

Power broker at the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul: Darüssaade ağası Hacı Mustafa Ağa

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In the summer of 2014, the renovated Kizlaraga's mosque was opened in the town of Ljubinje in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ In the Bosnian historiography and collective memory of the people of Ljubinje and the wider area, it was remembered that the mosque was build by a certain Mustafa Ağa, originally from place called Žabica near Ljubinje.² According to Evliya Çelebi, the benefactor and builder of that mosque was famous Hacı Mustafa, *darüssaade ağa* of Osman II (1618-1621) in the first decades of the 17th century.³

Relying on Evliya Çelebi's record, this paper aimed to find out more information about life and work of mentioned Hacı Mustafa Ağa, influential eunuch at the Ottoman court. The eunuchs,
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1 <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/radost-ramazana-sinoc-prvi-put-upaljeni-kandilji-na-dzami-ju-ljubinju/140707068> pristupljeno: 24.04.2017.

2 Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis: Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama* (translation of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnamesi* to Bosnian by Hazim Šabanović), Sarajevo, 1979, p. 420-421.

3 "...Sultân Osmân Hân-ı Gâzî'nin kızlar ağası olan Mustafâ Ağa câmi'i, gâyet mahbûb ve müzeyyen câmi'dir." *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, VI Kitap, haz. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, 2002, p. 245.

castrated male slaves, were present in the Ottoman state since the time of Sultan Orhan (1326-62). They represented a special kind of privileged Sultan slaves.⁴ By the seventeenth century, corps of white eunuchs drawn primarily from devşirme and prisoners of war from Caucasian slaves guarded private abode of the sultan called Babüssaade. The head of these eunuchs was known as Kapı Ağası or Babüssaade Ağası. On the other hand, the sultan's mother and unmarried sisters resided in Old Palace and they were guarded by small corps of African eunuchs. After the female household members of sultans started to inhabit the Topkapı, the Babüssaade Ağası retained nominal control of the harem until 1588. when Murad II transferred supervision of the Evkaf-i Haremeyn from the powerful Babüssaade Ağası Gazanfer Ağa, a Venetian renegade, to Ethiopian Mehmed Ağa, the chief of harem eunuchs, who received the title Darüssaade Ağası (Kızlarağası).⁵

Based on information from Ottoman sources and literature, activities of Hacı Mustafa Ağa can be divided into several key segments: the involvement in the dismissal of Sultan Mustafa and placing Sultan Osman II on the throne, involvement in the project of building the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and his activities related to

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4 Metin I. Kunt, „Ottoman White Eunuchs as Palace Officials and Statesmen (1450-1600)“, in: *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500-1800)*, ed. by. Juliane Schiel, Stefan Hanß, Chronos Verlag, Zürich, 2014, 325-336, 326. O evnusima pogledati: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, TTK, Ankara, 1945;, V. J. Parry „Enderün“, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II (C—G), Leiden: Brill, 1991, 697-698.; Ülkü Altındağ, „Dârüssaâde“, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1994, c. 9, 1-3. a potom i Jane, Hathaway, „The role of the kızlar ağası in the 17th-18th century Ottoman Egypt“, *Studia Islamica*, LXXV, Paris, 1992,141-158; Jane Hathaway, „Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo during the Ottoman era“, *Turcica*, 41, 2009, 291-303; Jane Hathaway, „The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darussaade Agasi) in the Ottoman Provinces“, In Selim Karahasanoglu and Deniz Cenk Demir, eds., *History from Below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, distributed by Syracuse University Press, 2016, 199-205; A. Ezgi Dikici, „The Making Of Ottoman Court Eunuchs: Origins, Recruitment Paths, Family Ties, And ‘Domestic Production’“, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013), 105-136, etc.

5 Jane Hathaway, „Eunuchs“ in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3rd ed. (2015), 84-92,p. 89.

that, the establishment of a vaqfs and the construction of facilities in Istanbul and Egypt and beyond, the control over donations to Madinah and Mecca with help of wide circle of associates, including imperial women.

Mustafa Ağa's role in the removal of sultan Mustafa and his pro-Osman stance

Hacı Mustafa Ağa performed the function of *darüssaade ağası* (Chief Harem Eunuch) in total 16 years and 8 months on two occasions: first from 1605-1620, and then from 1622-24, during the reign of four Sultans: Ahmed I (r.1603-17), Mustafa I (r.1617-18 and 1622-23), Osman II (r.1618-1622) and Murad IV (r.1623-40).⁶ In 1620. powerfull Hacı Mustafa Ağa was succeeded by his own protégé Suleyman Ağa, so that even though Hacı Mustafa was forced into exile by the opponents of Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-22), his pro-Osman stance was maintained by his successor. After Suleyman Ağa was murdered in the 1622th rebellion of palace soldery that resulted in Osman II's own execution, Hacı Mustafa was recalled from Egypt to take up the post of Chief Harem Eunuch again; this time he held it until his death several months later.⁷

Through the analysis of the writing of Ottoman chroniclers of that time, Gabriel Pieterberg provided informations on his life. Piterberg focuses his attention on the writings of Ottoman historians who grappled with account of the first acesion of Mustafa I, his temporary removal after the tree months, and the enthronement of Osman II (22 November 1617-26 February 1618). Piterberg was primarily focused on Hasanbeyzade's text and also Peçevi and Katip Çelebi up to Naima. According to Piterberg, the matter on

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6 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 175; Ahmet Nezihi Turan, „Mahremiyetin muhafızları darüssaade ağaları“, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları XIX*, İstanbul, 1999, 123-148, p. 146.

