy. <sup>64</sup>

The administrator's main function was to ensure that the endowment was run in a way that rendered it financially viable. To this end, he employed collectors  $(c\hat{a}b\hat{i}s)$  to gather the revenues, and he would ensure that all the expenses and salaries of the endowment were met, and render accounts for auditing at the end of every financial year. The administrator was involved in many aspects of the running of the library. As mentioned above, he recommended the appointment and dismissals of all library personnel. We presume that he was also responsible for granting permission for personnel to leave their posts for any pressing reason. Thus, we see Rashid Efendi, when

<sup>60</sup> VGMA 582, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Ahi Çelebi 19, p. 36b.

<sup>62</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Ahi Çelebi 29, p. 23a.

<sup>63</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive (Bursa), B. 41/235, p. 160a.

<sup>64</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Rumeli Sadareti 129, p. 81b.

founding his library, making the administrator responsible for granting leave for the librarians to go on pilgrimage or to visit their families.<sup>65</sup>

Another aspect of the administrator's function was to supervise the regular count of books in the library. In some endowment deeds, it is stipulated that whenever a librarian left his post all the books were to be counted again, whereupon they became the responsibility of the administrator until the appointment of a new librarian. The administrator was ultimately responsible for the care of the books, besides the building in which they were housed. He was responsible for ensuring that all broken bindings or loose fascicles brought to his attention were repaired by the binder. In some endowment deeds, it is stipulated that the administrator was responsible for having missing books replaced out of the general funds of the endowment. 66

As with the supervisor, the administrator was usually provided with a stipend, but in some cases the founder would stipulate that the duties be performed without financial reward.

The majority of administrators appointed to libraries in the provinces chose to remain resident at Istanbul, in which case they would appoint a deputy (*kaimmakam-ı mütevelli*).<sup>67</sup> Although the deputy had the authority of the administrator, he still required his approval for many decisions.

### c. Personnel Working in the Library

The number of personnel in a library would vary according to the period, its size and its status, namely, whether it was housed within another building or was independent. In the early period, library personnel often consisted of a single librarian while by mid-eighteenth century Hagia Sophia Library could boast of no fewer than 29 members on its staff, although some of them were appointed as teachers.

Prior to the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, library staff was usually limited to one librarian, thereafter, the post of assistant librarian became increasingly common. From the end of the  $16^{th}$  century onwards, a steady proliferation of library personnel can be observed. In the  $17^{th}$  century, with the enlargement of collections belonging to the libraries that were housed in the colleges and mosque complexes, we see the addition of binders to the library personnel. With the appearance of the independent library building, provision was made for the library to employ its own cleaners, repairmen, doormen and other functionaries.

<sup>65</sup> VGMA 579, p. 68.

<sup>66</sup> VGMA 82, p. 8; VGMA 571, p. 119; VGMA 579, pp. 67-68; VGMA 731, p. 150; VGMA 735, p. 169; VGMA 737, p. 213; Şer'i Siciller Archive, Evkaf-ı Hümayun 171, p. 10b; Galata Mahkemesi 17, p. 187; Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 19, p. 36b.

<sup>67</sup> Even deputies were appointed for libraries in Istanbul as when Ragip Pasha, having no sons, appointed his daughter to the post of administrator and then appointed a deputy to assist her in administration.

#### 1. The Librarian (Hâfız-ı Kütüb)

When the founder of a library drew up his deed of foundation, he specified the qualities sought in all members of the staff. While many posts were described in a couple of lines, the founder was often at a great pains to describe in some detail the qualifications of candidates for the post of librarian. Similarly the circumstances surrounding his appointment and dismissal, his duties and the conditions of his employment were often specified in considerable detail.

The librarian was usually referred to by the title *hâfız-ı kütüb*, namely, the "keeper of books". More rarely he was referred to as *emin-i kütüb*, the "custodian of books" or by the term more popular in the Arabic-speaking provinces, *hâzin*, "guardian" or *hâzin-i kütüb*, "guardian of books".

#### i. The Qualifications of the Librarian

The scanty information concerning librarians in the early period give us very little idea of the qualities sought in the candidates for the post. The earliest foundation deed to give any substantive information about the qualities of librarians is the deed for the library in the Fatih complex (1470). According to a clause in the deeds the librarian should be a person with a good grasp of bibliography and should be very familiar with the text books used by teachers, assistant teachers, and students at the college. <sup>68</sup> The deeds of other libraries founded in the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481) do not, however, make any stipulation as to the qualities of the librarian.

In the foundation deeds of the library founded by Bayezid II at Edirne in 1488, it is specified that the librarian should be religious, a believer and trustworthy. <sup>69</sup> When Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) endowed a complex in the name of his daughter, Mihrimah, he specified the conditions noted above for the Fatih Mosque deed and those in the deed of Bayezid II. <sup>70</sup> In the deed of Bedreddin Mahmud at Kayseri (dated 1559) we find further qualities, namely that the librarian should be able to protect the books. <sup>71</sup>

When Feridun Bey, a well-known statesman, founded a library in his school at Istanbul (1560) he summarized in his elegant Ottoman style those qualities we find above to which he adds some of his own:

<sup>68</sup> Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri, Ankara 1938, facsimile p. 268-269.

<sup>69</sup> Belediye Library (now Atatürk Kitaplığı), Mc. O. 61, p. 43b.

<sup>70</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi section 3752/2, p. 22b.

<sup>71</sup> VGMA 582/1, p. 33.

A person should be appointed who is trustworthy religious and upright, a man of dignity and good faith... a man of knowledge and wisdom... a man by nature suited to the protection of books... nor should he be (as in the words of the holy *Qur'an*) as the likeness of an ass carrying books... nor should he be an ignorant evil-doer who would scatter books to the winds like autumn leaves. <sup>72</sup>

The deed for the Selimiye complex library (1575) at Edirne adds two further conditions: the second librarian should be possessed of a good scribal hand and the third librarian should be a good artist capable of decorating books. $^{73}$ 

In the seventeenth century, the conditions found are essentially the same as in previous deeds except in one deed which reguires that the librarian should know the procedure for issuing and recalling books. 74 Although in the 18th and 19th centuries, the qualifications of the librarian remain, on the whole, the same as before, we may observe in some cases particular stipulations laid down according both to the nature of the library and the particular wishes of the founder. Where the library was attached to a larger institution such as a mosque, college or dervish convent, it was sometimes stipulated that the duties of librarian be carried out by one or the other of the officers of that institution, a preacher of a mosque, a teacher or student of a college or the sheikh of a convent. Thus, we see that while Beshir Agha, demanded that the first librarian in his college library in Eyüp (1735) should be appointed from outside, the second and third librarians should be students at the college. 75 The purpose of this was to ensure that, when the first librarian went home the second and third librarians, being resident students, would be able to extend the opening hours of the library for the convenience of their colleagues. Sherif Halil Efendi envisaging that the first librarian in his mosque in Cerrah Pasha (1744) would also be the time keeper at the mosque, specified that he should be a man qualified in the science of astronomy. 76

While many founders considered scholarship a useful additional quality for their librarians, when they began to be required to teach students in the library it became essential. Thus, we see in some endowments careful provision to ensure the possession of a certain level of scholarship by their librarians. Selim Agha for instance, specified that two of the three librarians of his library in Üsküdar (1782) should be good scholars, and to this end he provided for an examination of the candidates for

<sup>72</sup> VGMA 570, p. 198. We see, two centuries later, that the same clauses with the same wording are repeated in the deed of Seyyid Ahmed Efendi, who founded a library in Yakup Bey Mosque at Izmir (Smyrna) in 1775.

