A STUDY ON THE GIFT LOG, MAD 1279:

MAKING SENSE OF GIFT-GIVING

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN SOCIETY

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Thesis Abstract

Aykut Mustak, "A Study on the Gift Log, MAD 1279:

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The study of gifts, a classical theme of research in economic anthropology, involve, in broad lines, a study of the respective constitution of objects and subjects in exchange. Through gift-giving, the officialization of social relations, the reproduction of status boundaries and social cohesion, and the negotiation of social values is achieved. As such, the communicative, reproductive, and constitutive aspects of gift-giving plays on the relations of power endemic into society.

In order to test the received opinions on gift-giving, a research on the gift logs, and various other archival material that keep the records of gift-giving, is undertaken in a period, in our case designated as eighteenth century Ottoman society. In addition to the general comments on the archival material, a particular gift log is chosen for the tabulation of the features of objects, subjects and the geographical locations, over time.

In conclusion, I suggest that gift-giving in eighteenth century Ottoman society could be regarded, specifically, as a form of payment, akin to other forms of transfer, e.g. charity, reimbursement, or taxation. Bestowed not only by private persons but also by, or at least in the name of, groups and communities, the gifts act as delineative of social boundaries and render communication across them, without compromising those distinctions. In this sense, they could be thought of as access / communication fees in a medium where various agents act as brokers of patronage and agents of government for an early modern bureaucracy.

Tez Özeti

Aykut Mustak, “MAD 1279 Kodlu Hediye Defteri Üzerine Bir Çalışma: 18. yy. Osmanlı Toplumunda Hediyeleşmeyi Anlamlandırmak”

Ekonomik antropolojinin klasik araştırma konularından olan hediye temalı araştırmalar, mübadele ilişkileri içinde özne ve nesne oluşumunun incelenmesini içerir. Hediyeleşmeyle toplumsal ilişkilerin resmileştirilmesi, statü farklarının ve toplumsal bütünlüğün yeniden üretimi ve toplumsal değerler hakkında uzlaşıya varılması sağlanır. Böylece, hediyeleşmenin iletişimsel, yeniden üretimsel ve kurucu boyutları, topluma içkin olan güç ilişkileri üzerinde rol oynar.

Hediyeleşme hakkında oluşmuş kanıları sınamak için, belirli bir dönemde, ki burada 18. yy. Osmanlı toplumu olarak belirlenmiştir, hediye defterleri ve çeşitli başka arşiv malzemesi üzerine bir araştırma gerçekleştirildi. Arşiv malzemesi üzerine genel yorumlara ek olarak, zaman içinde özne, nesne ve coğrafî yerlerin dağılımını tablolaştırabilmek için belirli bir hediye defteri seçildi.

Sonuç olarak, şunu söyleyebilirim ki 18. yy. Osmanlı toplumunda hediyelere hayır, hizmet bedeli ve vergi gibi başka değişim biçimleriyle türdeş bir ödeme biçimi olarak bakılabilir. Sadece özel kişiler tarafından değil gruplar ya da topluluklarca ya da en azından onların adına da sunulan hediyeler, statü farklarına dair sınır çizici ve farklı konumlar arasında o farkları yeknesaklaştırmadan iletişim sağlayıcı bir rol üstlenir. Bu anlamda, çeşitli amillerin himaye aracısı ve hükümet adına edimci olarak çalıştığı erken modernite bürokrasilerinde hediyeler erişim / iletişim bedeli olarak değerlendirilebilir.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The main theme of this study is understanding the basics of a gift log (the main focus is on MAD 1279), e.g. the character of social relations *hediyye*s (gifts) entailed, or the basic material composition in the log, in order to arrive at a provisional understanding of the gift log as a cue for further research since I couldn't locate an integrated framework on gift-giving in the 18th century Ottoman society outside diplomatic and courtly circles. Against the limits imposed by the topic's relative novelty and the provenance of the archival sources, I have gathered disparate even piecemeal aspects as an attempt at building a framework that would buttress the legitimacy of studying the topic, *ergo* the overall survey character of the thesis in its entirety. Although the provisional title, "The political function of gift-giving at the Ottoman court, 1690-1740" which remained in effect for a considerable time, didn't prove to be final and conclusive, it governed the greater part of the intellectual labor invested in the thesis work, so the employment of it in this introduction for a reflexive exposition is operational. Thus, the working hypothesis was that a certain activity, gift-giving, assumed a particular function, the political one, at a certain place and time.