7 Hathaway, „Eunuch households in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo during the Ottoman era“, p. 294; Hathaway, „The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darussaade Agasi) in the Ottoman Provinces“, p. 200.

which Hasanbeyzade on one hand and Katip Çelebi and Peçevi on the other had opposing views was the role that the *darüssaade ağası*, Mustafa Ağa, played in the deposition of Mustafa I and the subsequent accession to the throne of Osman II. While Hasanbeyzade condemned Mustafa Ağa for various acts and because he “caused people to be averse to the padishah (sultan Mustafa)” and because he “had the audacity to fabricate statements of many sorts,” Katip Çelebi defended his actions and expressed disagreement with Hasanbeyzade’s judging by saying “all the people witnessed with their own eyes his (sultan’s) senseless state of mind and realized the lack of judgment”.⁸ Pieterberg assumed that most probably Hasanbeyzade was Katip Çelebi’s source for this episode. The attitude of Peçevi towards the actions of the Chief Harem Eunuch is similar to Katip Çelebi’s. Peçevi also implies that making the insanity of Sultan Mustafa publicly known was not necessary because “not only the grandees, but also the common artisans became aware of his behavior.” Hasanbeyzade insist that the new padishah Mustafa I “being of introverted and humble disposition” could not get along with Mustafa Ağa because he possessed the power to manipulate others and was “accustomed to gift and patronage and acting with complete power in the time of Sultan Ahmed Han ... all the grandees of the state and the pillars of the sultanate were submissive to him...” According to Katip Çelebi, Mustafa Ağa was “the planner and conductor of affairs” and attributes to the chief black eunuch not only judicious actions but also good intentions. Peçevi, on the other hand, assumes that Mustafa ağa was a responsible and trustworthy servant of the state.⁹

The affair of removal and murder of the Sultan Osman II is an episode that emanated not only in the Ottoman Empire but also beyond its borders. In Bosnian and Herzegovinian and neighboring historiography there was a reminiscence of these events. The poet Aga Dede from Dobor dedicated most of his poem *Tārīhnāme* to the visit of Sultan Osman II to Poland (1621) and his tragic death a year

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8 Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 93 and 94.

9 Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*, p. 95.

later (May 20, 1622). This is a valuable testimony to the fact that one Bosniak, a contemporary, watched and evaluated the events at the Sublime Porte of that time.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that, somehow at the same time, Osman's death, in the romantic-heroic epoch of 20 singing "Osman", was also described by the famous Dubrovnik poet Ivan Gundulić (1589-1638), but with different emotions.¹¹

Mustafa Ağa's associates network and connection

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Chief Harem Eunuch became a critical figure in Ottoman political culture. From the 1580s onwards, the sultan, his mother, his male and female favorites, and the two chief eunuchs headed a court faction ranged against the alternate center of power created by government viziers and / or high-ranking members of the ulema. It was the period of political assertions by the sultans' mother and favourite concubines, until recently labeled the "sultanate of women". This period was also marked by a crisis in dynastic reproduction specifically a lack of princes old enough and mentally competent to rule. Princes were raised in a harem where the Chief Harem Eunuch oversaw their education, and he also became the main influence on the sultan.¹²

In these circumstances, in the first decades of the seventeenth century chief black eunuch Hacı Mustafa Ağa became a royal favorite. He acted as a prime political mover and established himself as just such a power broker. Hacı Mustafa Ağa also served as a channel for the influence of imperial women. Ahmed's favorite concubine (Haseki), Kösem Mahpeyker Sultan, was able to use her close alliance with Hacı Mustafa Ağa and his client Nasuh Pasha to wield

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10 Osman A. Sokolović, "Pjesnik Aga-dede iz Dobor-grad a svome zavičaju i pogibiji Osmana II, *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, vol. 1, Sarajevo 1972, 5-34; Haso Popara, "Tarih-nāma od Aga-dede iz Bosanske Posavine", *Preporod*, Sarajevo, Novembar 2016.

11 Pavao Pavličić, *Studije o „Osmanu“*, Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1996.

12 Hathaway, "Eunuch households in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo during the Ottoman era", p. 291.

influence over the sultan.¹³ Later, in the course of the 17th century, the services at the Ottoman court, as well as in the advancement in service, led to further changes. The court eunuchs remained longer in service at the court, and left the court only when they reached a mature age. Gradually the white eunuchs were degraded in relation to the influence that the black eunuchs and women began have over the sultans. In this newly emerging situation, the white eunuchs did not go to the positions of the governors of the provinces, nor did the black eunuchs ever be placed on these positions, they were powerfull behind the closed doors of the harem. It is impossible to know whether there were racial prejudices regarding their appointment to governors or they themselves preferred to be at the center of events in the capital. Black eunuchs generally ledft the court when they were retired and went to Egypt.¹⁴ By 1608, Sultan Ahmed I had become more sedentary, largely because the wars had ceased. Mustafa Ağa enjoyed regular access to the sultan since he was now the unchallenged authority in the inner sanctum of the royal palace, where the sultan resided. In these circumstances, Mustafa Ağa controlled almost all the information that reached the sultan while also distributing wealth and patronage both in the sultan's and in his own name.¹⁵

Construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque

Sultan Ahmed I came to power determined to exercise control over the court and the state. He enthroned himself without waiting for the official ceremony, he sent Safiye Sultan, his influential grandmother, to the Old Palace in an effort to remove her from the center of power, and built the Sultan Ahmed Mosque as a celebration of a momentary suppression of the Celali rebels and as a third gesture of

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 13 Günhan Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, PHD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2010, p. 148 and 245.