<sup>73</sup> Müjgan Cunbur, "Osmanlı Çağı Türk Vakıf Kütüphanelerinde Personel Düzenini Geliştirme Çabaları", VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1973, p. 679.

<sup>74</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami section 150, p. 45a-b.

<sup>75</sup> VGMA 736, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> It was the duty of the time keeper to calculate the exact time of the five daily prayers.

the post to be conducted by the Sheikhulislam.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Dervish Mehmed Pasha also believed it to be essential that his librarians be good scholars, but does not, however, indicate how they were to be chosen.<sup>78</sup>

In order to prevent the abuse of multiple tenures by which several posts were held by one person, we see in the 18<sup>th</sup> century measures taken to avoid this, particularly in the independent libraries and college libraries with large collections where the regular presence of a librarian was essential to its proper functioning. Thus, we see Veliyüddin Efendi stipulating that no judge, teacher, preacher or dervish sheykh should be appointed librarian. <sup>79</sup> A century later we see this same clause in more comprehensive versions in the library deeds of Rashid Efendi (1797)<sup>80</sup> and Yusuf Agha (1794)<sup>81</sup> who among other categories excludes candidates who were occupied in crafts, industry or trade.

We occasionally come across unusual stipulations in deeds governing the choice of librarians as, for instance, in the endowment of Halet Efendi (1820), where it was required that the first librarian be a man free of the contagion of lethargy and that he should be a bachelor,  $^{82}$  a status which was relatively rare in an Islamic society.

### ii. The Selection and Appointment of the Librarian

While the administrator of an endowment was ultimately responsible for the appointment of librarians, the criteria for selecting a suitable candidate were often laid down in the foundation deeds. While these criteria were usually in the form of remarks noting the qualities desirable in a librarian, as we have seen above, in some cases the choice was restricted by other considerations. Morevi el-Hac Hüseyin Agha had his son, Mustafa Efendi, appointed to the post of librarian in his college at Izmir (1740) and stipulated that his successors in the post were to be the eldest and the most knowledgeable and upright member of his family in the succeeding generations. When founding his library (1801) in the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque at Istanbul, Debbagh-zâde Ibrahim Efendi nominated four individuals to the posts of librarian, and, thereafter, it was left to the administrator to select and appoint successors. As Sheikh Mustafa Ali Efendi appointed his son as first librarian and his son-in-law as

<sup>77</sup> VGMA 579, p. 122.

<sup>78</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, İstanbul Kadılığı 122, p. 37b.

<sup>79</sup> VGMA 745, p. 80.

<sup>80</sup> VGMA 579, p.68.

<sup>81</sup> Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi...", p. 214.

<sup>82</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi section 837/1, p. 8b-9a.

<sup>83</sup> VGMA 736, p. 217.

<sup>84</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa section 1049/2, p. 44b.

second librarian in the library he founded in Balat (1798).<sup>85</sup> In 1824, when endowing the college of Sheikhulislam Cedide Mehmed Efendi with a library, Nişastacı el-Hac Hasan Efendi nominated one of the students to the post of librarian and provided that after his death a successor was to be elected by the students of the college.<sup>86</sup> Vahid Pasha envisaged that the librarian would be chosen by the consensus of the judge, teachers and scholars of Kütahya, the city in which the library was situated.<sup>87</sup>

In situations where a founder endowed a library but failed to provide for librarians, we see the administrator appointing personnel on an ad hoc basis. Thus we see that the administrators of the Mehmed Pasha library in Erkilet at Kayseri and Keyvan Bey's library in Bosnia appointed two librarians each in order to preserve the collections. We see from a petition to the Imperial *Divan*, that Sheikh Hacı Ahmet Efendi endowed books to an unnamed institution in Amasya and, claiming that the library thus founded had no income to provide for a librarian, he requested that the state allocate funds from properties in Amasya to make good this deficiency. He also nominated himself as librarian. 89

Like all posts in endowment institutions, there was a tendency, as we shall see below, for the librarian posts to be handed down from father to son. In some cases, as a result of this, a position as librarian was held by several people, the most common example being when a librarian passed the position to his sons who were all suitable candidates and therefore shared the stipend and duties. This situation was termed a "shared post". When the second librarian of the Köprülü Library died in 1783, his three sons were appointed to the post. 90 We see this happening also in other libraries. 91

#### iii. The Duties and Responsibilities of Librarians

The basic duty of the librarian, throughout the whole of the Ottoman period, was the conservation of the collection in his care. However, as the role of librarian became established, his duties became more specific and wide ranging. Because the information we have from early period is fragmentary, we can only assume that the role of the librarian in this period was that of custodian. We see, for example, that the librarian in Umur Bey's Mosque at Bursa (1440) was simply required to issue books to the faithful in the mosque, and to prevent them from taking the books outside. <sup>92</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Kasımpaşa Mahkemesi 107, p. 90.

<sup>86</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Davudpaşa Mahkemesi 95, p. 85.

<sup>87</sup> VGMA 579, p. 702.

<sup>88</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 8093; BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 141 respectively.

<sup>89</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 2342.

<sup>90</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 103.

<sup>91</sup> See for some examples: BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 5825; BOA. Ruus 33, p. 40; Ruus 35, p. 294; Cevdet-Evkaf 13, 507; BOA. Müteferrik 89, p. 114a.

<sup>92</sup> VGMA 591, p. 183.

After the conquest of Istanbul (1453), the first college library was established in Eyüp by Mehmed the Conqueror. The deed for this library describes the role of librarian in the most basic terms: "A person will be appointed to protect the books which are to be placed there". 95

However, only a little later we see in a deed for the Fatih complex that the librarian was forbidden from denying books to the students and staff and was required to direct all his efforts to conserving the collection and supervising the lending of books.  $^{94}$ 

Some twenty years later, when Bayezid II founded a library in his complex at Adrianople (1490), the deeds had become comparatively specific in describing the role of the librarian. Apart from protecting the books, he is required to follow a set procedure for lending books, namely he should always lend a book in front of witnesses, he should then count the fascicles and the pages and note these, together with the condition of the binding, the size of the book and the names of witnesses, in his register. It is further specified that students not be allowed to take the books out of the college. 95

In the deed of Süleyman the Magnificent's foundation (1549), made in the name of his daughter Mihrimah Sultan, it is added that the librarian should not keep readers waiting for books, which should be presented free of dust. <sup>96</sup> Thereafter, in later deed we notice that cleaning the books becomes one of the specific duties of the librarian. The deed of the Bedreddin Mahmud Library at Kayseri (1559) stipulates that the cleaning of books should be done annually during the month of Ramazan, at which time the annual checking of books was to take place and their replacement in the same order as that of inventory. It was also specific that the librarian was to keep one of the keys to the store-room. <sup>97</sup>

In the sixteenth century, further duties were added; for example, Sinan Pasha, conqueror of Yemen, required his librarian to survey the state of the books in his charge and to inform the administrator when book bindings needed repair or renewal. Mehmed Agha, the chief eunuch, in his library (1591) also provided for repair and renewal but stipulated that the librarian should attend to any broken binding that very day, without delay or procrastination. 99

<sup>93</sup> Şer'i Siciller, Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği 46, p. 83.