I suggest, a contemporary work of historical craftsmanship undergirded by the teachings of the social sciences should take into account the sea-changes and epistemic strictures of those disciplines. In a broad sketch but not in a strict linear fashion, the economical, the linguistic, and the political, have their moments in instituting a specific logic and vocabulary to these sciences. With hindsight, one can draw correspondences between epistemological quandaries concerning these shifts

and the events of the world. In this vein, the eminence of Marxism, new social movements and identity politics, and (anti)global movements in problematizing the economic logic of the *production* of persons and things, the issues of political and epistemological *representations* and *reproduction*, and ensuing skirmishes of *identities* in a global world needs to be maintained. Noteworthy is the refurbishing of the older disciplines, with the emergence of a breed of new disciplines bearing the qualifier of "studies," e.g. area studies, cultural studies, communication studies, women studies, etc. In a similar fashion, the contemporary emphasis on power, organizations, and cultural representations had already begun to make a niche in the scholarship on Ottoman history with the studies of material civilization, gender, consumption, small groups,[1] as well as the projects trying to unknot the specific practices and representations of the Ottoman power binding the center and the peripheries,[2] (un)making of elites, and assuming and celebrating the specific roles tailored in this Ottoman world.[3] Whether that impact be the *Zeitgeist* or a minor-

[1] For an exposition of the context of this shift and overview, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction," in *eadem*, *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women: Establishing Status, Establishing Control* (Istanbul: Eren, 2002): 9-34. Also, for a brief statement on material culture, see the same author's, "Moving Goods Around, and Ottomanists Too: Surveying Research on the Transfer of Material Goods in the Ottoman Empire," *Turcica* 32 (2000): 435-446. An example concentrating on consumption backed up by the studies of gender and material civilization, is: Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000). For a discussion of the sources and what they yield or not, also see, Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası," in *eadem*, ed., *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998): 49-64, esp. pp. 60-61 n. 1.

[2] In the last two decades there appeared several monographs treating the relation of provinces (up to now, mostly, Arab provinces) to the Ottoman capital. For an attempt to conceptualize and build a research agenda out of this problematic, Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). For the representations of the late nineteenth century Ottoman rule, Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), esp. chaps. 1, 6 and 7. Also see the edited volume employing the conceptual pair of authority and legitimacy situated in the same problematic, Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, eds., *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[3] For an analysis presenting an interwoven texture of politics, kinship and material culture, see Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (Kış 1999/2000): 292-322.

revolution, or just both, it is in tune with the political idiom of the times.[4] Hence, as the previous epistemological moments have contributed to the sharpening of our analytical devices, introducing new themes, problems, as well as undertaking an immense task of redefinition, I believe, the impact of the political should be reckoned. If the study of the gifts in Ottoman history remains to be a novelty with promises of its investigation to be realized,[5] a study with a view to the political aspect of it, in the purported sense, is mostly a scouting venture, yet a serious one.

