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Ottoman Political Thought and Patterns of Gift-Giving: Donations of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha in 18th-Century Bosnia, Selanik, and Ağrıboz

Osmanlı Siyasî Düşüncesi ve Hediyeleşme Kalıpları: 18. Yüzyıl Bosna, Selanik ve Ağrıboz'unda Silahdar Mustafa Paşa'nın Bağışları

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Abstract This study investigates numerous gifts and charitable contributions given by Silahdar (Perişan) Mustafa Pasha, the governor-general of Bosnia and the district governor of Selanik and Ağrıboz in the late 18th century. To trace the distribution of Mustafa Pasha's gifts among various recipients, this study analyses his financial records, drawing primarily on a specific register from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (classified under TS.MA.d 2176.5). Following the contextualisation of the aforementioned source within the Ottoman sociocultural context, the study's author makes the case that this account book contains gift-giving patterns that not only illuminate Mustafa Pasha's spending patterns but also provide insight into the little-studied subject of gift-giving culture among the Ottoman military and administrative elite. In addition to establishing the recurring pattern of gift-giving and contrasting it with other comparable practices of sultans and other high-ranking dignitaries, this paper also explores their relationship to the political and religious ideas on government and benevolence that can be found in the political thought of prominent Ottoman scholars and classical Islamic authors.

Öz Bu çalışma, 18. yüzyılda Bosna Valisi olan ve daha önce Selanik ile Ağrıboz valiliği yapmış olan Silahdar Mustafa Paşa'nın yaptığı birçok hediye ve hayırsever bağışları incelemektedir. Mustafa Paşa'nın çeşitli kişilere verdiği hediyeleri tespit etmek amacıyla bu araştırmada onun muhasebe kayıtları ele alınmış ve ayrıca bu kaynaklar Osmanlı'nın sosyal ve kültürel bağlamında yorumlanmıştır. Mustafa Paşa'nın muhasebe kayıtları, onun hediye verme alışkanlıklarını ortaya koyuyor ve Osmanlı yöneticilerinin hediye verme geleneğini anlatmaya yardım ediyor. Bu makale ayrıca, Osmanlı siyasi görüşlerinde bulunan yönetim, cömertlik ve hayırseverlik anlayışlarının Osmanlı valilerin tutumlarını nasıl şekillendirdiğini incelemektedir. Araştırmada etkili Osmanlı yazarlarının yanı sıra klasik İslam yazarlarının eserlerine de yer verilmiştir.

Keywords Islamic political thought · gift-giving · governance · political elites · Ottoman Empire · Balkans

Anahtar Kelimeler İslami siyasal düşünce · hediyeleşme · yönetim · siyasal elitler · Osmanlı İmparatorluğu · Balkanlar.

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Introduction

The practice of giving presents was widespread in Ottoman society and had significant political ramifications. Despite the fact that we frequently consider gift-giving to be the voluntary transfer of things from one person to another, there is a lot more to gifts than meets the eye. A sense of obligation to give and accept a gift was often present in the human and societal setting in which gifts were given.[1] The problems of what was suitable to give as a present, when, by whom, to whom, and with what end goal are all intriguing and provide insight into how sociocultural networks operate. The number of studies that look at these issues in the Ottoman context has increased during the past 20 years. Gift-exchanging in diplomatic and courtly contexts has received the majority of scholarly attention. It was acknowledged that the Ottoman sultans had been giving gifts to a number of their subjects as well as to foreign diplomats. However, they were also receiving gifts from both their own subjects and foreign envoys. It has been suggested that in the Ottoman government, offering gifts had political overtones and was a structural component of relationships.[2] The fact that office-holders frequently received these presents generated intriguing debate regarding their mandatory or voluntary nature. The debate about the Ottoman state's corruption erupted as historians questioned the distinctions between a gift and a bribe. Those who saw the gift-giving culture as a source of political organisation flaws contrasted with those who saw it as an essential and unproblematic aspect of Ottoman social norms. The opinions of Ottoman observers who expressed concern due to corruption, as well as quotations like "nothing can be done in this place without presents and corruption," provided by a British ambassador in the 17th century, frequently illustrated the critical views of the relationship between the gift-giving culture and the political context.[3]

Despite the effective establishment of the foundation for studying how the gift-giving culture functions, it is important to note that there are still issues that keep us from delving further into this matter. First, with a few exceptions, Ottoman financial registers and reports are not sufficiently included in the current studies. Research on sultanic registers and even the gift logs of Rumelian governors is extensive, but it is still pale in comparison to the quantity of documents discovered in Ottoman archives.[4] Other sources that have been analysed include travelogues, chronicles, and even books with illustrations written by different Ottoman authors. Second, when it comes to the culture of giving gifts, provincial society is greatly overlooked in

[1] Mauss argued that, in theory, gifts are given freely, but in practice, they are given and repaid under obligation. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tran. Ian Cunnison, The Norton Library, New York 1967, p. 1 (Mauss, *The Gift*).

[2] It is only feasible to highlight a handful of the many works that address this issue in order to illustrate the aforementioned assertions. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th–18th Centuries)", *Turcica*, 41 (2009), pp. 37–88; Hedda Reindl–Kiel, "Breads for the Followers, Silver Vessels for the Lord: The System of Distribution and Redistribution in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th centuries)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XLII (2013), pp. 93–104; Fatma Ünyay Açıköz, "Osmanlı Devletinde Pişkeş (XVII. Yüzyıl)", *Turkish Studies*, 13/24 (2018), pp. 287–300; Fatma Ünyay Açıkgöz, *XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hediye ve Hediyeleşme (Padişahlara Sunulan ve Padişahların Verdiği Hediyeler Üzerine Bir Araştırma)*, Gazi Üniversitesi, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Ankara 2012 (Açıköz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hediye ve Hediyeleşme*); Muzaffer Doğan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Makam Vergisi: Câize", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, issue 7 (2000), pp. 35–74; Sinem Arcak Casale, *Gifts in the Age of Empire: Ottoman-Safavid Cultural Exchange, 1500*–1639, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2023; Natalie Rothman, "Accounting for Gifts: The Poetics and Pragmatics of Material Circulations in Venetian-Ottoman Diplomacy", *Cultures of Empire: Rethinking Venetian Rule*, eds. Georg Christ – Franz-Julius Morche, Brill, Leiden 2020, pp. 414–454; Mehmed Ali Ünal, ed. *Zafer Sabahında Padişahtan Gazilere Mükâfat. 1696 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2023 (Ünal, ed. *1696 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri*); Katić, Tatjana–Dragana Amedoski, "Darovi za osmansku vojsku: prilog istoriji materijalne kulture Beograda u 16. veku", *Glasnik etnografskog instituta* SANU, 64/1 (2016), pp. 133–149. Filiz Karaca, *Tanzimat Dönemi ve Sonrasında Osmanlı Teşrifat Müessesesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul 1991; Emine Gürsoy Naskali–Aylin Koç, eds. *Hediye Kitabı*, Kitabevi Yayınları, Istanbul 2007.

[3] Ergene gave a brief overview of the arguments surrounding gifts and bribes as well as the literature on corruption. He also brought up the aforementioned quotation, which was written by the British ambassador from 1660 to 1668 and was sent to the Earl of Winchilsea, the Lord Treasurer of Great Britain. Bogaç Ergene, *Defining Corruption in the Ottoman Empire. Morality, Legality, and Abuse of Power in Premodern Governance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2024, p. 226. See also Heida Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption. Gifting in the Ottoman Elite (16th–18th Centuries)", *Şehrâyîn. Illuminating the Ottoman World: Perceptions, Encounters and Boundaries*, ed. Yavuz Köse, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 107–120.

[4] Mustak explored a register of gifts granted by the governor of Rumelia. His research is one of the few that looks at donations in provincial finance. See Aykut Mustak, *A Study on the Gift Log, MAD 1279: Making Sense of Gift-Giving in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Society*, Boğaziçi University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul 2007.

historiography. Keeping an eye on the sultan's gifts and the exchange of gifts in diplomatic communication is important, but this is only the tip of the iceberg. Given that the majority of the Ottoman Empire's inhabitants lived in provinces, an understanding of the provinces is necessary to fully appreciate the scope of the gift-giving culture. Third, a deeper comprehension of the relationships between Ottoman political thought and the political power structure of the provinces is crucial. Although this literature is well-known, it was primarily utilised to comprehend the principles of the Ottoman Empire's political system. In contrast, the literature's specific sections on gift-giving were typically not directly related to the bureaucracy's paperwork.

This paper seeks to advance our understanding of the gift-giving patterns in the behaviour of Ottoman provincial governors and district-governors by analysing the gifts and charitable contributions made by Silahdar Mustafa Pasha (also known as Perişan Mustafa Pasha), who served as the governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) of the *eyalet* of Bosnia in the late 18th century and, prior to that, as the district-governor (*sancakbeyi*) of Selanik (Salonika) and Ağrıboz (Negropont). To accomplish that goal, this study looks at Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's accounting book, which shows the income and expenses of his treasury during the time he held the three administrative roles mentioned earlier.[5] It will be necessary to compare this research with other known examples of gift-giving in the practice of the Ottoman sultans and other high-ranking officials in order to explore the cultural patterns of gift-giving and identify the recurring ways in which a particular gift was given. Alongside this, emphasis will be placed on elucidating the social elements that shaped Mustafa Pasha's actions, specifically the Ottoman political thought and the pressures placed on the provincial and district governors by the central government, which established the social standards for an individual holding a significant position in the Ottoman administrative structure.

The aforementioned financial register is currently kept in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi* in Istanbul, while a digital copy may be found in *Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı's* Ottoman archives.[6] Although it has previously been recognised as an interesting historical source, a thorough analysis of its contents in relation to addressing important questions about the Ottoman gift-giving culture has not been offered.[7]

Along with looking at the customs of gift-giving and how Islamic political thought affected the decisions made by Ottoman provincial and district governors, this paper also aims to deepen our comprehension of the intricate relationships that existed between the local population and the administrators of districts and provinces in the Ottoman Balkans. Finally, because it highlights an activity that has been largely overlooked in their work—the role of gift-givers and benefactors—this research helps us to better understand the life of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha, but also provides valuable resources for a possible collective biography of provincial and district governors in the Ottoman Balkans.[8]

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[5] The phrase *ḫazīne-i ḫażret-i veliyyü'n-niʿamī* is occasionally used in various Ottoman financial registers to refer to the governor-general of Bosnia's treasury. Because his own servants referred to him as the benefactor, this literally translates to "the treasury of his excellency the benefactor." For example, this was the case in a document concerning the treasury of the governor-general of Bosnia in 1207 AH [Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), D.BŞM.d 6121, 2.] In the account book examined in this research, the governor was also referred to as the benefactor, and its different portions are referred to as *defter*s. The content of this account book mentions the treasury (*ḫazīne*) and its expenses (*ḫazīne yüklerinüñ taḥammuli içün ḫarbendegāna virilen baḫşiş 100*). BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 32b.