14 Kunt, „Ottoman White Eunuchs as Palace Officials and Statesmen (1450-1600)“, p. 112.

15 Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 245.

self-assertion.¹⁶ The construction of the Sultan Ahmed in Istanbul, one of the largest Sultanatic foundations in Ottoman history, whose construction was completed between 1609 and 1616, was one of the most important projects of Sultan Ahmed I in which, apart from the sultan as the driving force, Mustafa Ağa was very much engaged.¹⁷ He was the chief supervisor and fund manager of the project and stood in defense against the criticism of the leading *ulema* of that time. Namely, when the sultan consulted the grand mufti to confirm the propriety of building a mosque on the Hippodrome, he was told that the public square surrounded by grand palaces lacked a large enough congregation. A chronicle written by the royal imam explains that this legal hindrance The New Mosque appeared to be superfluous to its critics and faced opposition from pro-war parties, who considered its costs unjustified. The grand mufti and other jurists regarded the mosque as illegitimate because sultan Ahmed had won no victory against the Christians. However, the sultan did not pay too much attention to the ulema's criticisms. The biographer of the chief architect Mehmed Agha, who designed the mosque complex, praises the monarch's sensitivity regarding the selection of a suitable site.¹⁸

At a time when the ground for preparation for the construction of the mosque was cleansed, as Sultan's envoy Mustafa Ağa was in charge of purchasing private properties and land of owners located in the district where the mosque would be built. The site on the Hippodrome, overlooking the Sea of Marmara rather than the Golden Horn, was preferred because it required only the demolition of two large palaces designed by Sinan for the couples Mihrümah-Rüstem and Ismihan-Sokollu which the sultan purchased.¹⁹ In this sense, Mustafa-aga acted as a mediator, or as a sultan's representative,

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16 Emine Fetvacı, "Enriched Narratives And Empowered Images In Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts", *Ars Orientalis* vol. 40, Washington, 2011, 243-266, p. 245.

17 Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde", p. 1-3.

18 Gülru Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan: Architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005, p. 515

19 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan: Architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 514.

and bought palaces from their heirs: Ahmed Paşa's palace from Sultan Aisha, the daughter of Rustem Paşa and the sultana Mihrimah, and the court of the former great vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa with surrounding land from Ibrahim Han, son of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and princess Ismihan.²⁰

The impact of Mustafa Ağa was also seen in the inscription in the marble above the eastern entrance to the inner courtyard of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in which the name of the sultan is engraved and the name of Mustafa Ağa also, as if he was one of the founders of the mosque. Since there is no similar example of the inscription on any other Sultan mosque, that would include the name of someone who is not a member of the imperial family along with the name of the sultan, Börekçi insists that Hacı Mustafa Ağa was a special favorite of the Imperial family in the 17th century.²¹

Superintendent of *vaqfs* in Mecca and Madinah

Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95) officially established the office of *darüssaade ağası* when he transferred the office of *Evkaf* superintendent (*nazır*) from the head of primarily white court eunuchs who guarded the threshold in front of the sultan's audience chamber (*Babüssaade*) to the chief of the mainly African harem eunuchs.²² The appointment of the Abyssinian (*Habeşi*) eunuch Mehmed Agha as "the agha of the maidens" (*kızlar ağası*) or "the agha of the Abode of Good Fortune" (*darüssaade ağası*), ie, the "chief harem eunuch" or "chief black eunuch", meant not only the black eunuchs coming out from under the authority of the white eunuchs, but also a new division of labor based on racial criteria. Beginning with the new regulation, harem eunuchs began to be mostly chosen from

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20 Cf: Mustafa Lütfi Bilge, "Sultan Ahmed Cami ve Külliyesi: Kuruluş Öncesi ve Sonrası Belgeler", *Osmanlı İstanbulu* 1, 525-557, p. 531. http://osmanliistanbulu.org/tr/images/osmanliistanbulu-1/29_mustafa-bilge.pdf

21 Börekçi, *Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 249.

22 Hathaway, "The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (*Darussaade Agasi*) in the Ottoman Provinces", p. 199.

among Africans. In 995./1586-87. the position of superintendent of the vaqfs established to support the Holy Cities of Mecca and Madinah (Awqāf al-Haramayn, Haremeyn evkafı) was taken from the hands of the chief white eunuch and assigned to the chief harem eunuch (ie, the chief black eunuch).²³

After 1607, Sultan Ahmed I began to increase the sums of annual sultan gifts dedicated to doubling the sacred cities of Mecca and Madinah, known as *surre-i hümayun*.²⁴ Mustafa Ağa managed to collect and distribute them through his large network of agents, which included and several retired major eunuchs who served as servers and guardians of pilgrimages located in these cities. These annual donations, worth hundreds of thousands of *akçe*, served not only thousands of pilgrims, but also local scholars and distinguished shayhs, mystics and members of other religious groups, as well as various officials in the wider region.²⁵ In this sense, there are some new data from an incomplete defter of donation directed to the „Two Honorable Harems of Mecca and Madinah“ from year 1617/18, which is kept in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo. Defter was finished in July 1617, only one month after the opening of Sultan Ahmed’s mosque on Friday, June 9, 1617. From the defter one can find out that there were some funds allocated from the vaqf of Hacı Mustafa Ağa, darüssaade ağa. The funds were intended for inhabitants of Madinah in the total amount of 420 *filuri*, out of which 20 *filuri* were appointed for the “ağas in the Harem to pray for his soul”, and 380 *filuri* “for those who shall say surah Fatiha and 3 times surah Ihlas and 10 *salavats* in Revza Muttahhara after five daily prayers.” From his vaqf, a donation of 90 *filuri* was intended

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23 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 173; Ayşe Ezgi Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, unpublished MA Thesis, Koç University August 2009, p. 21.

24 On the *surre* in general, see: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i Mükerrreme Emîrleri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1972; Munir Atalar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Surre-i Hümayûn ve Surre Alayları*, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1991.