By naming the political function of gift-giving, I do not intend to suggest that it's the sole function of gift exchange. Once we're reminded the Marcel Mauss's formulation of gift as a "total social phenomenon," it becomes even paradoxical. Mauss argues:

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[4] In intellectual history, the re-discovery of a body of work might be more significant than its original inception. In this regard, two quite different theories of politics retrieved in the contemporary political theory belongs to Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt, former inspired the realist, international law school of the (global) politics, and the latter became a celebrated thinker for the theorists of the urban, political movements. Schmitt, in *The Concept of the Political*, argues "[the political] does not describe its own substance, but only the intensity of an association or dissociation of human beings whose motives can be religious, national (in the ethnic or cultural sense), economic, or of another kind and can effect at different times different coalitions and separations." Hence, "[t]he specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy." See, Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 38, 26. Indeed, redefining the *zōon politikon*, Schmitt's definition rests upon the possibility of war as a condition of the political, when, at such an exceptional moment, groups exact a moral decision from its members to be either friend or enemy at the pain of death, whereas Arendt appeals to the human being's capacity "to act in concert." "While all aspects of the human condition are somehow related to politics, this plurality [the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world] is specifically *the* condition – not only the *conditio sine qua non*, but the *conditio per quam* – of all political life." Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 7.

[5] There are several pronouncements suggesting the importance of the topic, Salzmann makes a case for the eighteenth century Ottoman governance, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 93-94. Suraiya Faroqhi comments, the extant sources studied so far is rather unyielding at that, "Research on the History of Ottoman Consumption: A Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models," in *Consumption Studies*, p. 22. Tülay Artan refers to a volume, she has been editing, of sultanic scripts documenting gifts exchanged between the sultan and his son-in-law (to my knowledge not yet appeared), "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," p. 294 n. 3. Hedda Reindl-Kiel has presented several papers and published some of her work, yet her promised monograph awaits for publication, *eadem*, "Pracht und Ehre: Zum Geschenkwesen im Osmanischen Reich," in Klaus Kreiser and Christoph K. Neumann, eds., *Das Osmanische Reich in Seinen Archivalien und Chroniken: Nejat Göyünç zu Ehren* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997): 161-189; *eadem*, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire," in Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey, eds., *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005): II, 113-123. In the meantime, there is organized an interdisciplinary symposium by Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi on 16-17 November, 2005.

> In the economic and legal systems that have preceded our own, one hardly ever finds a simple exchange of goods, wealth, and products in transactions concluded by individuals. First, it is not individuals but collectives that impose obligations of exchange and contract upon each other. The contracting parties are legal entities: clans, tribes, and families who confront and oppose one another either in groups who meet face to face in one spot, or through their chiefs, or in both these ways at once. Moreover, what they exchange is not solely property and wealth, movable and immovable goods, and things economically useful. In particular, such exchanges are acts of politeness: banquets, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals, and fairs, in which economic transaction is only one element, and in which the passing on of wealth is only one feature of a much more general and enduring contract. Finally, these total services and counter-services are committed to in a somewhat voluntary form by presents and gifts, although in the final analysis they are strictly compulsory, on pain of private or public welfare. We propose to call all this the *system of total services*.[6] (italics in the original)

Mauss does not see this feature of gift exchange as antiquated but still valid yet "hidden, below the surface, and as [he] believe[s] in this [he has] found one of the human foundations on which our societies are built, [he] shall be able to deduce a few moral conclusions concerning certain problems posed by the crisis in our own law and economic organization."[7] Indeed, in her foreword to *The Gift*, Mary Douglas even writes, "[t]he theory of the gift is a theory of human solidarity."[8] Thus, the gift prefigures to be constituting a social cosmos, inasmuch as human culture can be constituted on specific acts of exchange. It is plausible, I believe, to maintain this "total" aspect, just in a plural form. Although there is a multiplicity of totalities with respect to different cultures, gift-exchange across them is not precluded with the different identities attributed to people and objects, or differing constructions of a single event from the viewpoints of exchanging parties. Nonetheless, exchange takes place.

By political, I mean the relationality of entities, persons, things, and representations, where these entities act upon each other, not only with respect to

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[6] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 6-7.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 5. The political context and polemical value of Mauss's The Gift is often noted. For a fine reconstruction of this aspect, see, David Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), chap. 6, esp. 155-163; also see, Alexander T. Riley, "The Sacred Calling of Intellectual Labor in Mystic and Ascetic Durkheimianism," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 43, 3 (2002): 354-385, esp. pp. 373-380.