[6] Its archival signature in Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi is: TS.MA.d 2176.5. There are further Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's accounting registers under the same number: 2176.1, 2176.2, 2176.3, 2176.4. They are all stored as distinct files; moreover, each has its own sub-number. Although I looked at these registers, a thorough analysis was not done on them. They might be incorporated into a more comprehensive analysis of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's financial situation.

[7] Thus far, Kasumović has brought up this record in his discussion of the Bosnian governors' actions that the Ottoman bureaucracy viewed as benevolent. It was utilised as a pretext for the main topic of this study, which is the relationship between tax exemptions given by the Ottoman governors of Bosnia and Middle Eastern political ideas about benefaction. See Fahd Kasumović, "Koncept dobročinstva i poreska oslobođenja u Osmanskom carstvu (Lokalne specifičnosti oporezivanja u Sarajevskom kadiluku prema inʿamat-defterima bosanskih namjesnika)", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 60 (2011), p. 271. The scope and methodology of this research, on the other hand, are different since it primarily draws upon the previously mentioned source in order to discover, characterise, and analyse gift-giving patterns.

[8] For a brief overview of Mustafa Pasha's actions while serving as Bosnia's governor, see Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, II, tran. Abdullah Polimac et. al., El-Kalem, Sarajevo 1999, pp. 729–733.

The main argument of this study is that Mustafa Pasha's treasury account books provide proof that the Ottoman provincial and district governors' gift-giving practices were comparable to those noted in the sultans' financial registers, albeit on a far smaller scale. Their actions should not only be seen as the result of their own individual agency and free will, but also of decisions that were heavily impacted by the existing social structure – Islamic political and educational ideas, as well as by the social expectations that the central government placed on them. As a result, the sources on gifts presented by the provincial and district governors offer a good starting point for studying the interplay of social structure and personal agency in Ottoman society.[9]

1. "A Man is a Slave to Benevolence and Favour": A Lesson from the Ottoman Political Literature

What methods should be employed to demonstrate the connection between Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gift-giving habits and ideas found in Ottoman political books, as mentioned in this article's introduction? To adequately investigate this connection, one must locate gift records in the aforementioned account book and conduct a comparative examination of the political works' recommendations regarding generosity and gift-giving. The questions that are most intriguing are the terms used to describe gifts, who should receive them, and when they should be given. For this study, I have chosen to present the ideas of generosity, kindness, and gift-giving in the writings of İdris-i Bitlisi, Hasan Kafi Akhisari, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, and Muhammad Nergisi. This is because these authors brought significant passages about generosity and magnanimity. However, they are emblematic of a wider range of concepts, and other works might serve the same purpose.[10] The sultan and princes were usually the main recipients of the advice offered in the advisory literature. However, these works also contain political ideals and virtues that other Ottoman military and administrative elites looked up to.

İdris-i Bitlisi (d. 1520), a Kurdish and Iranian scholar who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, wrote a significant political-didactical treatise (*siyāset-nāme*) called *Qānūn-i Shāhanshāhī*.[11] It presented to the Ottoman sultans the value of just rule, but it also contained passages that emphasised the importance of kindness and generosity in a king's life. The just sultan, he said, should be like the sun (*khorshīd*) in showing kindness and bestowing gifts as a gesture of favour (*inʿām*). The sultan's army is his friend, and his wealth is his enemy, he claimed. If the sultan's wealth decreases due to his military expenditures, his friend and help become stronger; if his wealth increases due to his army funding cuts, his friend becomes weaker. Additionally, he recalled that ancient philosophers said that it is highly laudable when the sultan is generous (*jawānmard*) to the common people who are under his protection (*raʿāyā*). In addition to highlighting the practical benefits of such behaviour, İdris-i Bitlisi used the Quranic reasoning to support his ideas: "Whoever comes [on the Day of Judgement] with a good deed will have ten times the like thereof [to his credit]" (*man jāʾa bil-ḥasanati fa-lahu ʿashru amthālihā*, 6:160). Furthermore, he asserted that the Prophet Muhammad was praying to God, saying: "O God, give a generous person who spends [to help others] something in place

[9] Regarding the idea of agency in the social sciences and the discussion of interplay between social structure and agency, see Barry Barnes, "The Macro/Micro Problem and the Problem of Structure and Agency", *Handbook of Social Theory*, eds. George Ritzer–Barry Smart, Sage Publications, London 2001, pp. 339–352.

[10] For a general overview of Ottoman political thought, see Marinos Sariyannis, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden 2019. Generosity is mentioned in this book. However, it does non focus on it and, in contrast to this article, does not look at its actual application in Ottoman provincial and district governors' gift-giving customs.

[11] For details on İdris-i Bitlisi's migration to the Ottoman Empire, Christopher Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2019, pp. 23–106.

of it" (*Allāhumma iʿṭi kulla munfiqin ḫalafan*), and "My Lord, bring destruction to every miser" (*Allāhumma iʿṭi kulla mubaḫḫilin talafan*).[12]

Other Ottoman writers likewise emphasised the notions of the value of gift-giving, kindness, and magnanimity in the lives of Ottoman Empire power-holders. An example can be found in the late 16th-century book "Counsel for Sultans" (*Nushatü'ʾs-Selāṭīn*), authored by Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, a prominent Ottoman historian and literary figure.[13] He openly promoted the qualities he believed to be admirable while using tales from Islamic history to make the aforementioned views acceptable to the monarch and Ottoman elites. For example, he presented a critical viewpoint on the anecdote of the sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, who gave renowned poet Firdusi (d. 1019 or 1025) only a minor recompense for his efforts but later regretted it and gave his daughter a reward instead. The story's goal was to persuade the Ottoman rulers of the value of justice and generosity. In addition to openly stating that sultans ought to possess these qualities, Mustafa Ali also advocated that companions of the sultan ought to possess magnanimity, along with qualities like loyalty, equity, and good manners. Furthermore, Mustafa Ali disapproved of costly gifts that might be viewed as harmful to the treasury, but he thought they were laudable when given to deserving recipients.[14]

Soon after, Hasan Kafi Akhisari, a Bosnian-born Ottoman scholar and magistrate, wrote *Uṣūl al-Hikam fī Niẓām al-ʿĀlam*, in which he also brought up important ideas on generosity, kindness, and benevolence.[15] An important and ancient saying draws attention in his work: "It was said that a man is a slave to kindness" (*Qīla al-insānu ʿabdu l-iḥsāni*).[16] The word *iḥsān* has a complex set of meanings in Islamic history, referring to excellence in worshipping God, but is also used to denote various acts of kindness and generosity. The material dimension of "doing good" has been emphasized in the work of Hasan Kafi. He claims that it is necessary for a king to have a giving hand (*an yakūna mabsūṭa l-yadi*; be openhanded) as the people are only following him to achieve their own worldly aims (*li-gharaḍin dunyawīyyin*). Also, his kindness and benevolent actions should not be focused on any single group (*wa-lā yakūnu iḥsānuhu wa-inʿāmuhu maḥṣūṣan bi-ṭāʾifatin*), because the good condition [of the state, his rule] depends on soldiers, scholars, wise people, eloquent speakers, the poor people, and artisans. The necessity of having a broad range of gift-receivers springs from these words. Moreover, Kafi argued, that the world rests on four things: the knowledge of the scholars, righteousness of the commanders (*umarā*), religious worship of "the good/*ṣulaḥā*," and the generosity of the generous people (*saḫāwatu l-asḫiyāʾi*).[17]

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[12] For the original text in Persian and its translation into Turkish, see Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri. Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnḥmeleri*, III, Fey vakfı, Istanbul 1991, pp. 20, 24–25, 50–52, 58–60.

[13] For information on Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's life and work, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli* (1541–1600), Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 1985.

[14] Andreas Tietze, ed. *Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, Verlag der Österreichishen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1979, pp. 30, 41, 42, 45, 47, 58.

[15] For details about Hasan Kafi's biography, see Muhammed Aruçi, "Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 16, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Istanbul 1997, pp. 326–329; Amir Ljubović–Fehim Nametak, *Hasan Kafija Pruščak*, Sarajevo Publishing, Sarajevo 1999.

[16] To make his writings easier for Ottoman bureaucrats to understand, Kafi himself translated them into Turkish. But it is more than simply a translation; it is also a commentary, offering extra information that was not included in the Arabic original. These specifics are important for my study. Therefore, I made use of a copy of Kafi's manuscript that is housed in the library of Gazi Husrev Bey in Sarajevo. For instance, Kafi provided the following translation and commentary on the Arabic sentence cited above: *Dindi ki ademoğlu iḥsānuñ ḳullarıdır yaʿnī iḥsān idenüñ ḳuludur*. I translate this to English as follows: "It was said that a man is a slave to kindness and favour; in other words, a slave of the one doing the act of kindness and favour." See GHB, R 2270/14, fol. 150a. This work is listed in the catalogue as Ḥasan b. Ṭurḫān al-Kāfī al-Āqḥiṣārī al-Bosnawī, *Uṣūl al-Hikam fī Niẓām al-ʿĀlam*. However, in order to obtain the complete details, it must be noted that the manuscript's title was as follows: *Şerḥu Risāle-i Niẓāmüʾl-ʿĀlem el-Müsemmā bi-Usūliʾl-Ḥikem lil-Mevlā Kāfī el-Aḳḥisārī*. See GHB, R-2270/14, fol. 140b. In addition to variations in the transcribing system, the titles also differ.