<sup>94</sup> T. Öz, Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultan Mehmed II, Fatih, Istanbul des Archaologischen, İstanbul 1935, pp. 14-15.

<sup>95</sup> Belediye Library, Mc. O. 61, p. 44a.

<sup>96</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi section 3752/2, p. 22b.

<sup>97</sup> VGMA 582/1, p. 33.

<sup>98</sup> BOA. Süleymaniye, Haremeyn File I.

<sup>99</sup> Topkapı Palace Library, EH. 3208, 96a.

In the deeds of the collection endowed to the Cihangir Mosque by Mahmud Bey (1593), the master of the guild of Bosphorus boatmen, the duties of the librarian are described thus:

The librarian was to lend books to those who were able to read and those who wished to read that they might benefit from the books that they had asked for. The books should be lent on the deposit of a sizable pledge. The librarian is to register the name of the book, the name of the borrower and his physical description, and below this he is to enter details of the pledge and the date of lending. No book is to be lent for more than a month. <sup>100</sup>

We see little change in the terms concerning the duties of librarians during the second half of the  $17^{\text{th}}$  century. We have found only one deed that adds any further reguirement to the previous conditions, such as the taking of pledges and cleaning of books: in his endowment at Balat in Istanbul (1677), Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi demands that his librarian perform his duties with a cheerful disposition, that he should always be well spoken and polite and that he should refrain from rudeness and severity. $^{101}$ 

Towards the end of century, we find in the foundation deed of the Feyzullah Efendi Library (1699) that, besides the emphasis being placed on the cleanliness of the books in the collection, for which purpose an extra stipend was allocated to the librarian, there is the somewhat unusual stipulation that the doors of the library should be sealed every night by librarian. $^{102}$ 

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we find a gradual proliferation of conditions in the foundation deeds of the libraries. In the independent library founded by Atif Efendi, there is the provision for the first librarian to lead noon and afternoon prayers in the library and the second librarian was to recite the call to prayer in the reading room. <sup>103</sup> We also see that the third librarian was required to light the lamps in the library. <sup>104</sup> This provision for the librarians to act as functionaries in the recital of the daily prayers also occurs in the deeds of Ragib Pasha (1762). <sup>105</sup> Of course, these were obligatory daily prayers. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we see the addition of supererogatory prayers and religious ceremonies to the list of requirements for the librarian and his assistants. Thus, it was specified in the foundation deeds of Kılıç Ali Pasha (1801), that the librarian should open the doors of the library with a prayer consisting of the "Ya-Sin",

<sup>100</sup> Şer'i Siciller, Galata Mahkemesi 17, p. 187.

<sup>101</sup> Şer'i Siciller, Bab Mahkemesi 29, p. 130b.

<sup>102</sup> VGMA 571, p. 118.

<sup>103</sup> VGMA 735, p. 257.

<sup>104</sup> The son of Atıf efendi made an additional endowment (1752) in which he stipulated that the third librarian was to recite the first chapter of the *Qur'an*, which is a short prayer, in return for which he was to receive an extra daily stipend of one asper (Atıf Efendi Library 2858, p. 134a). This condition was also added to the endowments of Yusuf Agha (1794) and Rashid Efendi (1797).

<sup>105</sup> VGMA 82, p. 6.

a chapter of the *Qur'an*, and that after the noon prayer each of the four librarians should silently read a section of the *Qur'an*, so that the whole *Qur'an* would be read by them every week, for the soul of the founder. <sup>106</sup> When endowing his library (1805), Hafid Efendi, for his part, demanded that the whole *Qur'an* should be recited over a period of one year, by a librarian whose competence in reading the *Qur'an* was recognized by the others. <sup>107</sup> In the deed of Dervish Mehmed Pasha (1818), it was specified that the librarians should read *Buhari*, the famous book of Islamic Tradition and should participate in the Sufi ceremonies of the Nakshibendi order of dervishes, which would take place one a week in the library. <sup>108</sup>

The attitude and behavior of the librarian towards the readers seems to have been a prime concern of the founders. Hüseyin Agha, founding his library in Bursa (1760), describes the relationship between librarian and readers thus:

When a student or scribe requests a book, the librarian should issue the book in a professional manner and not embarrass the reader by reminding him that he had already fetched the book for him several times before.<sup>109</sup>

In the foundation deeds drawn up by Tirnovali Ali Agha (1762), Ragib Pasha (1762) and Veliyüddin Efendi (1769), we find that the three founders have felt the necessity to prescribe the correct attitude of the librarian to his readers, all three employing virtually the same words: "The librarians should not be of a forbidding disposition and they should be encouraging and cheerful, welcoming and respectful". 110

This stipulation also appears in a different form in the imperial endowment of Abdülhamid I (1781): "He should avoid treating the reader harshly nor should he refuse his request or reprimand him".  $^{111}$  When es-Seyyid Ahmed Efendi endowed a library to the Yakub Bey Mosque at Izmir (1782), he forbade his librarian to refuse issuing books for some spurious excuse: "Whoever it may be, should he wish to read or copy a book, they are not to use a pretext, such as the time of day or some other excuse to avoid issuing a book".  $^{112}$ 

Requirements governing the behavior of librarians is not restricted to the tasks of issuing and recalling books. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, we observe an increasing interest by the founders in the way that the reading room was supervised. Thus we see, for example, Yusuf Agha in his foundation in Konya (1794), specifying that the librarian or his junior assistant should observe the conduct of readers out of the corner of

<sup>106</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa section 1049/1, p. 10a.

<sup>107</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Hafid Efendi section 487, pp. 6b-7a.

<sup>108</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, İstanbul Kadılığı 122, p. 37b.

<sup>109</sup> VGMA 578, p. 41.

<sup>110</sup> Şer'i Siciller Archive, Evkaf-ı Hümayun 171, pp. 10a-b; VGMA 82, p. 5; VGMA 745, p. 80 respectively.