[8] Mary Douglas, "Foreword: No Free Gifts," in Mauss, *The Gift* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. xiii.

their respective identities, but so as to reconfigure the distribution of power in their field of operation. What is presumed is the relational identity of persons, things and representations, as well as the power-induced character of that relationality. Therefore, one entity may fail to produce an effect upon others, but its very existence alters the field of possibility, that is, existence stands for potential, realized or not.[9] In order to avoid sticking to metaphysical dictums which cannot be put to test, I would suggest that the diplomatic gifts, the gifts at the court, and the gifts due officials corresponds to different environs of politics, not quite unlike, in their modern counterparts, the diplomatic missions among the sovereign states, the parliamentary sessions, and the everyday encounters of the civil servants and the citizens at a public office. After this fashion, the gift exchange can be studied in three, complementary and to an extent overlapping approaches:[10] political theology,[11] political economy, political sociology. In the first approach, there is allocated the semantic and aesthetic structure of giving. Hence, at one hand, gifts, sacrifices, presents, tributes, taxes and corresponding array of words, with finer shades of meaning is ferreted out of both

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[9] "Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence. The word itself, its Greek equivalent *dynamis*, like the Latin *potentia* with its various modern derivatives or the German *Macht* (which derives from *mögen and möglich*, not from *machen*), indicates its "potential" character. Power is always, as we would say, a power potential and not an unchangeable, measurable, and reliable entity like force or strength." Arendt, *The Human Condition*, p. 200. Also compare, Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, p. 42 n. 17, with, Hannah Arendt, "What is Authority," in *eadem*, *Between Past and Future* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), and Hakan T. Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," in *eadem* and Reinkowski, eds., *Legitimizing the Order*, pp. 13-52.

[10] As a matter of fact, Christoph Neumann added a fourth one, "the political geography" (June 2006), but whether it is against the cogency of the current formulation or can be reconciled to it, is subject to further study. In this work, I contend myself with presenting the rationale for the three.

[11] As Schmitt coined the term "political theology," he observes "[a]ll significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development –in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver– but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these concepts. The exception in jurisprudence is analogous to the miracle in theology." In *eadem*, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1985), p.36. Indeed, by a treatment of the limit-case of an exception, Schmitt, famously, claims "[s]overeign is he who decides on the exception." *Ibid.*, p. 5. Yet, Tracy Strong reminds "[i]t should be noted that the sovereign is not like God: there *is* no "Sovereign." Rather, sovereign acts have the quality of referring themselves, as moments of "existential intervention." Strong, "Foreword: Dimensions of the New Debate around Carl Schmitt," in *The Concept of the Political*, p. xiv.

political tracts, administrative records and literary texts, as well as visual ones, like such notions are represented in miniature and architecture. Since this is an immense task, it is spared for later work.[12] By political economy, I project to convey an account of the objects and modes of giving, the identities and objects thus far maintained, dismissed or destabilized. What changes hands as well as the general rules and regulation of the production, circulation and consumption of those objects are some common questions allotted.[13] By a political sociology of gift exchange, I intend to discover how specific persons and objects are bound with each other in specific, be it ceremonial or ritualistic, events. Hence, the studies of patronage as well as power (honor/status) contests.[14] In this formulation, my work can be situated somewhere between a political economy and sociology of gift-exchange. In spite of the initial aim of studying the gift-exchange at the Ottoman court; eventually, the

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[12] What I have in mind, is exemplified by, Bernhard Jussen, "Religious Discourses of the Gift in the Middle Ages: Semantic Evidences (Second to Twelfth Centuries)," in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Ludolf Kuchenbuch's "*Porcus donativus*: Language Use and Gifting in Seigneurial Records between the Eight and the Twelfth Centuries" in the same volume; Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), chap. 3, and pp. 130-138; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), esp. chaps. 1, 4 & 7; Almut Hintze, "'Do ut des': Patterns of Exchange in Zoroastrianism," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14, 1 (2004): 27-45; Engin F. Isin and Alexandre Lefebvre, "The Gift of Law: Greek Euergetism and Ottoman Waqf," *European Journal of Social Theory* 8, 1 (2005): 5-23; Ann Lambton, "*Pīshkash*: Present or Tribute?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 57,1 (1994): 145-158.