25 Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 246. Also: Hathaway, “Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo during the Ottoman era“, 291-303.

for those who recite parts from Holly Qur'an in city of Madinah.²⁶ From his vaqf, donation was also given to his freed slaves as well as to the suprintendant of Muradiyya tekke.²⁷ Similar data from another surre defter from the same period was brought by Mustafa Bilge.²⁸

Mustafa Ağa as a patron

In addition to above mentioned activities, Mustafa Ağa also had the function of sultan Ahmed's chief mediator in patronage for art and literature, in which he supported the work of several talents of his time. In one copy of the translation of Şehname, composed by the poet Mehdi, two images were presented: sultan Osman II and darüssaade ağa Hacı Mustafa Ağa. Hacı Mustafa Ağa is presented with a darker tone, while the other black eunuch behind him in his hand holds a book which is presumed to be the Mehdi translation of the Şehname. That was also to be expected, since the poet Mehdi wrote in the long introduction of the book how he began the work on the translation and about the advice given to him by the Hacı Mustafa Ağa.²⁹

Another example of his patronage is when one of Mustafa Ağa's protégés, Kalender Efendi, the finance director of the second rank (*defterdâr-ı şıkk-ı sâni*) in the early 1600s, asked the sultan to appoint him the construction supervisor of the Ahmediyye, Mustafa Ağa personally vouched for his protégé, although the sultan insisted that he demonstrated his skills by preparing a album of calligraphy

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26 Azra Kasumović-Gadžo, "Defter donacija upućenih u dva časna harema: *Surre defteri iz 1617/18. godine, Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* vol. 42, Sarajevo, 2013, 5-36, p. 16.

27 Ibid, p. 25.

28 Bilge, "Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi: Kuruluş Öncesi ve Sonrası Belgeler", 525-557. For a more complete insight into whether it was a one single defter and its (incomplete) copy or two different defters, it would be necessary to compare the original texts. Among others, Günhan Börekçi mention several other *surre* registers from this period: TSMA, D. 211, 1143, 1148, 1175, 1184, 1186, 1187, 1191 and 1204/3, from 1607-17. Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 246.

29 Zeren Tanındı, „Topkapı Sarayı'nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar“, *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (U.Ü. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi), Yıl: 3, Sayı: 3, 2002, 41-56, p.53.

and illumination before he would give him the job. In 1616, when Ahmediyye was close to completion, Sultan Ahmed rewarded Kalender for his services with the ranking of the vizier.³⁰

The preface of a Calligraphy album Kalender prepared and presented to sultan Ahmed I, recounts that when the sultan asked Mustafa Ağa whether Kalender would be appropriate for the position, the eunuch praised Kalender's skills in setting margins and compiling albums, in addition to his knowledge of geometry and his ability to invent various designs and images.³¹ Before that appointment Kalender Efendi was responsible for imperial properties in and around Istanbul. He died in 1616. before the mosque was completed. In this appointment, Kalender benefited from his connections to one of the most powerful figures of Ahmed I's court.³²

According to Börekçi, the names of the witnesses listed in the foundations of Mustafa Ağa's vaqfs also testify to his wide network of clients and allies.³³ Kalender Efendi's name is also among the witnesses of certain transactions of Hacı Mustafa Ağa.³⁴ Kalender Efendi has been a *mütevelli* of the vaqf of the mosque and the complex of Suleimaniyye Mosque.³⁵ His name is also mentioned in the *surre defter* from 1617. Namely, from the donation of the "Deceased Kalender Paşa, vizier" for the poor people of Madinah, 5 *filuri* were given to the family of Ali Bosnevi from Çelebi Pazar and 10 *filuri* to certain Ali Halifa Bosnavi.³⁶

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30 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan: Architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 516; Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 246.

31 Fetvacı, "Enriched Narratives And Empowered Images In Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts", p. 245 and 246.

32 Ibid, p. 245.

33 Börekçi, *Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 247.

34 Bilge, "Sultan Ahmed Cami ve Külliyesi: Kuruluş Öncesi ve Sonrası Belgeler", p. 530-534.

35 Ibid, p. 534, according to: TSMA Defter 1402.

36 Kasumović-Gadžo, "Defter donacija upućenih u dva časna harema: *Surre defteri* iz 1617/18. godine, p. 29.

The results of Mustafa Ağa's patronage were visible in the later years of the rule of Sultan Ahmed, when Mustafa Ağa's clients gradually filled in all the more important functions of imperial administration. One of his protégés, the chief gardener (*bostancı başı*) Hüseyin Ağa, has been performing several important duties over several years, serving faithfully to the sultan, the chief eunuch and their court faction. In addition to his official duties, Mustafa Ağa appointed Hüseyin to be his deputy in charge of the inspection of the site of the Ahmediyya mosque.³⁷ In 1614, Sultan Ahmed appointed Hüseyin Ağa as the executer of the great visier Nesuh Paşa. After performing this duty, the sultan named him the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli.³⁸ Several other visiers of the empire's imperial governments such as Nesuh Paşa, Öküz Kara Mehmed Paşa, Kayserili Halil Paşa and others, were Mustafa Ağa's clients, whose patronage depended on their lives and functions. Mustafa Ağa sponsored the careers of people such as the future great viziers Tabanıyassı Mehmed Paşa, the vizier and Finance Minister Hasan- Paşa etc.³⁹

Hacı Mustafa Ağa was succeeded in 1620 by his own protégé Suleyman Ağa, who was murdered in the 1622th rebellion of palace soldiery which resulted in Osman II's own execution.⁴⁰

Mustafa Ağa's vaqfs in Istanbul and beyond

Hacı Mustafa Ağa was responsible for many activities regarding the changing phyionomy of Istanbul: from setting prices for the construction industry to supervising urban design projects that changed the outlook of Ottoman capital during the first half of the 17th century.

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37 Bilge, "Sultan Ahmed Cami ve Külliyesi: Kuruluş Öncesi ve Sonrası Belgeler", p. 538.