[17] The Arabic text of Hasan Kafi's work was the main source I used for this research, while I occasionally provided a transcription. This paper is based on an edition that contains both the Arabic original and its Ottoman Turkish translation. See See Mevlānā Hasan Kāfī, *Uṣūlü'l-Ḥikem fī Nizāmi'l-ʿĀlem ve Tercümesi*, Ḥicāz Vilāyeti Matbaʿası, Istanbul 1331 AH, p. 24, 26 (Kāfī, *Uṣūlü'l-Ḥikem fī Nizāmi'l-ʿĀlem ve Tercümesi*). For an edition that is also frequently referenced, see Mehmet İpşirli, "Hasan Kâfî el-Akhisarî ve Devlet Düzenine Ait Eseri: Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Âlem", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, issue 10–11 (1981), pp. 239–278.

Indeed, Kafi's remarks exemplified important virtues of the Islamic world and supported those of his intellectual predecessors. These messages were also being listened to by the military and administrative elite. In the end, we may come across writings that express the same values as previously discussed, but only concentrate on the role of viziers in the Ottoman realm. A scholar from Sarajevo named Muhammad Nergisi authored a book in the 17th century titled *El-Vasfüʾl-Kāmil fī Aḥvāliʾl-Vezīriʾl-ʿĀdil*. This work includes significant details from the biography of Murtaza Pasha, a governor-general of Ottoman Budin (Buda), and it also shares many characteristics with Islamic political and didactic literature that conveys ideals regarding the behaviour expected of an "equitable vizier" (*vezīr-i ʿādil*). Murtaza Pasha, according to Nergisi's panegyric, possessed a number of admirable qualities, including piety, respect for scholars (*ʿulemā*), and kindness towards the poor and members of the *reʿāyā* class (*fukarā vu reʿāyā-yı bī-berg ü nevāya nevaziş ü ināyet buyurduklarına*).[18]

The concepts discussed in the aforementioned books are very similar to those found in the pre-Ottoman, Islamic classical authorities. Most notably, Nizam al-Mulk's "The book of government" (*Siyāsat-nāma*) and Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali's "Counsel for Kings" (*Nasīḥat al-Mulūk*) both contain comparable concepts. The ideological connection between these works, which were frequently referred to as mirrors for princes or advisory literature, has already been discussed.[19] The goal of this section is to emphasise that the issues of generosity and attitudes towards gift-giving should also be mentioned when speaking about these similarities. For instance, magnanimity is the subject of an entire chapter in the mentioned al-Ghazali's work. Additionally, he sends a message that rulers should provide lavish gifts, and not just any gifts. Ghazali had a significant impact on Ottoman writers, and some of them—like Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali—openly cited him. Moreover, his work was also available in Ottoman libraries in its original Persian form, as well as in translations by Alaʾī ibn Muhibb eş-Şerīf eş-Şirāzī Lisān Bey, and also Muhammed ibn Alī, known as Aşık Çelebi.[20] All this contributed to building Ottoman political culture and attitudes towards gift exchange.

The formulaic language used in Ottoman documents also echoes the notion that Ottoman governors were to exhibit their generosity and kindness, emulating the sultans. For instance, the bureaucracy used terms like "benefactor" (*veliyyüʾn-niʿam*), "merciful to all the poor people" (*ʿāmme-i fuḳarāya merhametlü*), "graceful" (*ināyetlü*), "equitable" (*ʿadāletlü*), and others to describe the governors of Bosnia when an inferior instance was sending a petition to them.[21] These formulas are part of the required polite address (*elḳāb)* that is used at the start of these papers. They mirror what society expects of governors and not their true personalities. It is closely related to the concepts discussed in the didactical and political treatises above.[22]

These sentences make it clear that Ottoman and Islamic political writing paid particular attention to generosity and gift-giving. But how much were these concepts shaped by earlier civilisations? It has been

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18 Nedim Zahirović, *Murteza Pasha von Ofen zwischen Panegyrik und Historie. Eine literararhich-historische Analyse eines osmanischen Wesirspiegel von Nergisi El-vasfü l-kāmil fi aḥvāli l-vezīri l-ādil*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein 2010, p. 120.

19 For the English translations of these two works, together with background details on the writers and the political thought in medieval Islamic history, see F. R. C. Bagley, tran. *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings (Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk)*, Oxford University Press, London 1964; Hubert Darke, ed. *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings. The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, 3rd edition, Curzon Press, Richmond 2002. Also, see Erwin Isak Jakob Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam. An Introductory Outline*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1958. For the Arabic version of the aforementioned book by Ghazali, see Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣiḥat al-Mulūk*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, Beirut 1988.

20 Bagley, *ibid*., pp. xx, 74, 119–133; Al-Ghazālī, *ibid*., pp. 93–103.

21 For instance, a document filed with the Sarajevo Sharia court has the following *elkāb*: *Devletlü, ʿināyetlü, merḥametlü, efendim sulṭānım hażretleri sağ olsun.* Moreover, the other variation was detected: *Devletlü, ʿadāletlü, ʿāmme-i fuḳarāya merḥametlü, sulṭānım ḥażretleri sağ olsun*. GHB, *Sicil* no. 53, p. 70; GHB, A-4855/TO-258.

22 Understandably, the majority of historians concentrate on a document's principal idea or other information that is in focus of their research. Therefore, they do not address these recurrent attributes in Ottoman texts. Conversely, such epithets are interpreted in this study as a social signalling strategy. They show us what is advised, acceptable and promoted as a value. Many more examples could be given, but the ones provided above are sufficient to make a point.

demonstrated by historians that Islamic political philosophy and governance practices were related to those of ancient civilisations. For instance, it was successfully shown that even Islamic political and didactic texts frequently make reference to earlier traditions. Islamic authors of "advisory literature" use instances from the life of Sassanid Persian emperors.[23] Also, pre-Islamic civilisations had concepts about delivering or exchanging presents. According to anthropological and sociological research, giving gifts is one of the oldest and most fundamental human behaviours. Evidence of it can be found in ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, India, the Greek and Roman world, and numerous archaic and primitive societies.[24] Therefore, gift-giving needs to be recognised as a transcultural phenomenon. Thus, it is impossible to properly understand the origins and evolution of the concepts of gifts and politics in Ottoman and Islamic culture without considering these social interactions and pre-Islamic background. Although these concepts are accepted, this paper's objective is to establish a link between the Ottoman Empire's military and administrative class practices and the political literature currently in existence, regardless of its origins.

In conclusion, this section has demonstrated how expectations of Ottoman power-holders, including sultans and the military and administrative elite, were influenced by Islamic political thought. Hasan Kafi Akhisari, Muhammad Nergisi, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, and İdris-i Bitlisi were among the writers who discussed the value of kindness and generosity in general as well as in state governance. Many of the Ottoman statesmen were influenced by these concepts, which were taught to them. In addition to having their own personalities, free will, and agency, these sultans and governors also possessed the overall political system that had been meticulously planned by generations of scholars and statesmen. According to historical accounts, there have been several abuses and deviations in state governance over the ages. It was documented in the Ottoman records as well as in complaints made by the populace. Nevertheless, despite these variations over the centuries, the widespread political belief that "men are slaves/servants to benevolence and favour" inspired fresh generations of administrators to publicly hold on to these ideas. One could legitimately see this as an example of political pragmatism.[25] Determining precisely how they applied these concepts in their everyday lives is an important task that awaits researchers of Ottoman social and cultural history.

2. Who and Why Put Together Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's Account Book from the Archives of the Topkapı Palace Museum?

The main source used in this article to investigate Ottoman gift-giving customs is the late 18th-century register (*defter*) from the Topkapı Palace Museum's Archives that bears the signature TS.MA.d 2176.5. This source is an accounting book that describes the revenues and expenditures of a high-ranking Ottoman official who was the district governor of Ağrıboz and Selanik before becoming the governor-general of Bosnia.[26] As was common in the period, the steward who assembled this financial record simply referred to

[23] See Linda T. Darling, "Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability," in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen, De Gruyter, Berlin 2013, pp. 227–228; Bagley, tran. *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings*, pp. 124–125.

[24] See Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 1–130.

[25] The Ottoman government's pragmatism has been extensively discussed, albeit it was often not interpreted within the context of Ottoman political literature. Murphey discusses pragmatism in Ottoman policy in general, but he does not relate this to providing gifts. For more information about this issue, see Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700*, UCL Press, London 1999, pp. 175–178.

[26] In Ottoman finance, creating accounting books with the balance of revenue and expenses (*irad ü masraf*) was a common practice. This was seen as an essential step in preserving authority and effectively governing. Provincial finance has received far less research than central finance, which is the subject of numerous books and articles. However, under the direction of the provincial *defterdār,* provincial treasuries that were a part of the *hazīne-i ʿāmire* adhered to the same principle. For example, the records of Bosnia's provincial treasury (*Bosna hazīnesi*) contain similar revenue and spending accounts. For the purpose of control, *defterdār*s were required to submit reports to the central government. However, separate from these balances and reports, provincial governors' personal treasuries, which were managed by their stewards, also developed

his superior as a “lord and benefactor” (*veliyyüʾn-niʿam efendi*); hence, the name of the historical person to whom it refers is not included in it.[27] Nonetheless, a brief remark in the archival description of this register states that this record relates to Silahdar Mustafa Pasha’s income and expenditures. This description does not clarify why this name was left out of the source’s section headings or what proof the archive staff utilised to identify the official to whom this register pertains. On the other hand, a thorough study of this *defter* should explain why we trace it to Silahdar Mustafa Pasha, also known as Perişan Mustafa Pasha.[28] In light of this, this paper offers proof of the identity of the person to whom the register relates. After completing this task, the study continues with presenting information about the composition of this register, its structure, and overall historical significance.

The accounting book under examination begins documenting income and expenses on June 1, 1795, the day the “benefactor and lord” arrived in Ağrıboz and assumed his role as the district’s governor (*veliyyüʾn-niʿam efendimüz ḫazretleri manṣıbı ālīleri olan Ağrıboza duḫūl*). The revenues have been recorded until his departure from the specified region (*ḥīn-i ḥareketine değin*) on January 27, 1796. The revenues section has been discussed using similar phrasing, covering the same time period, and offering a monthly breakdown of expenditures since the district governor arrived in Ağrıboz.[29]

This account book did not name the district governor, although other records indicate that it was Silahdar Mustafa Pasha. Halil Nuri Efendi, an official Ottoman chronicler, documented a significant piece of information. Among other things, he noted that Mustafa Pasha was appointed governor of the *sancak* of Ağrıboz on April 24, 1795.[30] He later addresses the same individual by his full name, Silahdar Mustafa Pasha.[31] This resolves the issue because it demonstrates that Silahdar Mustafa Pasha and the “benefactor” listed in the register from the Topkapı Palace Museum are the same person. Following his appointment in late April 1795, he needed some time to be ready and arrive at his new position by early June 1795.