[13] Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," esp. 307-313; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange," and *eadem*, "Pracht und Ehre," can also be examples for a "political sociology." Also see, Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chaps. 2 & 3.

[14] Sharon Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2, 2 (1988): 131-151; *eadem*, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," *French History* 6, 2 (1992): 139-158; Linda Livy Peck, "'For a King not to be bountiful were a fault': Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England," *Journal of British Studies* 25, 1 (1986): 31-61; Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), chap. 1, esp. 36-54; for the configuration of status contests, compare, Pierre Bourdieu, "The Work of Time," in *eadem*, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), with Arjun Appadurai's "tournaments of value" in "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *eadem*, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 21, 25, Reindl-Kiel makes use of Bourdieu's formulation in, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange." Also see, Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, chap. 3; and, Jane Fair Bestor, "Marriage Transactions in Renaissance Italy and Mauss's *Essay on the Gift*," *Past and Present* 164 (August 1999): 6-46.

primary sources I have been able to locate adjusted the whereabouts as well as the time frame of the study. Thus, instead of the court, my study concentrates on pasha households, and time frame is limited to a decade, that is 1730-1740.

Consequently, the first chapter presents differing conceptualizations of gift and power, and specifies the operational ones for further analysis. The second chapter turns to the more formal aspects of gift-giving, like the material composition of the common gift articles and the pattern of circulation, locating the grounds for an economy of the practices of gift-giving. Third chapter tries to sketch the structural transformation of the society linking the multiplication/ambivalence of the means/forms of payment with the historical context and the flourishing brokers and clients of political power. At the last instance, this study is an interpretive attempt aiming an extant gift log, MAD 1279.

CHAPTER 2: APPROACHES TO GIFT-GIVING

Gifts in the Canon

Every major social reflection on the affairs of the world heralds, yet invites dissent, where none could be accommodated ultimately in a single frame. When the disenchantment of the world (Weber), money economy (Simmel), and the marginalization of the gifts (Mauss) in the modern world[15] have already become firmly-grounded clichés constituting a tradition onto itself, there appears the challengers with disclaimers, refutations, revisions, reversals, all of which firmly rests on recognition at some level. For example, Viviana Zelizer sets out to adjust the 'color-blindness' concerning the meaning of money,[16] making a substantial case for the employment of a sense of multiple monies. Surveying the period of late 19th and early 20th century of the United States, she portrays the parallels between such differentiation of monies and the changing roles and definitions within the domestic sphere and the distribution of welfare *vis-à-vis* money. In her opinion, "equating gifts with market transfers misses the point: there are multiple types of modern transfers rather than a single market exchange of commodities." She goes on to say:

> Gifts constitute a range of transfers distinct from payments or entitlements and corresponding to a different range of social relations. Gifts are bestowals marked by

[15] Jacques Godbout presents a vigorous argument for the preeminence of gifts in the modern world. Yet, what is strained, in his opinion, is that the relationships across generations (especially with ancestors, supplemented with a discussion of Santa Claus), giving a particular edge to gift-giving as given to third persons, or at anonymous contexts (the example being "alcoholics anonymous"). See, Jacques T. Godbout, with Alain Caillé, *Armağan Dünyası*, trans. Dilek Hattatoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), esp. pp. 57-58, 76-78, 109-113, 147-148.