38 Börekçi, *Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 248.

39 Ibid, p. 248.

40 Hathaway, „Eunuch households in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo during the Ottoman era“, p. 294;

As one of the most prolific eunuch patrons of the period, Hacı Mustafa Ağa stand out as exceptional case, rather than the representative example of a eunuch community that translated their power to architectural patronage. He enjoyed royal favor in a special way by being appointed for a second time after an already long tenure. In general, high rank, lengthy tenure, and close relations with the royal family seem to be important factors that have an impact on architectural patronage; however, none of these singularly guarantees that a given individual is going to become a patron.⁴¹ An important factor in Mustafa Ağa's great power was the fact that, especially in the mid-1610s, he endowed a series of large pious foundations, especially in Istanbul and Egypt, to whose administration he appointed his clients, including numerous ruling viziers, palace eunuchs, court officials, local administrators, members of the Ottoman ulema class, and well-known Sufi preachers and spiritual guides. Mustafa Ağa's endowments were the largest ever found by any chief harem eunuch; they set an example for his successors in office. Mustafa Ağa likewise used his personal pious foundations to cultivate the loyalty of a specific corps of servants at Topkapı and at the Old Palace. For instance, and quite unusually, he endowed his Beşiktaş garden-estate in Istanbul to meet the firewood needs of the Topkapı gardeners.⁴²

Historically, court gardeners were very close to the main and other eunuchs of the court, both figuratively and physically since their chambers were located immediately outside the harem complex. Mustafa Ağa also left two cash vaqfs for sweet makers, cooks, guardians of the gate and others in the Old Palace.⁴³

Hacı Mustafa Ağa's case suggests that a relatively long duration of tenure can explain why certain eunuchs could become patrons of architecture while others could not. Information on the chief harem eunuchs' length of tenure, which is available from Habeşi Mehmed Ağa onwards, reveals that he and Mustafa Ağa were among those

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41 Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, p. 136.

42 Börekçi, *Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 246.

43 Ibid, p. 248.

who served the longest as darussaade ağası - for sixteen and more than fifteen years respectively. He became a patron of architecture apparently a few years after his appointment: Mustafa Ağa's earliest dated construction was brought to completion in his eighth year as darussaade ağası. This implies that, for many chief black eunuchs whose term of office did not exceed a couple of years, the lack of seniority in the office was possibly a reason that prevented them from becoming patrons of architecture.⁴⁴

According to E. Dikici, length of tenure does not always explain patronage behavior, building in Istanbul in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century seems to be a privilege enjoyed by only those chief harem eunuchs who managed to have a longer and stronger hold in their position. After years of his promotion and during the period when he oversaw the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Hacı Mustafa Ağa built his first known fountain in the Efraziyye fountain in Fatih in 1022 / 1613-14. In 1225 / 1616-17, he built a sebil and a fountain near the Mahmud Pasha Mosque.⁴⁵

At unknown dates, though presumably during his first term of office, Hacı Mustafa Ağa extended his patron to two other structures dating from the reign of Mehmed II: he rebuilt the Tekneciler Mosque in Eminünü and installed minbars both in this mosque and in the Akbıyık Mosque in Ahırkapı. After the deposition of Mustafa I and the accession of Osman II, in which he played a role, the agha was identified in the inscription of another fountain he built in Haskoy as the darussaade ağası of "Osman the Just."⁴⁶

The last piece of his architectural heritage appears to be a funeral sebil next to the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari in Eyüp, which was his place of burial.⁴⁷

Turbe of Babüssaade Ağası Mustafa Ağa (Baba Mustafa Ağa) was located on the right side of the Gazanfer aga sebil, next to the

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44 Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, p. 118.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid, p.120.

Otakçılar (Defterdar, Fethi Çelebi) mosque at Ejub and Istanbul. The turbe was an open type, with hard stone frames and three windows with iron bars. Inside, there was a grave, and a grave stone with the date of death of Mustafa Ağa 1032/1622, and, in a separate place, there was a grave stone with the inscription. Because it was forbidden to enter the turbe, this inscription remained unread. This turbe of enormous beauty was destroyed in 1980, and in its place a gasulhane, house for the imams and toilets were built. During the demolition and construction the inscription of Mustafa Ağa and marble shadrvan were broken into pieces. Its remains were left on the road, and after some time they disappeared.⁴⁸

Connections with Egypt

Although most harem eunuchs came to the palace by way of Egypt, Hacı Mustafa was apparently the first Chief Eunuch to cultivate a profound connection with Egypt during his career as Chief Eunuch. He spent the nearly three years when he was out of office in Cairo.⁴⁹ In 1028/1618-19, Mustafa Ağa built a *sebil-kuttāb* in Cairo.⁵⁰

According to Jane Hathaway, cumulative *vaqfiyye* for Hacı Mustafa's endowments in Egypt from the Ministry of Awqāf in Cairo (Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf, No. 302), records a vast array of revenue-producing properties in one of Cairo's chief commercial districts, al-Saliba, between the citadel and the elephant's-head-shaped pond known as Birkat al-Fil.⁵¹ According to *vaqfiyye* in this district Hacı Mustafa endowed a *sebil-mekteb* (Arabic, *sabīl-kuttāb*), Qur'an

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⁴⁸ *Eyüpsultan türbeleri*, p. 137-138.

⁴⁹ Hathaway, „The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darussaade Agasi) in the Ottoman Provinces“, p. 201.

⁵⁰ Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, p. 120; Andre Raymond, „Les fontaines publiques (sabīl) du Caire a l'epoque ottomane (1517-1798) I,“ *Annales Islamologiques* 15 (1979), p. 246.

⁵¹ Hathaway, „The Economic and Charitable Activities of the Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch (Darussaade Agasi) in the Ottoman Provinces“, p. 201.

school (*mekteb*) on the upper floor and, on the ground floor, a public fountain dispensing free cups of water, apparently unique to Egypt and the first of many to be endowed in Cairo by Chief Harem Eunuchs.⁵² Other religious or charitable foundations mentioned in this vakfiyye include a restored Sufi *zaviye*, or lodge; two soup kitchens (*imarets*) one in Cairo's Nile port of Bulaq and one in al-Saliba in Cairo proper; several mosques for daily prayer (*mescids*) in the two urban caravanserais/commodities markets (*wakālas*) that Mustafa Ağa restored in Bulaq; and provisions for water for pilgrims leaving Egypt for Mecca.⁵³