The following portion of the aforementioned account book covers the expenses of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha’s treasury from the day he “arrived” at his newly appointed *sancakbeyi* post in Selanik on March 7, 1796 (*Şaban* 27, 1210; *manṣıb-ı sāmileri olan maḫrūsa-i Selānik'e teşrīflerinden*). The Venetian consul in Selanik claims that Mustafa Pasha entered the city on March 10, 1796.[32] Following the previously established pattern, the accounting book first records the revenues (*īrād*) for the duration of his stay in Selanik. It then

an accounting system centred on documenting daily and monthly income flows and accounts. In order to “defend” their activities in the event that the central government requested it, they were required to make these balances. But there was no yearly requirement to do so. This study examines a register that was created over a number of years and only reached the central government following Mustafa Pasha’s passing. Additionally, it is known that a governor’s books were controlled when he was dismissed. A governor’s property could have occasionally been seized. In any case, owning these books goes much beyond individual preference. A governor was required to have this kind of evidence and was held responsible for it. For additional information regarding Ottoman record-keeping and finance, see Linda T. Darling, Revenue Raising and Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration, 1560-1660, Brill, Leiden 1996.

[27] The name of Mustafa Pasha was probably stated in the register’s content, albeit just marginally. In 1797, the register contains the following record: “For the master of the horses and stable of Mustafa Pasha 100” (*Muṣṭafā Paşa'ñun mīr-āḫūruna 100*). However, his name was not stated in the titles section; he was just mentioned as a lord and benefactor.

[28] Burçak, for instance, refers to this official as Silahdar Mustafa Pasha, Perişan Mustafa Pasha, and even claims that Çelik Mustafa Pasha was another name for him. To reach this conclusion, she consulted archival sources as well as a number of chronicles and Mehmed Sureyya’s work *Sicill-i Osmānī*. See Burçak Ersöz, *III. Mustafa'nin Kızı Beyhan Sultan ve Hayatı (1766-1824)*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul 2020, p. 85. Muvekkit, however, refers to him as Perişan Mustafa Pasha, and not Silahdar Mustafa Pasha. Molla Mustafa Başeski, an 18th-century chronicler, most likely had an impact on him. Other historians from Bosnia followed in their footsteps. See See Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit, *ibid*., pp. 729–733. The account book that is the focus of this research was not used by any of these authors.

[29] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 9a–16b.

[30] “Ağrıboz sancağı Mora eyāleti Muṣṭafā Paşa'ya“. University of California Library, DR556.H13N, fol. 27a; Seydi Vakkas Toprak, *Nuri Tarihi (Metin – İnceleme)*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul 2011, pp. 195–196.

[31] “Ağrıboz muḥāfızı Silaḥdār Muṣṭafā Paşa'ya Selānik sancağı eğerçi tevcīḥ olınmışidi”. UCLA Library, DR556.H13N, fol. 67b; Toprak, *ibid*., p. 301.

[32] This information, recorded by the Venetian consul, is published in a Greek translation within the collection of documents edited by Mertzios.. The editor dated this incident using a Julian calendar, mentioning February 28, 1796. But since the “old style” and “new style” calendars differed by 11 days in the 18th century, this date corresponds to March 10, 1798 st. n. See Konstantinos D. Mertzios, *Mnimeia Makedonikis Istorias*, 2nd edition, Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, Thessaloniki 2007, p. 464.

presents the expenses (*maṣārīf*) month by month until April 27, 1797. That day signifies the conclusion of the accounting period that covers Mustafa Pasha's stay in Selanik as well as certain costs incurred between his appointment to the new role on April 2, 1797, and his arrival there.[33]

Mustafa Pasha's appointment date at Selanik is problematic, and I have established that the date previously mentioned in historiography—February 22, 1797—is inaccurate.[34] Although this claim was attributed to the Ottoman historian Halil Nuri, I was unable to locate such a date of Mustafa Pasha's appointment in his chronicle. On the other hand, the treasury of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha also includes an expense for rewarding a courier for delivering the good news of the appointment to Selanik during the first 17 days of the month of *Recep*, 1210 AH (11. 1. 1796.–27. 1. 1796. AD) (*Selānik tevcīḥi müjdesiyle gelen iki tatara*).[35] The previously mentioned date in historiography is therefore untenable. Furthermore, according to Halil Nuri's chronicle, Mehmed Hakkı was made governor-general of Rumeli on December 31, 1795, while Silahdar Mustafa Pasha was appointed governor-general of Selanik at the same time.[36] But this also does not seem to be specific enough. As a result, I searched for the official Ottoman record regarding this appointment, and found that Mustafa Pasha was named governor of the *sancak*s of Selanik and Kavala on January 4, 1796 (*Cemaziyelahir* 23, 1210).[37] The aforementioned information recorded in Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's account book does not conflict with this date, which resolves the matter of his appointment.

Following the completion of the Selanik balance, the treasury accountant for Silahdar Mustafa Pasha separately itemised all of the expenses the Pasha incurred between his appointment to Selanik and his arrival in Bosnia, his subsequent official position, when he was named governor-general. This covers the costs incurred in securing the job in Bosnia as well as the expenses Mustafa Pasha incurred travelling to Travnik, his new home in the Bosnian eyalet. There is no date in this section.[38]

The expenses for the next two months of Mustafa Pasha's tenure in Bosnia, *Muharrem* and *Safer*, 1212 (26. 6. 1797.–23. 8. 1797.), are included in the register's last part.[39] For some reason, this accounting book ends here, even though he was still the province's governor-general. As a result, although this section of the book is crucial for comprehending Mustafa Pasha's continuous spending habits, it provides less detail than the sections documented for Ağrıboz and Selanik.

Additional information regarding his appointment and arrival in Bosnia can be found in the central government's official appointment registries and Sarajevo's Sharia court *sicil*s. *Taḥvīl defter* no. 16 contains a note that on April 2, 1797, Silahdar Mustafa Pasha, was appointed as the governor-general of Bosnia.[40] After getting ready, he set out for Bosnia. The Sharia court at Vodina (Edessa) compiled a register on May 5,

[33] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 17b–27b.

[34] The mentioned date is offered by Ersöz. See Ersöz, *III. Mustafa'nin Kızı Beyhan Sultan*, 85.

[35] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 16a.

[36] According to the chronicle, Haḳḳı Mehmed was appointed on December 31, 1795 (*Cemaziyelahir* 19, 1210). The following text is mentioned shortly after: *Ve müşārün-ileyh Ḥaḳḳı Meḥmed Paşa'ya Rumilī eyāletiyle rütbe-i vālā-yı vezāret tevcīḥ olındukda, Rumilī vālīsi bulunan Seyyid Muṣṭafā Paşa'ya daḫi Ağrıboz sancağı ve Ağrıboz muḥāfızı Silaḥdār Muṣṭafā Paşa'ya Selānik sancağı eğerçi tevcīḥ olınmışidi*. UCLA Library, DR556.H13N, fol. 67b; Toprak, *ibid.*, p. 301.

[37] The aforesaid date is mentioned in a report written by the *nāʾib* (deputy judge) of Selanik. BOA, C.ML, 227/90488. The details of this appointment are also included in another document, an imperial decree made in the last decade (21–29) of *Cemaziyelahir*, 1210 (January 2–10, 1796). BOA, C.DH 15/743. Other valuable information concerning Mustafa Pasha's actions as the district governor of Selanik in 1796-1797 (1211 AH) can be found in the Ottoman archives of Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı in Istanbul. See BOA, C. AS. 1182/52736; BOA, C.SM. 34/1730; BOA, C.BH. 51/2407.

[38] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 32b.

[39] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 33a–33b.

[40] For the transcription of this text, see Abdullah Sivridağ et. al., ed. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Bürokrasisi. Merkez ve Taşra Yöneticileri 1756–1892* (Istanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, 2019), 107. *Eyālet-i mezbūr sābıḳa Selānik sancağı mutaṣarrıfı vezīr Silaḥdār Muṣṭafā Paşa'ya tevcīḥ*. 4. L (1)211. Also, see BOA, A.DVNS.NŞT.d 16, p. 29. For additional details about his appointment to Bosnia, also see BOA, C. DH. 279/13908.

1797, detailing his and his entourage's expenses throughout their two-night stay in this *kasaba*.[41] Also, the information about Mustafa Pasha's arrival was passed on to the Sharia courts in Bosnia. He soon started to inform the magistrates in Bosnia about his itinerary.[42] For instance, on May 5, 1797, he wrote that he arrived at Manastir (Bitola) a day before, and that in a few days he would come to the *eyalet* of Bosnia.[43] On May 18, 1797, he was already writing from the town of Novi Pazar in Bosnia, with the information that he would reach Sarajevo in a few days.[44] These details are significant because they show that the undated portion of Mustafa Pasha's accounting book that details his travel expenses most likely took place between the time he left for Bosnia and the latest date of June 26, 1797, when the accountant began a new section in the register, as previously mentioned.

Since his name was not mentioned in the book, it is necessary to identify the man who put this accounting book together. This register was most likely compiled by the governor's steward, who may have had assistance from scribes and accountants in some cases. In the Ottoman tradition, these stewards were referred to as *ḳapı (ḳapu) ketḫüdā* or *ketḫüdā*.[45] The following text was found in a part of a *defter* that is being investigated in this paper: "This is the book of expenses incurred, which was [given] by hand of the servant, *ketḫüdā bey*" (*ketḫüdā bey ḳulları yediyle vāḳiʿ olan meṣārifātuñ defteridir*). This accounting book demonstrates that this steward was in charge of managing the governor's expenses and income. The register provides proof that he used financial registers created by other people working for Mustafa Pasha in order to compile this book. Consequently, this accounting book also included summaries of other financial reports and registers, such as those delivered by the head tailor or the master chef.[46] What is known about the individuals who carried out this responsibility is consistent with this. Based on information from the Sarajevo Sharia court's *sicil*s, I have determined that the steward in question was Mehmed, the *ketḫüdā-yı vālī*, even though his name is not included in this accounting book.[47] He was undoubtedly a crucial member of Mustafa Pasha's administration. He finally rose to the position of general-governor himself because he was seen as trustworthy and capable. He was then referred to as Seyyid Mehmed Pasha or Vanlı Mehmed Pasha.[48]

The aforementioned register was previously identified as Perişan Mustafa Pasha's book of income and expenses. Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's name, however, was not associated with this register in historiography. Moreover, the single study that refers to this Ottoman official by both names makes no reference to this accounting book. Thus, one of the objectives of this article was to support the claim that the Ottoman governor in question may be referred to by either of these names. On the other hand, I contend that, in contrast to earlier works, the name Silahdar Mustafa Pasha ought to take precedence since it is the name that appears on his gravestone and is the one that is listed in the majority of official Ottoman documents

[41] BOA, C.DH 322/1657.