<sup>111</sup> VGMA Kasa 159, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> VGMA 742, p. 7.

his eye to insure against the loss of books or pages. <sup>113</sup> Rashid Efendi, in his endowment (1797), stipulated that the librarian should prevent the disfigurement of books with ink or by other means and should supervise the reader carefully, but politely. <sup>114</sup>

As was mentioned in the general introduction, it became increasingly common in the  $18^{th}$  century for the larger libraries to include some teaching. This teaching was carried by a qualified teacher who was on establishment of the library staff. However in exceptional cases the librarian was required to teach, as, for example, in the foundation of Selim Agha (1782), who wanted two of his three librarians to offer classes in the library and allocated extra stipends for this duty.  $^{115}$ 

Another of the librarian's duties was the regular checking of books. Although it is not regularly specified in the foundation deeds, we can see that in practice the librarian always participated in the periodic checking of books. After reviewing the contents of the collection, it was often the case that a new catalogue was drawn up. We do not know, however, to what extent the librarian was involved in drawing up the book lists.

Up to the 18th century, there is no particular provision stating how long a librarian was expected to be on duty or prohibitions against his deputizing his duties to others. But, from the beginning of the 18th century, we observe founders requiring that the librarian should be personally on duty for the entire period that the library was open. Mustafa III (1757-1774) even issued an imperial decree to proscribe these abuses in his own endowment. In the libraries endowed by Köprülü, Feyzullah Efendi, Ragıp Pasha, Veliyüddin Efendi, Hacı Selim Agha, Yusuf Agha, Rashid Efendi and Vahid Pasha, we see stipulations that the librarian himself should perform his duties personally and should work all day. In some of the libraries which employed many librarians, we often find established in the foundation deeds a rota specifying the days on which the librarians were to work. In the foundation deeds of Nevshehirli Ibrahim Pasha (1729) and Kılıç Ali Pasha (1801), there were four librarians, of which two were always to be on duty. In the deeds for the Nuruosmaniye Library there is a provision for the librarians to perform their duties in rota. In Toderini's account of the Nuruosmaniye Library, he describes the rota, thus:

Il y a six bibliothécaires, dont deux sont constamment en exercice, chaque jour, ce qui fait que leur tour revient, deux fois le semaine; cars les bibliotheques sont fermées le Vendredi, qui est toujours fête pour les musulmanes. $^{118}$ 

<sup>113</sup> Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi...", p. 215.

<sup>114</sup> VGMA 579, pp. 67-68.

<sup>115</sup> VGMA 579, p. 122.

<sup>116</sup> VGMA, Kasa 187, p. 352-353.

<sup>117</sup> VGMA 38, p. 90; Süleymaniye Library, Kılıç Ali Paşa section 1049/1, p. 10a.

<sup>118</sup> G. Toderini, *De la litterature des Turcs*, tr. de l'Italien en François par l'Abbe De Cournand, vol. II (Paris 1789, pp. 95-96).

In order to ensure that the collections housed in the libraries did not suffer losses, the deeds often made the librarians responsible for making good the loss of a book out of their own pocket. Although there is no provision for reimbursement to be paid by librarians in the deeds of the Mehmed the Conqueror's library, we see from a sixteenth century inventory of the books that the librarian actually made good the loss of a book or obtained from the reader a replacement copy. The following entries from this inventory are instances where books have been replaced:

*Kitâbu'l-Lemha*: This book was lost while in the hands of the late Mevlânâ Nureddin, and Librarian Muhyiddin accepted in its place a book that has a decorated binding and contain several essays on mysticism;

*Kitâb-u Bihâru'z-Zahire.* This book was lost during the term of Librarian Muhyiddin. When the aforementioned librarian was departing for Baghdad, the books were checked, and it was found that this book was not in the storeroom. A replacement was given by the aforementioned librarian. The name of the replacement is also *Bihâr-ı Zahire.* <sup>119</sup>

In the foundation deeds of the several libraries, it is specified that the librarian should make good any loss. <sup>120</sup> To further insure against loss of books, provision is made in many deeds for the dismissal of a librarian whose behaviour was likely to lead to losses. The deeds provide for the dismissal of a librarian should he lend a book without first taking a pledge as deposit or lend a book where the deeds forbade the practice or fail to turn up on three consecutive days without an excuse or fail to meet other stipulations in the deeds. He was also to be dismissed if he left his post while on duty or employed a deputy or attempted to work on rota where it was not provided for in the deed, or if he were lazy or took outside employment, such as that of a teacher or a judge, or extended his period of leave without permission.

#### iv. Librarian Stipends

As we have already seen, the stipends allocated to librarians differed to a great extent, depending not only on the period when the endowment was made, but also on the size of the library and on whether the post was full-time. In the early period the stipend allocated to the librarians was one or two aspers a day. Even after the conquest of Istanbul (1453), this sum was not increased, with the sole exceptions of the librarians of the Fatih complex, who were allocated six aspers, <sup>121</sup> and the librarian of Mahmud Pasha college (1474), who was given five. <sup>122</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive D. 9559, pp. 38b 23a.

<sup>120</sup> See, for some examples, İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II: Kuruluştan Tanzimata Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1988, pp. 169-170.

<sup>121</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5103, p. 108.

<sup>122</sup> Ömer L. Barkan-Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli, Baha Matbaası, İstanbul 1970, p. 43.

There is little evidence for increases in stipends during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), the son of Mehmed II, the Conqueror. In his imperial foundations he allocated a stipend of two aspers for his librarian at Amasya, 123 two aspers for his librarian at Adrianople, 124 and three aspers for his librarian at Istanbul. 125 By the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, there are small increases, so the librarian's stipend varied from one to six aspers.

During the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and early part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Empire suffered the ravages of inflation. <sup>126</sup> Although stipends were increased, they only went up to an average of between three and eight aspers and lagged behind the rate of inflation to a significant extent. In order to counteract the erosion of the value of the asper, Sokollu Mehmet Pasha in a foundation deed dated 981/1574 included the following clause:

Let it be known that whenever the asper is mentioned, we refer to the Ottoman asper. At the time of compilation of this book [foundation deed] one dinar is equivalent to 60 Ottoman dirhems. If, with time, changes occur to the values of the dirhem and dinar, then changes are to be made to re-establish the former parity. $^{127}$ 

It is only toward the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with the foundation of independent libraries and the large college libraries, that we find any significant increase in stipends. The first librarian of the Köprülü Library (1678) had a stipend of 20 aspers, the second and third librarians receiving 10 aspers each. <sup>128</sup> The first librarian of Merzifonlu Koca Mustafa Pasha College library (1681) received 20 aspers and the second 10 aspers. <sup>129</sup> The three librarians of Amca-zâde Hüseyin Pasha Library (1700) each received 20 aspers, <sup>130</sup> and three librarians at the Feyzullah Efendi Library each received 15 aspers. <sup>131</sup> These last two cases are rare examples where the founders chose to pay the various grades of librarians the same stipend.

Up to the foundation of the Hagia Sophia Library in 1740, stipends in the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia generally varied between 5 and 25 aspers. However, in the first endowment deed for Hagia Sophia, we see salaries set at 45 aspers for the first librarian and 35 aspers each for the second, third and fourth librarians. <sup>132</sup> In the

<sup>123</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5455, p. 76.

<sup>124</sup> Belediye Library Mc. O. 91, pp. 298 and 321.

<sup>125</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5103, p. 273.