To generate revenues for these various institutions, Mustafa Ağa acquired or commissioned a large number of properties in al-Saliba and in Bulaq, including his own lavish residence and various other residences; two *wakālas*; many storerooms, warehouses, shops, a coffeehouse and a multi-story "tenement," or *rab'* and eleven storehouses in Bulaq. Where al-Saliba is concerned, it is probably no exaggeration to say that Hacı Mustafa's endowment activities helped to revitalize this commercial artery and set a precedent for later Chief Eunuch-endowed operations in the vicinity. In the decades to come the shores of Birkat al-Fil served as home to a population of some forty exiled harem eunuchs.⁵⁴

Outside Cairo, Hacı Mustafa's endowed properties included a *rab'* over a coffeehouse in the Mediterranean port of Damietta, where he also restored a *wakāla* and a flax-processing establishment; a *wakāla* and a coffeehouse at the port of Rosetta and parcels of land in the Nile Delta subprovinces of Gharbiyya, Qalyubiyya, and Minufiyya. Collectively, these indicate a concern with the trade route down the Nile to the Mediterranean. Hacı Mustafa Ağa commenced these endowments while in office, expecting to use the surplus income while in exile, and even finding additional sources of revenue during his temporary ouster.⁵⁵

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52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid, p. 202.

Mustafa Ağa and mosque and Ljubinje

After summing up the above information from various sources, the impression is that Hacı Mustafa Ağa has been a very influential chief black eunuch at the Ottoman court in Istanbul during the first decades of 17th century, but his influence was spread much wider. Regarding his origins, however, most historians believe that he was of African descent, as did most other *darüssaade ağa*'s of that time. One of the indicators for this is the fact that in the miniatures on which the aga is presented, his face is much darker than the sultan's and the faces of other courtesans.⁵⁶ Namely, in one translation of *Şehname*, compiled by the poet Mehdi, whose patron was Hacı Mustafa ağa himself, there are miniatures representing the young Sultan of Osman II sitting on the throne in the second courtyard of Topkapı Sarayı. On his left side there is the black darüssaade ağa, which is presumed to be Hacı Mustafa Ağa, and along with him there are few more black eunuchs. This is the first time that, in the presence of manifestations in the yard of Court, there are so many black ağas that is indicative of their significance in that period.⁵⁷ Since Mustafa ağa himself has been a sponsor of these manuscripts, he probably would not allow him to be represented like that if that wasn't the truth. If, therefore, he was an eunuch of African origin, then the question arises as to how he could have been connected with the Bosnian eyalet and what was his motive to erect a mosque in a remote small town like Ljubinje?

In the collective memory of the people of that region, it is known that a mosque was built by a kızlarağa, originated from Ljubinje. The mosque was located in the center of the town, in the mahala Cernica. It was built of narrow stone, rather spacious, and it had about 15 meters high stone octagonal minarets. It was partly destroyed during the Second World War, and in 1948. it was completely destroyed and the stone was used for building the building of the agricultural cooperative in Ljubinje. The plate with the inscription (*tarih*) above entrance doors also disappeared at that time. In the

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56 Börekçi, *Factions and favorites at the court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 244 and 245.

57 Tanındı, „Topkapı Sarayı'nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar“, p. 52.

same period the inscription from the mosque of Nesuh Vucjakovic disappeared also but was later found in Ravello in Italy.⁵⁸

According to the information so far known in the literature, it was believed that vaqfiyye for the Kizlarağa mosque in Ljubinje is not preserved, and also the inscription in the mosque is missing. Except Evlija Çelebi's statement that its founder was a "darüssade ağa of sultan Osman II", there is no other indicator or proof that its founder is precisely the mentioned Hacı Mustafa Ağa. I did not personally have been able to review all of his vaqfiyyes. But, based on the results of some other researchers who analyzed the texts of his vaqfiyyes preserved in Istanbul, it is not known that they mention the mosque in Ljubinje.⁵⁹

Therefore, it was assumed that the benefactor built all the other objects near the mosque: madrasah, maktab, tekke, hammam, khan and well, and that all objects that were erected around 1620. when it was supposed that the mosque was built. It is not known when the madrasah and tekke ceased to work, and the hamam was destroyed in 1896. What is still known is that the benefactor of the mosque has left a calligraphic copy of the Qur'an.⁶⁰

During research made for writing this paper, we found that Mustafa Ağa was of African origin and not Bosnian. His possible connection to Bosnia was the fact that, for the purpose of preparing the terrain for the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, he bought the court of Mehmed Paşa Sokollu from his son Ibrahim Paşa, who was then the current beylerbey of the Bosnian eyalet. The question arises as to which other way he could have been connected with Bosnia, especially with such a small town like Ljubinje? It is

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58 Muhamed Mujić, „Arapski epigraf iz Ravella potječe iz Ljubuškog“, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, vol. XXII-XXIII/1972-73, Sarajevo 1976, 191-202.

59 Among other, Börekçi mentions his vaqfiyye in TSMK, MSS Emanet Hazinesi 2993 (Istanbul and Egypt); 2994 (Egypt); 2995 (Egypt); 2997 (Egypt); and AVGM, D. 733, no. 79 and 80 (two foundations in Istanbul). Börekçi, *Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) and his immediate predecessors*, p. 247.

60 Hivzija Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1990, p. 111.

known that from the mid-15th to the mid-18th century, the court eunuchs established vaqfs and other facilities mainly in Istanbul, and a number of them in other parts of the Ottoman state. For the supervisor of the vaqf's they usually chose "the one who is the actual darüssaade ağa". Since some white eunuchs at the Ottoman Court, originating from the territory of present Bosnia and Herzegovina, built vaqf facilities in their native place, Hacı Mustafa Ağa could, ex officio, be the suprintendant of such vaqfs.