[42] GHB, *Sicil* no. 37, p. 33.

[43] GHB, *Sicil* no. 37, 42.

[44] GHB, *Sicil* no. 37, 48.

[45] Mehmed Canar, "Kethüdā," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 25, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Istanbul 2002, pp. 332–335.

[46] For example, the following expenses are listed in the account for the month of *Rebiülevvel* 1210: "Kitchen and rations expenses, according to the register/list" (*meṣārifāt-ı maṭbaḫ ve taʿyīnāt ber-mūʾceb-i defter*); "master's fee for the head tailor, according to the register/list (*derzī baāşıya ustādiyye ber-mūʾceb-i defter*). BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 13b–14a.

[47] He wrote to the Sarajevo magistrate on May 19, 1797, requesting provisions for the upcoming arrival of Mustafa Pasha and his entourage. He signed it as follows: *Mehmed, ser-i bevvābīn ve kethüdā-yı vālī-yi Bosna*. GHB, *Sicil* no. 37, 48. The Sarajevo magistrate's report from January 3, 1798, also names Mehmed Ağa as the steward of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha. BOA, HAT 62/2741.

[48] *Eyālet-i mezbūr müteveffâ Mustafa Paşa kethüdāsı Vezīr Seyyid Mehmed Paşa'ya tevcīh*.. BOA, A.DVNS.NŞT.d 16, p. 29; GHB, *Sicil* no. 38, p. 213. GHB, R–7552, 462.

and chronicles.[49] He passed away while serving as Bosnia's governor-general, and on March 8, 1799, word of his passing made its way to the capital.[50] In Travnik, where he is buried, he is now only known as Perišan (Perişan) Mustafa Pasha.[51]

In conclusion, this section has demonstrated that the accounting book from the Topkapı Palace Imperial Museum Archives bearing the signature D.2176.5 is the accounting book of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's treasury (*ḫazīne*), most probably put together by his steward (*ketḫüdā*) Mustafa. It begins by recording his income and expenses from June 1, 1795, and ends on August 23, 1797. Despite being simply identified as a "benefactor and lord" in the aforementioned register, a comparison with historical sources reveals that this accounting book contains information from Mustafa Pasha's tenure as district governor of Ağrıboz, Selanik, and, ultimately, as governor-general of Bosnia. Although the accounting book that has remained is not a narrative, a close examination nonetheless uncovers intriguing details about his living conditions and activities. Since there are currently rare accounting books of Ottoman governors that have been studied, studying this source could help us learn more about the lives of important Ottoman officials.

3. Gift-giving Patterns in the Account Book of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha

The account book of the treasury of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha provides us with firsthand information on the Ottoman gift-exchange culture. In addition to describing the money and goods Mustafa Pasha received from the locals as a gift with the intention of honouring him when they learnt of his appointment, this financial record provides proof of the "gifts" (*cāʾize*) he was sending to his superior when he was given a high-ranking position in the provinces and sub-provinces.[52] Although there have been disagreements on the voluntariness of these gifts and their nature, it has been determined that they are an important aspect of Ottoman culture.[53] In addition, Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's accounting record contains valuable details on the presents he gave to others throughout the province. The latter gifts are the subject of this section, along with the circumstances surrounding their bestowal and related patterns.

Examining the gift-giving patterns is one of this research's goals, as stated in the introduction. But how can we recognise these patterns in the primary sources? Before moving forward, I must clarify that this term refers to the recurrent manner of acting in a given situation.[54] Finding repeating names for presents, recurring occasions on which gifts were given, and recurring groups of people or individuals who received

[49] Many primary sources that use this exact version to describe Silahdar Mustafa Pasha are cited throughout this work. This is just a tiny sample of the comparable sources I have come across during my investigation. It is far less common to find primary sources that refer to him as Perişan Mustafa Pasha. Among these sources is Molla Mustafa Başeski's *Mecmūʿa*. For the transcription of this text, see Kerima Filan, ed. *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük Hayatına Dair Saraybosnalı Molla Mustafa'nın Mecmuası*, Connectum, Sarajevo 2011, p. 220.

[50] His tomb is located in Travnik's historic district. His gravestone (*nişān*) concluded with the following: "Silahdar Mustafa Pasha went to the vicinity of (God's) grace" (*Silaḥ-dār Muṣṭafā Paşa civār-ı raḥmete gitdi*). I read the previously mentioned passage of the text at the gravestone's location in Travnik. For the inscription's incomplete text, without the mentioned part and a few more words, see Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine*, II, *Istočna i centralna Bosna*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1977, pp. 359–360. For the details on the news of his passing reaching Istanbul, see Toprak, *ibid*., p. 790; UCLA Library, DR556.H13N, fol. 266b.

[51] Only a "Bosnian *vezīr*" called "Perišan Mustafa-paša" is mentioned on the Latin alphabetic tablet that the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina put for tourists at his mausoleum (*türbe*). Silahdar, his primary nickname, is omitted. This is a direct result of the Bosnian scholarly papers that are adamant about doing the same thing.

[52] When Silahdar Mustafa Pasha was appointed district governor of Ağrıboz, he received a customary gift (*ḳudūmiyye*) of 4,500 *gurūş* from the judicial district of Livadiye. Known as *ḳudūmiyye*, the governors of the provinces or sub-provinces received gifts as a sign of respect. In addition to getting these gifts due to their social standing, the *vālīs* also had a duty to honour important political actors of the central government. Among other expenses, Mustafa Pasha paid 25,626 *gurūş* and 20 *pāre* after obtaining the position of *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia. This account book documented it as a present for the sultan and other high-ranking officials due to the appointment to Bosnia (*cāʾize-i eyālet-i Bosna*), as well as a charge for the agent dispatched by the central government to conduct important state business (*ḫizmet-i mübāşiriyye*). BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 32b.

[53] Doğan, *ibid*., pp. 35–74.

[54] For understanding a psychological perspective on gift giving and behavioural patterns, see Bernd Stauss, *Psychology of Gift-Giving: On the Psychology of Gift Giving*, Springer, Berlin 2023.

them reveals a pattern in the provincial governors' revenue and expenditure registers. These kinds of sources are especially suitable for studying patterns since they span a long period of time, and we may quickly identify patterns by using comparative techniques. Collected data reveal the province or district governor's gift-giving tendencies or behavioural trend. Nevertheless, this source was put together by his staff, so we are unable to definitively reveal many significant facets of the governor's decision-making process using these registers alone.

To illustrate this subject, I will take three months as examples, one for each of the positions Mustafa Pasha held as a *vālī* (i.e. district governor in Ağrıboz and Selanik, and governor-general in Bosnia). Although not all of the gifts listed in the register will be included here, the analysis will highlight the most numerous recipient groups. As part of this, I will also provide and discuss a few instances of gifts given in other months that are not covered in the sample materials. This method seeks to clarify Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gift-giving habits and the importance of using accounting records to comprehend Islamic gift-giving patterns.

The first sample that will be shown pertains to the final eighteen days of the month of *Zilkade* 1209, which is equivalent to June 1–18, 1796. When Silahdar Mustafa Pasha arrived in Ağrıboz on June 1, 1796, to assume his position as district governor, his steward and other subordinates began to focus on starting a new chapter in documenting his financial status. This also required recording every donation he made in the account book's expenses section. Attempting to introduce the forms of donations Mustafa Pasha gave during this period, I have categorised the data found in the mentioned register from the Archives of Topkapı Palace Museum into Table 1. To put these gifts in perspective, the table also shows the total amount spent and the number of other expenses incurred.

Table 1

Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gifts and other expenses in Ağrıboz (June 1–18, 1795)[55]

Type of expenditure	Number of entries	The lowest amount	The highest amount	Total amount
Exp. listed as gifts (*inʿām*)	16	3	1,000	2,148 g. 20p.[56]
Exp. listed as charity (*taṣadduḳ*)	3	2	21	25
Exp. (gifts) made while visiting the mosques	1	12	12	12
(Gifts) given to *dervish*s	1	1 g. 20 p.	1 g. 20 p.	1 g. 20 p.
(Gifts) given to petitioners	1	1	1	1
(Gifts) presented to those who brought gifts for the *vālī*	5	5	21	42 g.
Other selected expenditures				
Exp. listed as monthly payroll/allowances (*māhiyye*) or wages (*ʿulūfe*)	2,057 g.			
Exp. for the kitchen and rations	2,560 g.			
Remaining expenses	509 g.			
Total number of entries (including gifts)	44			
The sum of all expenditures (including gifts)	7,356 *gurūş*			

While looking for the entries that provide proof of gift-giving, the first thing that caught my eye was that, like other sections of the register, the aforementioned section contained entries that were described using the word *inʿām*. This word is one of several that are used to describe presents that someone in a higher social

[55] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 10b.

[56] G. represents *gurūş*, and p. represents *pāre.* There are forty *pāre* in each *gurūş*.

position offers to someone in a lower position than themselves. The benevolence and generosity of the giver to the recipient of the gift are implied by the use of this word.[57] There are sixteen entries mentioned as *inʿām* in Table 1, some of which include the names of the gift receivers, while others merely list their occupation. For a variety of reasons, the governor-general may have deemed a wide range of individuals deserving of rewards. These individuals may have been in his service, but they could also be men and women to whom he wished to express appreciation, gratitude, or kindness.