[16] Enumerating the elements of the set of assumptions underlying the modern sense of money, she counters them by arguing that the understanding of money cannot be confined to market phenomena, but should be inclusive of various social practices that diversifies the use of money "as a social medium," that belies a resolute frame creating unbridgeable domains of money and non-pecuniary values. For the assumptions, see *The Social Meaning of Money* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), pp. 11-12, and for her counter points, *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

> intimacy as well as by the relative equality of donors and recipients. In keeping with such relationships, gifts do not call for immediate reciprocation except in the form of appreciation, and they assume the long-term duration of a relationship. A gift to inferiors, on the other hand, quickly slips into charity, while a gift to superiors becomes a tribute.[17]

As the passage implies, gifts are not only transfers but a mode of exchange, a way of extending goods and services in contradistinction with commodities. Defined relationally in such manner, it remains, however, that the cultural template of gift-giving, or what constitutes the "proper" gift and its affines of a conceptual family resemblance (treating all these notions as "modeling devices"[18]), is matched by a wider array of practices of giving and conflictual accounts of it.[19] In this fashion, Natalie Davis employs a tri-tiered typology of exchanges in her monograph on the gifts in 16th century France, she defines gift exchange "as an essential relational mode, a repertoire of behavior, a register with its own rules, language, etiquette, and gestures." She juxtaposes it with sales and theft.

> The gift mode exists along with two other relational modes: the mode of sales – of market buying-and-selling – and the mode of coercion, that is, theft, punitive seizure, and forced payment (as in taxes to which one has not assented). The gift mode may sometimes be in competition with the sales mode or the coercive mode; they may also cluster around each other, be in close interaction, or overlap.[20]

Obviously, the recognition of a social phenomenon as worthy of study is complemented with the process of canon-building (devising reading schemes, library orders, book prizes) and institutional support (higher education departments and research institutes that devote time and resources to the theme of the study), and the founding text in contemporary scholarship on the gifts is Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* (or *Essai sur le don*), where it became a standard read, establishing a theme that is to be reckoned with in an ethnographic work.[21] Mauss's formulation of the gift

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[18] Gadi Algazi, "Doing Things with Gifts," in *Negotiating the Gift*, p. 15.
[19] Chris Gregory insists on a differentiation of superalternate/subalternate versions of value and the predicament of explaining the relations of the two concerning each other. See, *Savage Money: The Anthropology and Politics of Commodity Exchange* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 8.
[20] Davis, *The Gift*, p. 9.
[21] Douglas, "Foreword," p. xvi. There is a long list of contributors to the topic in anthropology, with which I tried to come to terms to an extent, but the notable absences are Bronislaw Malinowski,

exchange incorporates several paradoxes, or what appears as paradox in his day, as the gift's supposed voluntary yet obligatory aspect, an obligation to give, to receive and to return, laying the ground for a cycle of reciprocity. As he draws on the legal and moral aspects of this form, the gift as "*the* total social fact," that it prefigures as the primary principle of sociality (or, in Jacques Godbout's designation, the gift as "nothing but the crystallization of the interpersonal system of social relations"[22]), or the items exchanged regarded as primitive money, such themes of Mauss's long essay has been elaborated upon extensively. Despite the absence of a Maussian school, his legacy rather emerges in a diffuse yet prevalent form. Although it is a matter of contention, to what extent Mauss's political and moral concerns seeped into his study, as a motivating factor or outright projection of the concerns of his person and time,[23] one commentator notes "while Mauss is generally represented as telling us how *in fact* the gift is *never* free, what I think he is really telling us is how *we* have acquired a *theory* that it should be."[24] Godbout puts his finger on the inclination to overrate the secondary socialization's effect at the expense of the primary socialization in the constitution of personal singularity, and such emphatic construal of individuals as unique, in the first place.[25] In this fashion, "the gift" might not be

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Marshall Sahlins, Annette Weiner, Marily Strathern and Maurice Godelier. Also there is the issue of overt and covert influences, like the works of Félix Somló and Richard Thurnwald, which constitutes the "prehistory" of "the gift," whereas Malinowski is canonized in the ethnographic literature. For the impact of the German school of law, see, Beate Wagner-Hasel, "Egoistic Exchange and Altruistic Gift: On the Roots of Marcel Mauss's Theory of the Gift," in *Negotiating the Gift*, pp. 147-148.