<sup>126</sup> Ömer L. Barkan, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Türkiye'de Fiat Hareketleri", Belleten, XXXIV/136 (1970), p. 568.

<sup>127</sup> VGMA 572, p. 62.

<sup>128</sup> Köprülü Library, Vakfiye 4, p. 60a.

<sup>129</sup> BOA. Ruus 42, p. 303; Cevdet-Maarif 8213.

<sup>130</sup> BOA. İbnülemin-Tevcihat 890.

<sup>131</sup> VGMA 571, p. 119; BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 583.

<sup>132</sup> VGMA 47, p. 15; VGMA 639, p. 3.

second endowment, twelve years later, a further two librarians were added to the establishment and their stipends raised to 90 for the first librarian, 80 for the second, 70 for the third and 50 for the fourth, while the two new posts had a stipend of 40 aspers each. <sup>133</sup> When Atif Efendi founded an independent library in 1741, he stipulated that he wished to ensure that the librarians would devote themselves to their duties and was therefore allocating them generous stipends, which were 80 aspers for the first librarian, 75 for the second librarian and 70 for the third. <sup>134</sup> In this period, the librarians in the other large libraries were in receipt of stipends around 30-60 aspers. The smaller libraries, however, offered stipends of between 2 and 15 aspers.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, two further large libraries were founded, the founder of the first of these, Ragip Pasha stipulated that as the librarians were forbidden to do any other work, 120 aspers were to be given to the first librarian and 110 aspers to the second. <sup>135</sup> The second of these large libraries was the imperial foundation of Abdülhamid I, where the librarians had stipends similar to those at Ragip Pasha's library.

There was little significant increase during the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> and first quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, so that by the time of the establishment of the Ministry of Endowments in 1826, the larger libraries tended to offer between 80 to 120 aspers to the first librarian and slightly less for the second and third librarians.<sup>136</sup>

Throughout the whole Ottoman period, we find instances where libraries were endowed without any provision for a paid librarian. In these cases, it was usually stipulated that the work of librarians would be carried out without renumeration by a specified member of staff in the institution to which library was endowed.

Besides their salaries, librarians also benefited from perquisites that went with the post. As it was the custom for the imperial complexes in which teaching was carried out to provide accommodation and meals from the kitchens, we see that librarians were often provided with free meals and a ration of bread. We see in a document concerning the Fatih Complex that the librarian was included in a list of those members of the staff who were entitled to eat in the kitchens. <sup>137</sup> The account book for Bayezid II's complex is even more specific, for we see that the librarian was included among the "87 persons who were to be given at each meal, one piece of meat, two loaves of bread and one ladle of vegetable or rice soup". <sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> VGMA 639, p. 62b; Topkapı Palace Archive, E. 1767.

<sup>134</sup> VGMA 735, p. 257.

<sup>135</sup> VGMA 82, p. 6.

<sup>136</sup> İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II: Kuruluştan Tanzimata Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlan, Ankara 1988, p. 175.

<sup>137</sup> Süheyl Ünver, Fatih Ashanesi Tevzi'namesi, İstanbul Fetih Derneği Yayınları, İstanbul 1953, p. 10.

<sup>138</sup> Ömer L. Barkan, "Edirne ve Civanındaki Bazı İmaret Te'sislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları", Belgeler, I/2 (1965), pp. 287-288.

We see instances where other arrangements were made for providing the librarians with food. In Süleyman the Magnificent's college on Rhodes, the librarian was supplied with loaves of bread, <sup>139</sup> but his counterpart in Istanbul was given meals. <sup>140</sup> We see from the foundation deed of Hagia Sophia's library that the librarian was provided with food thus:

Every day after the morning prayer, there should be cooked bread and soup, and before noon soup, but on Friday rice, and this should be offered to the staff of the library. $^{141}$ 

In the libraries of the Mahmud Pasha College and the Kasım Pasha Mosque, the librarians were given money with which to buy food. 142

Accommodation was also provided by some foundations. In the deeds of the Atıf Efendi (1741), <sup>143</sup> Ragıp Pasha (1762) <sup>144</sup> Veliyüddin efendi (1768) <sup>145</sup> Karavezir Mehmed Pasha (1780), <sup>146</sup> Abdülhamid I (1781), <sup>147</sup> Halil Hamid Pasha (1783), <sup>148</sup> Çelebi Mehmed Said Efendi (1789) <sup>149</sup> and Rodosi Ahmed Agha (1793) <sup>150</sup> the librarian was to be housed in a residence belonging to the foundation.

#### v. The Number of Librarians Employed in the Libraries

As we have seen above, it was only in the  $17^{\text{th}}$  century, with the emergence of the independent library, that we see the employment of more than a single librarian. The odd instance of libraries with more than one librarian before this period was very much the exception.

With the foundation of the Köprülü Library (1678), we see the establishment of a library staff consisting of three librarians. Thereafter, it became increasingly common for the larger college libraries to employ two or three librarians. This would seem to be due to two factors, firstly the example of Köprülü Library, and, secondly, the large number of rich endowments made at this time, which so enlarged the collections that it became necessary to provide for more librarians. In the three college libraries founded between 1699 and 1701 by Amca-zade Hüseyin Pasha, <sup>151</sup> Merzifonlu

```
139 BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 6585.
```

<sup>140</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 19, 342.

<sup>141</sup> VGMA, Kasa 47.

<sup>142</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5102, pp. 79, 150, 463 and BOA. Ruus 1, p. 145, respectively.

<sup>143</sup> VGMA 735, p. 257.

<sup>144</sup> VGMA 82, p. 6.

<sup>145</sup> VGMA 745, p. 79.

<sup>146</sup> VGMA 742, p. 72.

<sup>147</sup> VGMA, Kasa 159, p. 115.

<sup>148</sup> VGMA 628, p. 547.

<sup>149</sup> VGMA 743, p. 501.

<sup>150</sup> VGMA 743, p. 80.

<sup>151</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar section 2272, p. 3b.

Kara Mustafa Pasha<sup>152</sup> and Feyzullah Efendi, <sup>153</sup> respectively, we see that more than one librarian was to be appointed.

In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we see the larger Istanbul libraries employing between two and four librarians, while the provincial libraries continued to employ a single librarian. In Istanbul, this trend remained fairly stable throughout the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and, the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a few exceptions where we may observe up to six librarians employed in the largest libraries, as for example in the Hagia Sophia Library and the Nuruosmaniye Library. In the provinces, however, we see an increase in the number of librarians during this period, as, for example, in the Halil Hamid Pasha Library at Isparta, the Yusuf Agha Library at Konya and Vahid Pasha Library in Kütahya, each of which employed two librarians, and the Rashid Efendi Library at Kayseri and the Dervish Mehmed Pasha Library at Burdur, each of which had three librarians.

When more than one librarian was appointed, it was usual to refer to them as the first, second or third librarian. However, there are instances where the first librarian is termed the "head librarian". It was usually the case that promotion came with the death, retirement or dismissal of a senior librarian, so that when the post of first librarian became vacant, it was filled by that of the second librarian, whose post was, in turn, filled by the third, and so on, the most junior post being filled by an appointment from outside the library.