Gifts listed in Table 1 include, for example, three entries where musicians (*meḥterler*) got cash gifts; in some cases, they were stationed at a nearby fortification, while in others, they were engaged at his court (*Enderūn*). Along with the head of public criers (*dellāl başı*), the gifts were also given to men who led spare horses (*yedekçiler*) and donkey-drivers (*ḫarbendeler*). Five *gurūş* were given to a man who brought a horse from Reşid Efendi, while the same amount was given to a man who brought fruit. These were some of the smaller sums in the register. On the other hand, men who performed tasks deemed more significant were awarded significantly larger sums. These presents should not be considered as philanthropic gifts. Rather, they represented a kind of compensation for various tasks (work) that were not covered by the standard payment system. For an unidentified assignment, Osman Efendi, a *kapu çoka-dārı*, or messenger in the district governor's service, was given 250 *gurūş*, while Abbas Ağa, another *çoka-dā*r, was given 1,000 *gurūş*. Furthermore, this expenditure list also included men and women who did not perform any particular tasks, but were among those whom the district governor wanted to show support and generosity. One such individual, who was given three *gurūş*, was an anonymous *şeyḫ*, a term that suggested he belonged to the hierarchy of a Sufi group.[58]

The aforementioned Islamic political and didactical texts advocated for generosity and kindness among state officials, referring to their gifts as *inʿām*.[59] Therefore, it is no accident that the same phrase was used by sultans and Ottoman officials to describe their presents, which they believed to be an expression of benevolence. Furthermore, the main conclusion of this analysis is that Mustafa Pasha's spending patterns clearly show that he belonged to a social structure that demanded that he be open-handed. In reality, one's chances of receiving awards were significantly raised by working for a governor or just being in their presence. The amounts given should be considered quite substantial bonuses for some of these people. In some social circumstances, gifts were expected, and it appears that Ottoman officials sometimes preferred to give gifts instead of calling them salaries in exchange for specific tasks. Undoubtedly, such a policy strengthened their meticulously cultivated public image as donors and benefactors.[60]

Another recurring theme in the account book of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's treasury is that some donations were regarded as charitable and were referred to by the traditional term for such presents – *taṣadduḳ*. In circumstances where it was expected of him, Mustafa Pasha was making charitable contributions. For

[57] Regarding the definition and implications of the term *in'ām*, see Ergene, *ibid*., p. 229; Açıkgöz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hediye ve Hediyeleşme*, pp. 5, 51–52, 66–67. Ünal, ed. *1696 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri*, 23; and Filiz Karaca, "İn'âm", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 22, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Istanbul 2000, pp. 259–260.

[58] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 10b. For the purpose of comparison, the gift logs of Rumelian governors-general include expenses for a variety of servants who either completed significant tasks or to whom the *vâlî*s wished to show goodwill. These categories comprise individuals with a range of titles and professions, including musicians (*mehter*), *şeyḫ*s, and *çoka-dār*s/*çuḫa-dār*s (Mustak, *A Study on the Gift Log, MAD 1279*, 102, 104, 111, 152). Furthermore, the Ottoman sultans' gift logs, or *inʿāmāt defteri*, can contain comparable sets of recipients, including *şeyḫ*s. See İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları II. Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devrine Ait bir İn'âmât Defteri", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, IV (1984), pp. 1–17.

[59] Akgündüz, *ibid*., p. 3, 25, 59, 60; Kāfī, *Uṣūlü'l-Ḥikem fī Nizāmi'l-'Ālem ve Tercümesi*, 26. Additionally, it was often utilised to identify various presents of sultans and other dignitaries. Regarding the definition and implications of the term *in'ām*, see Ergene, *ibid*., 229; Açıkgöz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hediye ve Hediyeleşme*, pp. 5, 51–52, 66–67. Ünal, ed. *1696 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri*, 23; Karaca, *Tanzimat Dönemi*, p. 43.

[60] It was believed that the rulers needed to build a positive reputation. Authors of advice literature, like Ghazali, even cautioned kings that "the memory which a gentleman leaves behind is his second life among the people (in this lower world)." See Bagley, *ibid*., p. 54. Among other qualities, giving gifts and being generous were seen as ways to create positive memories in people's minds.

instance, he donated two *gurūş* as charity when he visited a particular garden (*bağçe*), but he donated twenty *gurūş* and twenty *pāre* when he visited the *Fethiyye* mosque.[61]

This also aligned with the recommendations found in Islamic political and religious texts. In Islamic culture, helping the needy was a highly regarded quality and an action that would earn one God's blessing and reward.[62] Additionally, it was pragmatic because it gave a district governor a positive image. It is undeniable that Mustafa Pasha frequently performed charity work, regardless of his motivations; the examples listed in Table 1 are merely samples of this activity. I discovered similar charities in his account book for almost every month when he served as Ağrıboz's district governor.[63]

The list of Mustafa Pasha's donations does not end with gifts that we would recognise because his bookkeeper explicitly referred to them using words for charity or phrases often used for gifts. Expense lists sometimes only specify a sum of money that was paid to certain individuals, but based on the circumstances, it is also reasonable to assume that these were presents. It was noted, for instance, that a specific sum was awarded to those who brought a petition (*'arż-ı ḥāl*) or a gift (*hediyye*) for the vali.[64] It was also thought to be a show of kindness to give cash rewards to those who brought gifts, and Mustafa Pasha was one of those who did so. Additionally, he was kind and generous to those who sent in petitions of any kind. Given that the petitioners in the aforementioned instance were impoverished (*fuḳarā*), it is likely that this was also regarded as a benevolent deed. Additionally, in certain instances, it was only stated that he donated a specific sum of money while at a mosque. The gift's purpose was unspecified, but it was probably intended for charitable causes and possibly to honour the *imām* and *müʾezzin*.

The fact that Mustafa Pasha donated to *dervish*s is mentioned in Table 1, which may indicate that he was drawn to Sufi teachings. One *gurūş* and twenty *pare* were given to a *dervish* mentioned as *büdelā*.[65] While another present to a *şeyḫ* was included in the section that pertains to the gifts mentioned as *inʿām*, he was listed individually in the table. As will also be revealed later in this article, Mustafa Pasha occasionally visited gathering locations of Sufi brotherhoods throughout his career and gave them gifts. Additionally, it might serve as an illustration of a pattern in this accounting record.

The entries that were mentioned until this point are included in this paper since it is certain that they were gifts. This probably does not include all of the presents that the district governor has given away, though. The treasury's method of recording payments made it difficult to determine whether they were gifts or other expenses in many instances. Nevertheless, the examples in Table 1 give us sufficient evidence to draw the conclusion that Mustafa Pasha's activities included presenting gifts, which aids in our understanding of his life.

[61] *Fetḥiyye cāmiʿine teşrīflerinde* taṣadduḳ 21 g. 20 p.; *Efendimüz bağçeye teşrīflerinde taṣadduḳ 2*. BOA, TS.MA, D.2175.5, fol. 10b. Charity giving was listed under the same name in the sultanic registers. See Erünsal, *ibid*., 9. Also, the same designation is used in the 19th century. See Karaca, *Tanzimat Dönemi*, 40. Because it connects all of these charitable contributions into a coherent cultural tradition that is linked to the cultural legacy of earlier Islamic states, vocabulary is crucial in this context.

[62] Islamic literature frequently discusses the value of charity. In light of my study objectives, I would like to draw attention to the fact that political writers incorporated charitable giving into their writings since, in their opinion, it was crucial to the lives of rulers and political elites. They must set an example for others by performing acts of charity. Also, they should be reminded that they are rulers by the grace of God. Allah will requite the charitable, as it was often mentioned. See Darke, ed. *ibid*., pp. 22, 27, 49, 62.

[63] Usually, it was referred to as charity (*taṣadduḳ*). Though there is no mention of charity in *Cemaziyelahir* 1210, there are other indications that most likely refer to charities. For instance, it was noted that he spent 10 and 12 *gurūş*, respectively, when he was in an unidentified garden. Such minor expenses during the garden tour were previously referred to as charity, as we have seen. Furthermore, *Recep* 1210 did not record anything as charity. However, notes about charity are included in the register for every other month in the Islamic lunar calendar. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 15b.

[64] *ʿarż-ı ḥāl viren fuḳarāya* 1; *Aḥmed Paşa'dan hediyye getüren adama* 6 (BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 10b). The present that Mustafa Pasha got was designated as *hediyye*, which is a noteworthy fact. He got it as a present from his peer. Like *tuḥfe*, this phrase is used to refer to gifts in general. It does not have the same connotations as *inʿām*, which was discussed before in this paper.

[65] *bir büdelāya virilen*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 10b. Poor dervishes were frequently referred to by the aforementioned phrase, whose singular is *abdāl*. Süleyman Uludağ, "Abdal", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Istanbul 1988, pp. 59–61.

During his time in Ağrıboz, Mustafa Pasha continued to provide gifts, and we can find evidence of his presents among his expenses in each month. Naturally, it should be mentioned that Silahdar Mustafa Pasha did not distribute all of the gifts himself. There is sufficient proof that some of the gifts—possibly even most of them—were given to the recipients by his staff members.[66] They were documented in this account book because, regardless of who paid them directly, they were seen as a treasury expense for Mustafa Pasha.

Another term for the presents the governor gave that was also used in other months when he was in Ağrıboz is *baḫşiş*. Throughout Ottoman history, this phrase was used for a variety of gifts or bonuses.[67] For instance, in *Recep* 1210, Mustafa Pasha awarded musicians (*mehter-ḫāneye*) a sizeable *baḫşiş* of 875 *gurūş*. He also paid a bonus of 675 *gurūş* to those who worked in his stables (*āḫūr ocağına baḫşiş*). These were only a few of the presents that his accountant listed in the previously specified way.[68]

Thus, what prompted Silahdar Mustafa Pasha to offer these bonuses, and why were the amounts used so much higher than typical for the employees/servants in question? This was not explained; however, there are several signs that could assist us in understanding this subject better. Mustafa Pasha learnt of his appointment as the *sancakbeyi* of Selanik during the first 17 days of the month of *Recep* 1210 (January 11–27, 1796). He offered the couriers who delivered the good news a reward of 300 *gurūş*, as was customary.[69] He soon began to get ready to leave, and it is probable that he made the decision to give his staff bonuses as a token of his kindness and goodwill.