[22] *Armağan Dünyası*, p. 41.

[23] Wagner-Hasel, "Egoistic Exchange and Altruistic Gift," p. 163.

[24] Jonathan Parry, "*The Gift*, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'," *Man(N.S.)* 21, 3 (September 1986): 453-473; p. 458 (italics in original). The moral (and political) undertones in *The Gift*, whether that of Mauss or that of the public whose commonplaces is inverted to constitute an ethnographic inquiry by Mauss, is often highlighted. In *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, Graeber writes, "Mauss was not trying to describe how the logic of the marketplace, with its strict distinctions between persons and things, interest and altruism, freedom and obligation, had become the common sense of modern societies. Above all, he was trying to explain the degree to which it had failed to do so; to explain why so many people –and particularly, so many of the less powerful and privileged members of society– found its logic morally repugnant.", p. 162.

[25] *Armağan Dünyası*, p. 44. Davis draws a parallel between the simultaneous developments of the intensification of relations in the domestic sphere with the formal bonds created by the legal

anchoring all these diverse lines of inquiry, yet that was what actually *The Gift* did. Therefore, several scholars prefer to talk in a pluralistic idiom, conjoining various facets building not so much a theory but histories of "the gift".[26]

Definitions / Delimitations of Gift-Giving

The analytical isolation of a social phenomenon, and its discreet formulation in a given field of study, leaves it open to incorporation into the discourses of different social systems, thus factual statements of a discipline are taken up and interwoven into moral values, building models of behavior for the purpose of moral inculcation, or utilized as a rhetorical move. In this sense, the verbal economy of gifts presents a set of psychological traits to be modeled, like generosity, liberality, magnanimity, etc.,[27] or defined in contradistinction with commodities, where the corresponding set of concepts around the latter is pitted against the former as moral criticism. Thus, where the market, commodities, or money resembles an alien force, or at least a neutral medium, networks generated by kinship, patronage or friendship gathered

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infrastructure, and the shrinking domain of "certain forms of patronage and informal neighborhood gifting." Davis, *The Gift*, p. 121. Jonathan Parry correlates the state's assuming of political functions with the gifts' acquiring a more voluntaristic character; see, Parry, "*The Gift*, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'," p. 467.

[26] On the cross-breeding of anthropology and history, Barbara H. Rosenwein offers the self-critical remark that "we [the medievalists] are more interested in good general theories and good anthropologists (whatever they may be studying) than hunkering down with a particular culture to get our ethnography." Instead of making use of ethnographies in a patchy manner, she argues for a bi-culturalism (I chose the term to resonate with bilingual), "Francia and Polynesia: Rethinking Anthropological Approaches," in *Negotiating the Gift*, p. 363, 379. Also see the two articles by Bernard Cohn, the first one reads like a sociological note and the second is more of a survey of the relations of the respective fields, Bernard S. Cohn, "An Anthropologist among the Historians: A Field Study," and "History and Anthropology: The State of Play," in *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[27] The gift has not only been elevated to the rank of methodological cue, it was refashioned after the image of moral virtue and psychological trait. "[G]ift exchange and the concomitant feelings of gratitude serve to confirm and maintain social ties. Gratitude is part of the chain of reciprocity and as such, it has "survival value": It is sustaining a cycle of gift and counter-gift, and thereby essential in creating social cohesion and community." Aafke Elisabeth Komter, "Gratitude and Gift Exchange," in Robert A. Emmons and Michael E. McCullough, eds., *The Psychology of Gratitude* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 195-212; p. 195.