#### vi. The Transfer and Inheritance of the Librarian's Post

It was a common practice in foundations for a holder of a post to transfer it to another person. Although spurious reasons may have been given for the transfer, it is known that these posts were actually sold. The mechanism for transferring a post was to apply to a judge for permission to transfer, and then to go through the normal procedures for appointments. This type of transfer was known in Ottoman Empire as cession (ferag) and renunciation (kasr-i yed). It is clear, from some documents, that this practice was, for a time, also prevalent in libraries. In order to avoid situations where librarians may have transferred their post to a person who was not qualified, many founders began, at the beginning of the 18th century, to insert clauses in deeds that expressly forbade this practice. Furthermore any attempt to transfer a post was made grounds for dismissal.

<sup>152</sup> BOA. Cevdet-Maarif 8213.

<sup>153</sup> VGMA 571, p. 119.

<sup>154</sup> Ali Haydar, Tertîbü's-Sunūf fi Ahkâmi'l-Vukûf, İstanbul 1337, pp. 542-545.

<sup>155</sup> Exceptions to this tendency can be seen in two deeds drawn up in this period. The first, belonging to Ashir Efendi Efendi's library at Istanbul, states that under certain conditions a post may be transferred (Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi section 473, p. 10a. The second can be found in Ahmed Agha's library on Rhodes, where we see that posts may be transferred with the consent of the people of the town, who, in turn are to guarantee that the transfer is for good reasons (VGMA 734, p. 93).

Posts were also inherited by the sons of the holders, the practice becoming so common that it came to be accepted as legitimate. Although it was realized that this practice was not in the interest of the libraries, the founders knew that they were powerless to prevent it and therefore attempted, starting at the beginning of the  $18^{\rm th}$  century, to regulate it as much as possible. Hence, we see many examples of founders attempting to prevent the inheritance of a post by a son who was too young or insuitable. In the deeds of the Veliyüddin Efendi Library, the harmful effects of this practice are clearly described:

Since this above [the librarian's] post requires a mature and capable person, if it be given to a child there is no doubt that since he himself will be unable to perform the duties, he will be forced to use a deputy who may be a stranger whose circumstances are unknown, and it is clear that there will be deficiencies in the conservation of the collection. When a librarian dies, his post should not, therefore, be given to his son, if he be a child, or if he be a man who is unqualified or inappropriate, on the sole grounds that the post was his father's. Let the post be given to a person who deserves it and is suitably qualified. 156

#### 2. Assistant to the Librarian (Hâfız-ı Kütüb Yamağı)

In a few libraries we come across the position of auxiliary librarian, who functioned as an assistant to the librarian. They are variously termed *yamak*, *muâvin*, *mülâzim* in Ottoman Turkish, which all mean helper or assistant in English. It is clear that their function is more or less identical. The only mention of this post in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries occurs in the deeds for Ferruh Kethüda's library (1566), where provision is made for 2 aspers a day to be given to a person who would aid the librarian. <sup>157</sup> However, here the post is referred to by the term *muâvin* (helper) rather than *yamak* (assistant). It is not until almost two centuries later that we see this post again, in the deed for Ragip Pasha's library (1762), his duties are described, thus:

There should be appointed two persons of capability and aptitude to act as assistants to the first and second librarians. Every day they should be present at the library and generally aid the librarians and, in particular, fetch books for them and replace them with perfect diligence and attention.<sup>158</sup>

Just as in Ragip Pasha's library, so too in Haci Selim Agha's library (1782), two assistants were provided for. <sup>159</sup> In the former library the daily stipend for these assistants was set at 15 aspers, while in the latter it was only 10. In Yusuf Agha's library in Konya (1794), the two posts of assistant carried the extraordinarily high stipend of 50 aspers, and furthermore the assistants were graded as first and second assistant. <sup>160</sup>

<sup>156</sup> VGMA 745, p. 80.

<sup>157</sup> VGMA 570, p. 60.

<sup>158</sup> VGMA 82, p. 6.

<sup>159</sup> VGMA 579, p. 122.

<sup>160</sup> Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi", p. 214.

In Ashir Efendi's library (1800) provision was made for two assistants (here termed  $m\ddot{u}l\ddot{a}zim$ ), who were graded and paid differentially, 35 aspers for the first, and 30 for the second. <sup>161</sup>

The reason why we do not see this post during the latter part of the  $16^{th}$  and all of the  $17^{th}$  and the early part of the  $18^{th}$  century is that his duties were performed by the assistant librarian, whose post was abolished about the middle of the  $18^{th}$  century, for reasons that will be given below.

#### 3. Assistant Librarian (Kâtib-i Kütüb)

The assistant librarian is invariably, with a single exception, referred to as  $k\hat{a}tib$ -i  $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}b$ . While the librarian's title,  $h\hat{a}fiz$ -i  $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}b$ , suggests that he functions as the person responsible for the books, the assistant's title of  $k\hat{a}tib$ -i  $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}b$  implies that his function is primarily secretarial.

The earliest record of this post is found in an account book for Murad II's imperial foundation at Adrianople. According to these accounts, the assistant librarian was paid two aspers a day. <sup>162</sup> In the imperial foundation of Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-81), at Istanbul, the duties of the assistant librarian is described thus:

He has appointed an assistant who is comprehensive in his knowledge in order that he may keep the number and the names of the books in his register and whatever a book is lent, it should be registered by him that he may know it. And whenever a request for a book is made, it should be lent with the help of the assistant. <sup>163</sup>

In the imperial foundation of Süleyman the Magnificent, we see that no provision is made in the deeds for the appointment of librarians, except that on the endowment of books to the foundation, a librarian and assistant librarian was to be appointed. <sup>164</sup> In an account book for this complex for the years 1583-93, we observe that a certain Mustafa Efendi was holding the post of assistant librarian on a daily stipend of 4 aspers. <sup>165</sup> In Selim II's library in the complex he founded at Adrianople, we can see that the duties of assistant librarian were given to the third librarian. <sup>166</sup> In the foundation deeds (1662) of Turhan Valide Sultan, the sultan's mother, it is stipulated that the assistant librarian will keep the receipts for books lent out and will register their names. <sup>167</sup> In a further deed she made in 1666, new duties were added to the post of assistant librarian: when lending books the assistant librarian is to establish the

<sup>161</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi section 473, pp. 8b-9a.

<sup>162</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5455, p. 18.

<sup>163</sup> Fatih Mehmed II Vakfiyeleri, Ankara 1938, facsimile pp. 269-270.

<sup>164</sup> Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi, Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara 1962, facsimile pp. 151-152.

<sup>165</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 5103, p. 4.

<sup>166</sup> Müjgan Cunbur, "Osmanlı Çağı Türk Vakıf Kütüphanelerinde Personel Düzenini Geliştirme Çabaları", VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1973, p. 679.