Table 2

Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gifts and other expenses in Selanik (June 7 – July 6, 1796)[70]

Type of expenditure	Number of entries	The lowest amount	The highest amount	Total amount
Exp. listed as gifts (*inʿām*)	4	10	50	140 g.[71]
Exp. listed as charity (*taṣadduḳ*)	5	1	5	12 g. 20 p.
Exp. (gifts) made while visiting the mosques (not mentioned as *taṣadduk*)	2	1	25	26
(Gifts) given to *dervish*s	8	1	5	c. 16[72]
(Gifts) given to petitioners	16	2	10	16
(Gifts) presented to those who brought gifts for the *vālī*	1	5	5	5
Other selected expenditures				
Exp. listed as monthly payroll/allowances (*māhiyye*) or wages (*ʿulūfe*)	839			
Exp. for the kitchen and rations	6,876. g.			
Hay costs for the horses during the *vālī*'s visit to Selanik	1,317 g.			
Remaining expenses	1,347 g. 16 p.			
Total number of entries (including gifts)	74			
The sum of all expenditures (including gifts)	10,594 *gurūş* 36 *pāre*			

[66] For instance, the following entry can be seen in *Muharrem* 1210: "Charity for the poor, by the hand of Hacı Ahmed 2" (*Ḥācı Aḥmed yediyle fuḳāraya taṣadduḳ* 2). BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 12a.

[67] Açıkgöz, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hediye ve Hediyeleşme*, p. 5. For utilising the term *baḫşiş* to designate Ottoman soldiers' bonuses, see Virginia Aksan, "Whatever Happened to Janisarries? Mobilization for 1767–1774 Russo-Ottoman War", *War in History*, 5/1 (1998), p. 31.

[68] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 16a.

[69] *Selānik tevcīḥi müjdesiyle gelen iki nefer tatara* 300. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 16a.

[70] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 21b, 22a.

Silahdar Mustafa Pasha persisted in his practice of distributing gifts to different groups and individuals while he was at Selanik. I have arranged the data from his accounting book for the presents and other costs that took place in *Zilhicce* 1210 (June 7 and July 6, 1796) in order to look at the consistency of this behaviour and identify some patterns. The data is shown in Table 2.

Table 2 demonstrates that the majority of the expenses that Silahdar Mustafa's treasury (*ḫazīne*) documented were associated with entries that addressed the costs of his retinue and numerous attendants. The sums allotted for the meals and kitchen, as well as for payroll and expenses for the horses during official visits, were especially substantial. However, the account book still keeps track of the amounts allotted for different presents, just as it did when he was the district governor of Ağrıboz.

Here, the quantity and number of presents that were classified as *inʿām* are far lower, but they nevertheless happen. A gift of fifty *gurūş* was given to the head (*kethüdā*) of his *harem*, the inner part of his household where his family resided. On the occasion of the Eid festival, he also gave two nameless *imām*s fifty *gurūş* and thirty *gurūş* to the *imām* Mehmed Efendi.[73] Since we also see these gifts on other occasions, they are a part of a pattern. He did provide one present, though, and it is far more uncommon. Alī, who had recently been freed from captivity (he was most likely a prisoner of war), was the person to whom he chose to offer ten *gurūş*.[74]

We can observe that Mustafa Pasha kept giving away money for charity (*taṣadduḳ*), and that these sums, which ranged from one to give *gurūş*, were among the lowest this month. When *vālī* visited mosques, these gifts were frequently offered to poor people.[75] It was specifically mentioned that he donated five *gurūş* as charity when he went to the mosque to perform the *Eid* prayer, known in Turkish as *Bayrām namāzı*. It is interesting to note that a gift for two *dervish* people was also called charity (*taṣadduḳ*).[76] Furthermore, he once delegated the task of funding these charities to his money lender, the *ṣarrāf*, rather than doing it himself.[77]

Information on further presents that Mustafa Pasha gave during his visits to the mosques is included in Table 2. At least a portion of these entries fit within the category of charity, even though they were not specifically called such. During one such visit, the *imām* and *müʾezzin* received a present of twenty-five *gurūş*, while the impoverished people (*fuḳarā*) received one *gurūş*.[78]

Another significant development in *Zilhicce* 1210 is the increase in entries for the gifts donated to *dervish* people and their *şeyḫ*s. There are nine such entries this month. One was already brought up when discussing charity, but the others are displayed in a separate row of the table. Because some entries include a combined present for multiple people, the total cost for all of these gifts was not fully specified. For instance, a

[71] G. represents *gurūş*, and p. represents *pāre*.

[72] C. represents circa.

[73] *Ḥarem kethüdāsina inʿām 50*; *ʿĪd-i şerīfde imām efendiye inʿām 50* (BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 21a, 21b, 22a). It is noteworthy to mention that the governor-general of Rumelia's gift logs also contain records on presents for *imām*s and *harem* staff (Mustak, *ibid*., pp. 120, 132). Additionally, Suleyman Kanuni's gift log showed us that the sultan was also magnanimous to a variety of people at the Islamic festivals/*ʿīdeyn*. See Erünsal, *ibid*., p. 10. For more on gift-giving during festivities in the 18th century, see Zeynep Tarım-Ertuğ, "Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sarayında Bayram Törenleri", *Prof. Dr. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*, ed. Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Istanbul 2006, pp. 593, 594. These parallels serve as evidence of trends in a culture that valued giving gifts.

[74] *esirlikden çıḳan ʿĀlī'ye inʿām 10*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 21b–22a.

[75] On Fridays following the weekly congregational prayer (*Cumʿa namāzı*), charitable donations were also highly common. While this was clearly mentioned in *Şevval*, 1210 (*yevm-i Cumuʿa'da taṣadduḳ 2*), it was not particularly emphasised in the month of *Zilhicce*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 21a.

[76] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 21b–22a.

[77] In essence, *ṣarrāf*s were money changers. But they also took on the role of financiers in Ottoman society. For further information on their function and the ways in which they affected Ottoman administrators, see Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. Mustafa Pasha was also involved in business arrangements with *ṣarrāf*s, as this account book demonstrates.

[78] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 21b–22a.

dervish and a woman (*ḫātūn*) were granted two *gurūş* in one such instance, without specifying how much was the *dervish*'s share.[79] For this reason, I merely gave an estimate, which is very close to the final amount. Nonetheless, the purpose of this study is to demonstrate that dervishes were given frequent consideration in Mustafa Pasha's gift-giving policy, and the aforementioned approach was sufficient to accomplish this objective.

Silahdar Mustafa Pasha was promoted to the even more important position of *beylerbeyi* of the province of Bosnia after the central government released him of his responsibilities in Selanik. There, he carried on his long-standing custom of both receiving and delivering gifts to different people. His appointment to Bosnia and the gifts he delivered to numerous individuals are crucial to accomplishing the goals I set out to achieve in this article.

On April 2, 1797, Mustafa Pasha was named governor-general of Bosnia. This "good news" (*müjde*) must have meant a lot to him because he donated 1,500 *gurūş* as a gift to the four messengers who delivered the news. We can infer that this new appointment mattered more to him if we contrast it with the mere 300 *gurūş* he gave to two messengers who informed him of his appointment to Selanik in 1796.[80] Since this was clearly a higher position, we should take that into account when explaining the differences in the sums shown.

In addition, Mustafa Pasha lavished a lot more bonuses on his entourage during the preparations for their trip to Bosnia. For instance, this account book has the following entry: "Bonuses to the guards/soldiers for making the trip from Selanik to Bosnia, according to the register" (*Selānik'den Bosna'ya gelince ber-mū'ceb-i defter ḳara ḳullukçiyāna virilen yol baḫşişātı 5,522 gurūş 20 pāre*). They were all given a *baḫşiş* since they now had to execute a special, infrequent task, and Mustafa Pasha must have felt that they needed more motivation to do it. Also, the aforementioned *ḳara ḳullukçiyān*s were paid their normal salary (*ʿulūfe*), for which 2,409 *gurūş* were distributed by Mustafa Pasha's treasury.[81] Given the security concerns surrounding the journey to Bosnia, it is scarcely unexpected that efforts were made to win the loyalty and support of key security groups. Gift was merely a tool to achieve this aim. This time around, Mustafa Pasha also gave bonuses to more than just the guards specified.[82]

Another noteworthy example of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gifts is the bestowal of robes of honour, or *ḫilʿat*, to various Bosnian notables upon his initial visit to Sarajevo. According to contemporary observers, it was common practice among the Bosnian valis to give these gifts to those they believed deserved them.[83] It should be noted that the Bosnian governors were only granting such robes of honour in accordance with the model established by Ottoman sultans and other notable Islamic dignitaries.[84] According to Mustafa Pasha's accounting book, he purchased these presents by paying 3,001 *gurūş* and 20 *pāre*.[85] These instances illustrate that Silahdar Mustafa Pasha was giving both monetary and in-kind gifts. Regardless of the type of

[79] Since no present in this record is smaller than that, it is likely that every one of them received a *gurūş*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 21b–22a.

[80] *Bosna manṣıbı müjdesiyle gelen tatarlara inʿām, nefer 4, 1500 gurūş*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176, fols. 32b, 16a.

[81] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176, fols. 32b, 16a.

[82] For instance, he also paid the donkey-drivers (*ḫarbendeler*) a bonus of 100 *gurūş*. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176, fol. 32b.

[83] Molla Mustafa Başeski described how a number of Bosnian governors were welcomed in Sarajevo during their visits to Travnik, which was their official residence in Bosnia. But he just made a passing reference to Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's initial visit to Sarajevo (*Sarāybosna*) on June 3, 1797. He called him simply Mustafa Pasha and then Perişan Mustafa Pasha instead of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha. See Filan, ed. *ibid*., pp. 219–220.

[84] For more details on the Ottoman custom of bestowing robes of honour, known as *hil'at*, see Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Hilʾat: Between Commodity and Charisma", *Frontiers of Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey,* ed. Marios Hadjianastasis, Brill, Leiden 2014, pp. 111–138.

[85] *Bosna Sarāyında ilbās olınan ḫilʿatlar içün Ḥācı Beşli Ağa'ya aleʾl-ḥisāb virilen 3,000 gurūş 20 pār*e (BOA, TS.MA.d 2176, fol. 32b). Since Molla Mustafa Başeski did not state that Mustafa Pasha gave anything to the Sarajevo people in the form of robes of honour, this document from his account book confirms that he did. It is evidence that, like his predecessors, he carried on the custom of giving presents to the local population in Bosnia.

gift, it needed to be documented and displayed as a monetary expense in the accounting book. There is a straightforward reason for this practice: it was related to the treasury's operational procedures.

In order to shed light on Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's ongoing spending patterns, I will present the details of the gifts he gave in *Muharrem* 1212, which falls between June 26 and July 25, 1797. The information is arranged in Table 3.