In the *tapu tabrir defter* of the Bosnian sancak from 1604., we can see many court officials, called *gulam-i şahi*, who returned to Bosnia after the end of their service at the Ottoman Court.⁶¹ In addition, in many other sources, few other babüssaade ağa and darüssaade ağa of Bosnian origin, are recorded as benefactors (*vaqifs*). In 1653. babüssaade ağa Bosnali Ahmed ağa, son of Ali, increased several copies of various books of religious content for his madrasah in Mostar. From a note at the end of a manuscript, we find out that in 1644. the vaqif was a "baş kapü oğlanı" and that before 1653. he became "babüssaade ağa ". Several manuscripts from his library are now kept in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo.⁶²

Also, the white counterpart of the famous chief black eunuch Hacı Beşir Ağa, chief white eunuch Ahmed Ağa b. Hüseyin, a Muslim-born Bosnian eunuch, built a school in Bugojno, a locality identified in the deed as his birthplace. Ahmed Ağa's school was not only a eunuch's social service to and symbolic honoring of his hometown, but also his way to secure part of his fortune for the benefit of his biological family based in the district. Dated April 1738, the deed documents the endowment of a total of sixty-five residences in various parts of Istanbul for the vaqf expenses. Apparently lacking a brother, Ahmed Ağa allocated four *akçe* per day to each of his two sisters, two nephews (sons of his sisters), and three other relatives in return for prayer recital, and stipulated that these positions would be

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61 *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, vol. 1-3, Sarajevo, 2000. (Tapu tahrir defter No. 477, Ankara, Kuyud-i Kadime Arşivi, translation to Bosnian by Adem Handžić, Amina Kupusović and Snježana Buzov).

62 Hivzija Hasandedić, "Muslimanske biblioteke u Mostaru", *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, vol 1, Sarajevo, 1972, 107-112, p. 108.

assigned to their descendents upon their death and never to anyone outside the kin. Certain vaqf employees were also required to recite the surah's specified in the deed for the souls of the chief white eunuch, his father Hüseyin Ağa and his mother Ayşe Hatun.⁶³ From that region personnel continued to come the Ottoman court in following centuries.⁶⁴

In the current historiography, the most famous white eunuch of Bosnian origin is Mustafa Ağa b. Mehmed Bey, who performed the function of the *darüssaade ağa* for a period of 3 years and 7 months (1592-1596).⁶⁵ He built a vaqf complex in his birth place, consisting of a mosque and many other objects in northwestern Bosnia in place called Novo Jajce (present Mrkonjić Grad).⁶⁶ Special *şamadans* (candlesticks) were made for his mosque.⁶⁷ Other documents related

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63 Dikici, "The Making Of Ottoman Court Eunuchs: Origins, Recruitment Paths, Family Ties, And 'Domestic Production'", p.130.

64 According to the inscriptions from a court register (*sicil*), (whose original was kept in the archive of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo and destroyed along with many other Ottoman documents in May 17th 1992. by the Serb forces), in November 1759. the sultan sent an instruction to the *kadi* of Blagaj: "The Sultan's Court needs people who will be honest and serve at the Court. It is ordered to him to find the people who will suit best: fair, white(?!), honest etc. When they find them to send them directly to the Court." *Blagajski sidžil iz 1758-1779*, translated by: Fehim Spaho (unpublished manuscript), Sarajevo, Archive of Oriental institute, collection *ANUBiH*, No. 52, p. 17.

65 Turan, „Mahremiyetin muhafızları darüssaade ağaları“, p. 146. See also: Ahmed Resmi Efendi: *Hamiletü'l-Kübera Darüssade Ağaları*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Turan, Kitabevi, Istanbul, 2000. According to Selānikī, the white eunuch Mustafa Ağa was specifically charged "to bring the unruly black eunuchs to heel". Selaniki, Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, vol. 1, ed. Mehmet İpsirli, İstanbul, 1989, 281.

66 There is a copy of his *vaqfiye* ih in Ghazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo, no. 1326. It has been translated to Bosnian and published: „Vakufnama carskog kizlarage Mustafe, sina Mehmed-begova, iz 1595“, (translation to Bosnian by Salih Trako) in: *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine iz XV i XVI vijek*, Oriental Institute, Sarajevo, 1985, 247-259.

67 Salih Trako, „Natpisi na šamadanima Kizlaragine džamije u Mrkonjić-Gradu“, *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* vol. VII-VIII, Sarajevo, 1982, 155-160.

to the mentioned vaqf, such as *hududname*⁶⁸ and documents related to the vaqf disputes from the period 1598-1652 are also preserved.⁶⁹ The mosque itself was demolished during the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993.⁷⁰

In his vaqfiyye, as well as in vaqfiyye's of some other darüsseade ağa's, it is determined that the superintended of the vaqf is "the one who is current darüsseade ağa".⁷¹ Since Mustafa Ağa was retired as ailing man with an ajenous allowance in 1004/1596., according to the provisions of his vaqfiyye, it is certain that at the beginning of the 17th century the *nazir* of his vakuf could be the actual chief black eunuch, darüssaade ağası Hacı Mustafa Ağa. This could have motivated him, as some says, to "build a mosque in the town of Lubin (Ljubinje) and Hersek sometime during the reign of Osman".⁷²

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68 Salih Trako, „Hududnama çiftluka Kizlarage Mustafe iz 1591. godine na kojem je osnovan Mrkonjić-Grad“, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* vol. XXXI/1981, Sarajevo, 1981, 179-188.

69 Azra Kasumović-Gadžo, „Sudski sporovi oko vakufa carskog kizlarage Mustafe“, *Radovi* (Historija, Historija umjetnosti, Arheologija) vol. 4, Filozofski fakultet, Sarajevo, 2016, 119-131.

70 http://old.kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=6&lang=1&action=view&id=2556. Accessed: 18.09.2017.

71 "Apart from the *nazir* of the *vaqf*, all the employees of the *vaqf* must be local people from the *kasaba* and not a single service should be assigned a to the inhabitants of the other *kasaba*"... „After the death of the *vaqif*, the *nazir* shall be the one who is *darüssaade ağası*, and he should have three *akçe* daily for performing that duty“. „Vakufnama carskog kizlarage Mustafe, sina Mehmed-begova, iz 1595“, p. 256.