<sup>167</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami section 150, pp. 45a-b.

branch of science to which it belongs and he is also to establish its title and count the pages and fascicles. He is also required to consult with the librarian as to whether the book should be lent and should make inquiries as to the character of the borrower before the book is lent.<sup>168</sup>

As we have seen from the above examples taken from the  $15^{th}$  to the  $17^{th}$  centuries, the most important duty of the assistant librarian was to register books lent out. But, with the trend against the practice of lending books from the end of the  $17^{th}$  century and its complete abolition during the  $18^{th}$  century, the duties of the assistant librarian gradually switched to the cataloguing of books and the preparation of inventories. In the deeds of the libraries of Amca-zâde Hüseyin Pasha, Yeni Cami and Damad Ibrahim Pasha it is stipulated that the assistant librarian should draw up catalogues. <sup>169</sup> In Beshir Agha's college library in Eyüp, we see a student being appointed as assistant librarian to prepare a catalogue of the books. <sup>170</sup>

In the libraries in the Fatih and Hagia Sophia complexes endowed by Mahmud I, an assistant librarian was appointed to draw up a catalogue, which would be used to check losses whenever an inventory of books was taken.<sup>171</sup>

In the libraries founded at the end of the  $18^{th}$  century and the beginning of the  $19^{th}$  century, we do not see the post of assistant librarian either at Istanbul or in the provinces. It seems as if the post had become redundant due, most probably, to the fact that other personnel, such as the inspectors of foundations or librarians increasingly became involved in the task of cataloguing the collection and making regular inventories.

When comparing the salary of an assistant librarian to that of librarian, we see that as time went on the assistant librarian received increasingly less. In Murad II's foundation (1435) both the librarian and the assistant received two aspers, while in the Fatih (1470) and Süleymaniye complexes (1557) the librarian received six aspers and the assistant librarian four. From this period to that of the endowment of the library in Hagia Sophia (1740), the assistant librarian seems to have generally received half of the stipend allocated to the librarian. Thereafter, there is a marked decrease in the stipend of the assistant compared to that of the first librarian. According to the endowment document of Hagia Sophia, the assistant librarian received a mere 10 aspers compared to the 90 aspers allocated to the first librarian, while in the endowment of Mahmud I in Fatih (1742), the assistant librarian received a fifth of the stipend given to the first librarian.

<sup>168</sup> VGMA 744, p. 28.

<sup>169</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar section 2272, p. 4a, Yeni Cami section 1200, p. 22a and VGM Archive 38, p. 90, respectively.

<sup>170</sup> VGMA 736, p. 4.

<sup>171</sup> VGMA 47, pp. 16, 25 and VGM Archive, Defter 87, p. 6, respectively.

<sup>172</sup> Belediye Library, Mc. O. 70, p. 335.

#### 4. Bookbinders (Mücellid)

The earliest reference to bookbinders is in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where we find provision for a binder to be paid 2 aspers daily, so that he may see to the repair and maintenance of separately bound sections of the *Qur'an* and the law books belonging to the imperial foundation of Mehmed I at Amasya (1417).<sup>172</sup> This, however, strictly speaking, was not a library position, as the binder was responsible to the complex as a whole and was not employed exclusively in the library. During the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481), the only reference to binders is in an account book for the Eyüp Mosque, where again he is responsible to the complex rather than the library.<sup>173</sup> What is surprising is that no provision is made for a binder to maintain the rich collection in the college library founded by Mehmed II. We can only presume that the books were looked after by the binder in the Palace library.<sup>174</sup>

Throughout the next hundred years references to binders are sparse and uninformative. <sup>175</sup> Although there is no mention of a binder among the personnel of Süleymaniye complex in its deeds, we learn from a record that at a later date a binder was appointed. <sup>176</sup> It is only in the foundation deed of Ismihan Sultan, daughter of Selim II, that we begin to have any information on the role of the binder:

It is a condition that if it becomes necessary to renew the bindings of the scriptures and the books listed below, which become worn with the passage of days and months, they are to be bound with bindings identical to the originals to prevent fraud, deception and substitution.<sup>177</sup>

In the deeds for Selim II's own complex at Edirne, it is stipulated that "an upright person who was skilled in his craft" should be appointed as bookbinder. <sup>178</sup> Sinan Pasha, in the deeds of his foundation (1586), did not provide for a binder, but required that the administrator see to the repair and maintenance of books, presumably by sending the books out to a binder. <sup>179</sup>

No libraries founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century employed their own binders, with the exception of the Turhan Valide Sultan's library in Yeni Cami, the Köprülü Library<sup>180</sup> and the college library founded by Feyzullah Efendi, who stipulated that a binder was

<sup>173</sup> BOA. M. Müd. 4792, p. 31.

<sup>174</sup> An account book from 14..., mentions that the Palace employed two binders one of whom received 12 aspers and the other five aspers.

<sup>175</sup> In an account book of Şehzade Mehmed's complex in Istanbul, for instance, for the year 1584, it is mentioned that a certain Mehmed is receiving two aspers per day for repairing books. (BOA. M. Müd. 5103, p. 397).

<sup>176</sup> BOA. Ruus 66, p. 233.

<sup>177</sup> The point of this condition was that as books were generally described by their bindings as well as their contents, the substitution of a book by another copy required that the binding be changed too.

<sup>178</sup> Müjgan Cunbur, "Osmanlı Çağı Türk Vakıf Kütüphanelerinde Personel Düzenini Geliştirme Çabaları", VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1973, p. 679.

<sup>179</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Haremeyn File I.

<sup>180</sup> In the Köprülü Library we see the post of a second binder endowed in 1764.

to be employed and that he should not take the books out of the premises, probably a precaution against any possible abuse.

However, in the larger libraries founded in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century we generally see provision for a binder to be appointed. The following libraries all employed a binder: the college library of Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha, Ahmed III's Palace library built for the use of the palace staff and his library at Yeni Cami, the college library founded by Nevshehirli Ibrahim Pasha, the college libraries of Hacı Beshir Agha in Eyüp and Cağaloğlu, Mahmud I's library in Hagia Sophia, the Atıf Efendi Library and the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library. In the Nuruosmaniye Library, the binder was also required to ornament and gild the books. <sup>181</sup>

Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we see a reversal in the trend, so that with the exception of the Selim Agha and Halet Efendi libraries, the post of binder ceases to exist, and the maintenance of bindings is left to outside craftsmen. The library founders in this period usually allocated a special fund for binding and repairs. Hüseyin Agha, for example, allocated the sum of 2,880 aspers a year for binding. <sup>182</sup> Vahit Pasha and Ahmed Agha specified in their foundation deeds that bindings should be repaired when required from the general fund of surplus revenue. <sup>183</sup> In the foundation deed of the mosque library founded by Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavalla, provision is made for repairs to bindings to be paid for out of the general fund of the foundation. <sup>184</sup> In the Rashid Efendi library at Kayseri, the deeds allow for income from the endowments to be allocated to the repair and renewal of binding when the need arose, and we see in a financial summary for the year 1827 that 47 piastres were spent on binding. <sup>185</sup>

The stipends offered to binders were comparatively low, never exceeding ten aspers a day, which would suggest that the post of binder was part time. Despite the comparatively low sum allocated to the binder's stipend, it seems that, towards the end of the period under discussion, the founders still considered it more economical to have books bound by self-employed binders.