Table 3

Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's gifts and other expenses in Bosnia (June 26 to July 25, 1797)[86]

Type of expenditure	Number of entries	The lowest amount	The highest amount	Total amount
Exp. listed as gifts (*inʿām*)	2	10	20	30 g.[87]
Exp. listed as charity (*taṣadduḳ*)	1	1 g. 20 p.	1 g. 20p.	1 g. 20 p.
Exp. (gifts) to a preacher (*vāʿiẓ*)	2	12 g.	18 g.	30 g.
(Gifts) given during visits to mosques	2	3	10	13 g.
(Gifts) given to petitioners	1	18	18	18 g.
(Gifts) presented to those who brought gifts for the *vālī*	3	10 g.	30 g.	50 g.
Other selected expenditures				
Exp. listed as monthly payroll/allowances (*māhiyye*)	96			
Exp. for the kitchen and rations	5,649 g.			
Remaining expenses	1,438 g. 20 p.			
Total number of entries (including gifts)	61			
The sum of all expenditures (including gifts)	7,326 *gurūş*			

The treasury of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha continued to document presents in *Muharrem*, 1212, that were identified by the term *inʿām*. Under this designation, for instance, a man who brought horses from *kaymakām* was given twenty *gurūş*, and five women who turned in their petitions were given ten *gurūş*.[88] These instances are important because they provide us with evidence that other presents delivered in the same circumstance can likewise qualify as gifts, even if the term "gift" was not used specifically.[89]

Although there was just one payment this month that was designated as charitable (*taṣadduḳ*), it is significant because it provides us with a sense of consistency in charitable giving. However, there are entries for expenses incurred at Mustafa Pasha's mosque visits, which most likely involved charity or were solely charity.

Mustafa Pasha continued to support members of the learned class (*ulemā*), and it was noted that he gave two preachers (*vāʿiẓler*) a gift of twelve *gurūş*. This was not done directly but by the hand of one of his subordinates.[90] It is important to see that Mustafa Pasha was supporting the *ulemā* members, as political and religious treatises often advocated that power-holders should show kindness and generosity to this group. The aforesaid gifting practice of Mustafa Pasha should be viewed as a continuation of similar

[86] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 32b, 16a.

[87] G. represents *gurūş*, and p. represents *pāre*.

[88] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fols. 33a–33b.

[89] For instance, in the previous section, it was stated that certain women received money when they submitted their petitions, but the word "gift" (*inʿām*) was left out (*arż-ı hāl viren ḫātūnlara 1 gurūş*, BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, 21b). It is proof that all such cases actually represent gifts (*inʿāmāt*).

[90] *iki nefer vāʿiẓ efendilere İsmāʿīl çavuş yediyle* 12. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 33a.

important traditions in the Islamic society.[91]

Furthermore, in *Muharrem* 1212, the previously recorded practice of rewarding some petitioners persisted. A total of eighteen *gurūş* were distributed to six students from Islamic schools (*soẖta*) as they submitted a petition. It is also possible to see that Mustafa Pasha kept up a tradition of giving cash as a token of appreciation to those who brought him gifts from other people. Although not much was allocated for this goal, it is crucial to elucidate a recurrent pattern.

Curiously, *dervish* people were not given presents in *Muharrem* 1212; yet, it was noted that the governor-general awarded a man who brought a watermelon when he visited a Sufi lodge (*tekke*) with six *gurūş*.[92]

In *Safer*, 1212 (July 26 – August 23, 1797), Mustafa Pasha showed far more generosity to the *dervish* people.[93] He gave 15 *gurūş* as a gift (*inʿām*) to a *şeyẖ* from Foyniçe (Fojnica) during that month.[94] Although the identity of this şeyẖ was unknown, it is most likely that it was Hüseyin Baba Bosnevī (d. 1799; known as Husein Baba Zukić in Bosnia), a well-known and highly esteemed Sufi whose Sufi lodge was in the vicinity of the town of Foyniçe.[95] In addition, Mustafa Pasha gave three *gurūş* to an Indian *dervish* (*Hindī dervīş*) that same month, twenty more *gurūş* to an unidentified *şeyẖ*, and six *gurūş* to two more *şeyẖ*s. Aside from that, he gave two *gurūş* as gifts to an unidentified *dervish* petitioner.[96] Bosnia had a sizable Sufi population, and a governor-general who had a history of valuing Sufism continued his traditions after coming to this province on the Ottoman border.[97]

To sum it up, this section has shown that Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's life throughout his tenures as district governor in Selanik and Ağrıboz and governor-general of Bosnia had a gift-giving pattern. The account book of his expenses and income, which was investigated in this paper, is the primary basis for comprehending this pattern as a recurrent occurrence. Those in his service were the first persons Mustafa Pasha gave gifts to, but he also gave them to many others he thought deserved recognition or to whom he simply wanted to express his generosity and goodwill. There were social situations in which the present was expected, such as when he was first arriving at his appointment location, receiving good news, or performing a special task. Additionally, charitable presents to the poor people, gifts for *ulemā* members, and dervishes are frequently listed in these registries. Also, he often gave gifts to those who brought presents to him. According to the findings, similar donations were presented by the sultans and other high-ranking Ottoman officials. Understanding these gifts is only possible in their connection with Islamic religious and political works, and Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's account book is a great indicator that the advice from these works did not stay forgotten words on paper, but were actually implemented and reinforced through the activities of the Ottoman military and administrative elite.

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[91] BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 33a. Nizam al-Mulk advised rulers to support scholars, providing them with appointments, salaries, and sustenance. He believed that it was a practical move to make and recognised the advantages for the state in doing so (Darke, ed. *ibid.*, p. 155). According to Hasan Kafi Ahkisārī, the learned people are one of the categories that are necessary for the state to be in good condition. As such, they, along with other key groups, deserve kindness and benevolence. Kāfī, *Uṣūlü'l-Ḥikem fī Niẓāmi'l-ʿĀlem ve Tercümesi*, p. 26.

[92] *Efendimüz tekyeye teşrīflerinde ḳarpus getüren adama 6 [gurūş].* BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, 33a.

[93] Despite the recent publication of additional research, Džemal Ćehajić's study remains the most important on Sufi brotherhoods in Ottoman Bosnia. This study also examined this topic in other territories of former Yugoslavia. See Džemal Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Orijentalni institute u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1986.

[94] *Foyniçeli şeyẖe inʿām* 15. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 33b.

[95] Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama*, pp. 51–55.

[96] *Hindī dervīşe inʿām 3 [gurūş]; Defʿa iki nefer şeyẖe 6 [gurūş]; Kürkçi başı yediyle bir nefer şeyẖe virile, 20 [gurūş]; Arż viren bir nefer dervīşe* 2 [*gurūş*]. BOA, TS.MA.d 2176.5, fol. 33b.

[97] This register shows traces of this regard for Sufi teachings. He went to Sufi lodges and frequently gave gifts to Sufi *şeyẖ*s and *dervish* people in general.

4. Conclusion

The examination of Silahdar (Perışan) Mustafa Pasha's accounting book, which records his income and expenditures from June 1, 1795, to August 23, 1797, reveals that giving presents was not an isolated event but rather a regular occurrence in his life. Mustafa Pasha served as district governor of Ağrıboz, district governor of Selanik, and finally governor-general of Bosnia during this time. Additionally, this article has demonstrated that the recurrent nature of presents listed in this register creates a pattern that is evident in the terms used to describe gifts, the occasions on which they were given, the recipients, the quantities of gifts, etc.

The word *inʿam*, which denotes gifts given as a symbol of kindness and generosity to various individuals, was frequently used in this accounting book. These gifts were provided to the people Mustafa Pasha deemed deserving of his attention. While certain guards and other staff members also got gifts or bonuses under the name of *baḫşiş*, charitable gifts were labelled as *taṣadduḳ*. Many records of sultans and other members of the Ottoman power elite contain these and similar terms. We may also find them in the Ottoman political literature. Their application reveals more general cultural trends in Islamic society.

There were numerous recipients of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's presents. The governor was honouring court employees, musicians, and anyone else who caught his eye and to whom he wished to express gratitude, kindness, or support. On some occasions, it was customary to present tangible awards. Consequently, we found presents for those who delivered good news or performed special tasks. Another recurring characteristic in this register was giving money to religious personnel, especially when the governor visited mosques. For example, this accounting book contains information on gifts given to *imām*s, *müʿezzin*s, and preachers (*vāʿiz*). This account suggests that Silahdar Mustafa Pasha may have been drawn to Sufi teachings himself because he often donated gifts to *dervish* persons and their *şeyḫ*s. This registry frequently contained gifts that were considered charitable (*taṣadduḳ*). Numerous benevolent gifts were documented as being donated to the poor (*fuḳarā*). They frequently occurred, though in comparatively tiny quantities, most notably during the *vālī*'s visit to the mosques, but also on other occasions.

The question of why Mustafa Pasha chose to give gifts is more complex. To resolve this matter, this study has demonstrated that we need to take into account both his free will, personal agency and the impact of the social structure he lived in. This research demonstrates the influence of the social system by showing how political and religious treaties encouraged rulers to be generous, starting with rewarding warriors and the learned class and continuing with gifts to all members of society, including the impoverished. According to the authors of these works, being kind and generous is a useful political tactic that is very advantageous to the state.

This is how Silahdar Mustafa Pasha was socialised. As a dignitary in charge of the sultan's weaponry (*silaḥ-dār-ı şehriyārī*), he received his education and socialisation in the Ottoman court. Later on, he applied this behaviour model to the roles he was given in Ağrıboz, Bosnia, and Selanik. Therefore, we may argue that these choices to give presents are more than just benevolent and random; they are also a part of a strategy to practically create a public persona that is favoured by the intellectual and political elite.

Beside Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's accounting books, similar gift logs and district and provincial governors' accounting records can be found in Ottoman archives. The majority of them are not studied at all. However, they may provide us with valuable information that can help us better understand the subtleties of Ottoman elites' gift culture and how they interacted with the general populace, including the impoverished people. Having this in mind, I will finish this paper by emphasizing that this study contributes more than simply presenting a content of an accounting book, a portion of Silahdar Mustafa Pasha's life story, and historical occurrences from three Ottoman Balkan regions. On a broader scale, the study's anticipated outcome was also to raise scholarly awareness of the advantages of using accounting records to understand Ottoman gift culture in a regional setting. These registers are particularly valuable since they make it possible to find trends by combining qualitative and quantitative methods. Unlocking the full potential of these important primary sources is a task that awaits future researchers of this topic.

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