72 Dikici, *Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs*, p.120. However, the fact is that in his article on which Dikici refers ("Yugoslavya'da Turk Abideleri ve Vakıfları," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 3 (1956), page 184) Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi mention only E. Çelebi and not another source. Unfortunately, I did not have an insight into the work of Machiel Kiel about Ljubinje (Machiel Kiel, „Ljubinje: From Shepherd's Encapment to Muslim Town: A contribution to the History of Ottoman Urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina“ in: *Archeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, eds. Judson J. Emerick and Deborah M. Deliyannis, Mainz: Von Zabern, 2005, 99-104) in which he claims that Mustafa-aga from the Kozlić family from the Ljubinje neighborhood. I suppose that the source for Kiel's claim could be the

However, as I have already said, except Evliya Çelebi's claim, I could not find any indicator in the some other sources that Hacı Mustafa Ağa was benefactor of the mosque in Ljubinje. Çelebi does not indicate how he knows that the mosque was erected by Hacı Mustafa Ağa, „darüssaade ağa of sultan Osman II the Just“. He could have read it from the inscription above the entrance to the mosque, which, as we already mentioned, has long since disappeared. However, although *Seyyabatname* of Evliya Çelebi is a very important historical source, it is known that sometimes Evliya Çelebi used to incorrectly read certain inscription.⁷³ It is possible that he made a mistake this time also. During the conducting a research in order to determine the true identity of the builder of the mosque in Ljubinje, I was able to discover a vaqfiyye of another Mustafa ağa, the actual vaqif and builder of the mosque.

The actual *vaqif* of the mosque in Ljubinje

Guided by the fact that data on vaqfs of darüssaade ağa and babüssaade ağa are mostly kept in the archive of Topkapı Sarayı, I was able to found the vaqfiyye of a certain Kayış Mustafa Ağa babüssaade ağa at the court of the sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603).⁷⁴ My attention was drawn to the fact that the online registry stated the following: “*Bosna eyaleti dahilinde Hersek'e tabi Behke mülhakatından Novasil kazasında Levine nahiyesinde yaptırdığı cami ve yanında inşa ettirdiği mektebi vakfedip...*” Knowing the various possibilities of reading toponyms in Ottoman documents as well as local topography, I assumed that correctly read sentence could be: “*Bosna eyaleti dahilinde Hersek'e tabi Bileke mülhakatından Nevesin kazasında Lubine nahiyesinde yaptırdığı cami ve yanında inşa ettirdiği mektebi vakfedip...*” In the meantime, my good friend from Istanbul provided me with

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translation of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyyabatname* into Bosnian by Hazim Šabanović in 1979. and his clues about Mustafa ağa in footnotes.

⁷³ For example, passing through town of Čajniće in Bosnia, Evliya Çelebi incorrectly copied the chronogram of the Sinan Pasha mosque. Mehmed Mujezinović, “Turski natpisi XVI vijeka u Bosni i Hercegovini”, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, vol. VIII-IX/1958-59, Sarajevo, 1960, 181-191, p. 184.

⁷⁴ TSMA, D. Defter No. 6965.

a copy of abovementioned *vaqfiyye*.⁷⁵ After seeing the document, I became convinced that my assumption was correct, that the builder of the mosque in Ljubinje was not the *darüssaade ağa* of Sultan Osman II Hacı Mustafa Ağa, but *babüssaade ağa* at the court of Sultan Mehmed III, Kayış Mustafa ağa. This Mustafa Ağa could be the one originated from the Ljubinje area.

In addition, the confirmation that the benefactor was *babüssaade ağa* and not *darüssaade ağa* is also in a note from *tapu tahrir defter*, that is, the official document of the Ottoman administration, created in 1701. The defter stated that the mosque in the Ljubinje was demolished during numerous war activities during the 17th century and that it was repaired by Recep Paşa. Defter also mentioned *mekteb* but it says that it's *vaqf* no longer exist and that the inhabitants live in great need and that they need to be taught. There is also a note in the defter: "It is a *vaqf* of a deceased *babüssaade ağa*."⁷⁶

Conclusion

When trying to accurately determine the identity of the *vaqif* of the reconstructed mosque in the town of Ljubinje in Bosnia and Herzegovina, guided by Evliya Çelebi's account of „*darüssaade ağa* of sultan Osman II, Hacı Mustafa Ağa“ as its builder, I came to a few conclusions. *Darüssaade ağa* of sultan Osman II Hacı Mustafa Ağa was very influential chief black eunuch at the Ottoman court during the first decades of the 17th century. He was a patron of art, *vekil* of sultan Ahmed I in process of construction of Ahmediyye mosque in Istanbul. He had had a profound connections with many influential people including the imperial women. He was superintendent of *vaqfs* of two holy cities Mecca and Madinah, and also in charge of sending annual donations to these cities once a year. He had left *vaqf* objects in Istanbul and Cairo. However, as he turned out to be a black eunuch, native to Africa, the stories in national memory

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⁷⁵ Çok teşekkür ederim Cemal Bey!

⁷⁶ *Popis sela i zemlje sandžaka Krka, Klis i Hercegovina, oslobođenih od Mletačke republike 1701. godine*, (translation of *tapu tahrir defter*: BOA TTD No. 861 to Bosnian language by Fazileta Hafizović), Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2016, p. 348.

about the local, Bosnian origin of the mosque builder, fell into the water. In addition, among the buildings of his vaqf in Istanbul and beyond, mention of the mosque in Ljubinje was not found. That led me to try to find the vaqfiyye of actual builder of that mosque, which I succeeded. The actual *vaqif* of the mosque in Ljubinje was Kayış Mustafa Ağa, babüssaade ağa/kapuaga at the Ottoman court during the regin of sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603), as it is stated in his vaqfiyye preserved in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi in Istanbul.



Map 1. Locations of vaqf objects that Mustafa Ağa had build or repaired in Istanbul.