#### 5. Door-Keeper (Bevvâb and Mustahfız)

In almost all complexes and colleges, there was a door-keeper who opened and closed the main gate at the prescribed hours. As one would expect, it was only with the emergence of the independent library that we see the post of door-keeper on the staff of libraries.

<sup>181</sup> VGMA Dolap 49, p. 23.

<sup>182</sup> VGMA 578, p. 75.

<sup>183</sup> VGMA 579, p. 703 and VGMA 743, p. 94, respectively.

<sup>184</sup> VGMA 580, p. 275.

<sup>185</sup> VGMA 579, p. 68.

In the foundation deeds we see that door-keepers were required to be trustworthy, reliable and upright. His duties, apart from attending to the main gate, are very rarely described, and then only in vaguest terms. In the college library attached to the Palace in Galatasaray (1754), it was stipulated by Mahmud I, the founder, that the door-keeper should hand over the key to the Agha of the Palace, after shutting up for the night. <sup>186</sup> The door-keeper in Ashir Efendi's library was required to act as sweeper, to fetch water and light the charcoal stoves in the reading room during winter. <sup>187</sup> In the libraries that Mahmud I endowed in Hagia Sophia and Fatih, the door-keeper was required to act as watchman and his title was expanded to watchman-porter. <sup>188</sup> However, in the libraries of Yeni Cami, the Nuruosmaniye and Veliyüddin Efendi, there were two distinct posts, watchman and door-keeper.

While the vast majority of libraries had only one door-keeper, the richly endowed libraries could boast more than one, as in the foundations at Hagia Sophia and Fatih, which had two "watchmen-porters", and the Nuruosmaniye Library which had six watchmen and three door-keepers.

The daily stipend of the door-keepers varied between 5 and 15 aspers. In the Hamidiye library, however, the post of door-keeper was amalgamated with that of sweeper and his stipend was 50 aspers daily. 189

#### 6. Sweepers (Ferrâş)

It was the responsibility of the sweeper to keep the building clean. It is only with the emergence of the independent library that the library staff acquired its own sweeper. Not surprisingly, there are no particular qualifications expected of the sweeper, except in those libraries where the post is amalgamated with that of the more responsible position of door-keeper, in which case he was expected to be trustworthy, reliable and upright.

In very few deeds do we see any description of his duties. When the Süleymaniye mosque library was reorganized by Mahmud I and his vizier, Köse Mustafa Bahir Pasha, it was stipulated that:

In the glorious library the sweeper is to present himself in the library every day from morning time until the time of the afternoon prayer. He is to attend the librarian and sweep and dust the library and lay the cushions and then to stand at the door of the library and check the books on the persons entering and leaving the library. <sup>190</sup>

<sup>186</sup> VGMA 87, p. 9.

<sup>187</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi section 473, pp. 9a-b.

<sup>188</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive E. 1767.

<sup>189</sup> VGMA Kasa 159, p. 115.

<sup>190</sup> BOA. Müteferrik 89, p. 114b.

This is the only reference we have to any personnel acting as a security check on people entering and leaving a library. In the Vahit Pasha library at Kütahya, the sweeper was expected to clean and sweep the library, while in the library of Rashid Efendi, he was also required to roll up and relay the carpets and rush matting. <sup>191</sup> Although in some cases it was a full-time position, this post, which carried its own daily stipend, was often given as an extra duty to a functionary of some nearby institution or was given to the door-keeper. Most libraries employed a single sweeper, but in the following larger libraries there was more than one sweeper: Topkapi Palace Library, Hagia Sophia Library, Fatih Library, Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye Library and the Bostancılar Ocağı Library.

### 7. Personnel for the Maintenance of the Library Building

In the independent libraries, it was necessary to make provision for the maintenance of the building. Some founders therefore created posts for maintenance men. Atıf Efendi allocated a daily stipend of eight aspers for a plumber to maintain the lead drains and water conduits, and four aspers for a carpenter. <sup>192</sup> In Mahmud I's foundation deeds for the Hagia Sophia Library, provision was made for the posts of "repairer", a worker in lead for the roof, a worker in mother-of-pearl to repair the inlaid wood furnishings, and a cleaner to remove marks and stains from the walls. <sup>193</sup> In the Fatih foundation, endowed by the same sultan, there was only one maintenance man. <sup>194</sup> In the deeds of other independent libraries, provision is made for one or more maintenance personnel.

We have, in the above few pages, surveyed the general trends in the staffing of Ottoman libraries, from their humble beginnings when there was likely to have been just a single member of staff to the later period where a library could boast of an establishment of more than 20 personnel. Together with this increase in the number of personnel, we also have, as one would expect, specialization in the job descriptions of the staff, so that personnel were assigned particular tasks from maintenance of the fabric to the cleaning and security of the building to the care, repair, lending and cataloguing of books as well as the administration of the whole establishment.

<sup>191</sup> VGMA 579, p. 703 and VGMA 579, p. 67.

<sup>192</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive D. 3306.

<sup>193</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive D. 1767.

<sup>194</sup> Topkapı Palace Archive D. 1767.

#### ÖZET

#### Osmanlı Kütüphanelerindeki Görevliler

İslâm toplumlarının çoğunda olduğu gibi, Osmanlı Devleti'nde de halk kütüphanesi, toplumun din ve eğitim hizmetlerini üstlenen daha geniş bir sistemin parçasıdır. Camiler, okullar, üniversiteler, kütüphaneler ve aslında refah toplumunun bir parçası olarak düşünülebilecek diğer bir çok kurum tamamen zengin şahıslar tarafından vakfedilmiştir. Vakıf yapan bir kimsenin vakfının idamesi için carî gelirler bırakması adetti. Bu gelirler, personel ücretlerinin ödenmesinde, aydınlatma, temizlik ve tamir masraflarının karşılanmasında kullanılırdı. Vakfın idaresi vakfiyelerde değişen derecede ayrıntılı bir şekilde belirtilen kurallara göre yürütülürdü. Genellikle bu vakıfların titiz muhasebe kayıtları vardı ve biz, düzenli aralıklarla hazırlanan, bu defterlerde vakıfların işleyisi hakkında daha ayrıntılı bilgi bulmaktayız. Elimizdeki makale, yaklaşık 300 vakfiye, bir kaç bin muhasebe defteri, mahkeme kayıtları ve İstanbul'daki Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi-BOA, Şer'iyye Sicilleri, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, Ankara'daki Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü ve muhtelif kütüphanelerde yaklaşık iki yüz bin kayıt arasında dağılmış diğer evrakın incelenmesine dayanmaktadır. Tek bir belgede bulunan malumat çoğu zaman bölük pörçük olduğu için, kapsamlı bir tarama yaparak, personel istihdamı konusunda ortaya çıkan ilişki tarzlarının tespitine çalışılmıştır.