around tokens of gratitude is fashioned after a likeness of the lost objects of nostalgia.[28] Torn between thicker descriptions and the growing sophistication of computer-simulated statistical models, the strict definitions of *homo economicus*, a vision of human nature with an inherent propensity for truck, barter and exchange in a self-interested way, is supplanted with a closer look at value preferences, and different levels of cognitive, cultural, institutional adaptation, the pointer showing the profits of cooperation and a sense of bounded rationality, as a more adequate frame for human evolution and economic development.[29] As a matter of fact, a strict definition of *homo economicus* is on a par with a strict definition of commodity exchange as terminal, transferring alienable property between parties of no prior or posterior obligation to each other other than legal sanctions, enjoying formal equality, in contrast to gift exchange, where the archaic, the oriental, the primitive, the feminine subjects are subsumed to be, related to each other in a morally sanctioned way, extended in time.[30] Yet, such a problematic of concept- and model-

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[28] Obviously, the meaning of such alienation prefigures differently in the colonizer setting and that of the colonized, and such difference is usually evident in the gender and age-status hierarchies. In an ethnographic case from Ghana, R. L. Stirrat writes "because of the particular nature of commodity exchange in Ambakandawila, women control money which leads to a male antipathy to money and what it does for female power. On the other hand it could also be argued that the market and commodity exchange was the means through which fishing families were subjugated, and that by associating women with the market, men were effectively isolating themselves from the deleterious effects of commoditisation." Stirrat, "Money, men and women," in Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989): 94-116; p. 113. Janet Carsten's study of a Malay community presents the unity of household in contrast to the division of the market played out in gender symbolism. "Just as they cook fish, women transform money from a means of exchange to a consumption good so that it ceases to threaten and actually sustains the household." Carsten, "Cooking money: gender and the symbolic transformation of means of exchange in a Malay Fishing community," in the same volume: 117-141; p. 118. For the transformation of the use of money in the domestic sphere with respect to gender, see, Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money*, esp. pp. 56-57, 64-65.

[29] For an exploration in greater detail, Avner Ben-Ner and Louis Putterman, "Values and Institutions in Economic Analysis," in *eadem*, eds., *Economics, Values, and Organization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 3-69. For the older debate of formalists vs. substantivists, Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (New York: The Free Press, 1957): 243-270.

[30] James Carrier suggests, holding the opinion that the commodity relations are eminent in the West is one thing, pressing it at the expense of other logic of practices is another. He argues that the society of the commodity and the society of gift is defined in this relational terms so as to constitute an occidentalism, which defines and essentializes both, "Maussian Occidentalism: Gift and Commodity

building is not solely a matter of adequacy but that of politics, as a certain set of values is assembled to portray defined behavior as a model for emulation, arming it with attributes of goodness, rationality or freedom.[31]

A straightforward definition of gift, provided by Valentin Groebner in his study of municipal gift registers and account-books of the late 15th – early 16th century towns of upper Rhine region (primarily that of Basel), is that "[a] gift is a transaction that assumes a particular rhetorical form."[32] The emphasis is on communication and the public function of gifts as both rewards and conveyors of information. On the aspect of obligation, Groebner suggests, "[g]ifts alone did not create a legally binding status, but they were designed to make commitments and legal relations public."[33] In contrast to this designation of gift as a discreet transfer, however, the literature abounds with designations of reciprocal and circular forms of giving. *Pace* Jonathan Parry, Chris Gregory argues "[t]he notion of an 'unreciprocated' gift is a contradiction in terms because reciprocity, along with the inalienation and the obligation to return it implies, is the defining characteristic of a gift."[34] However, on the presumption that reciprocity is one of the defining features of the gift exchange, it becomes aporetic, even if the reciprocity is to be defined

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Systems," in *eadem*, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 85-108; p. 94. For a case exhibiting the limits of such a conceptualization with a reversal of attributes corresponding to the pairs in the case of contemporary North London, see, Daniel Miller, "Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities," in Fred R. Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press): 91-115.

[31] Romand Coles traces the employment of the word "currency" in Locke, and contemporaries like John Rawls and Martha Nussbaum, supposing that an image of efficient exchange of equivalents is juxtaposed with a founding moment of consent, disregarding the occasions of contestation and transferring the attribute of the hypothetical originary moment to the system as a whole. "The circulation of equivalents from one moment to the next functions temporally to extend the purported consent infinitely into the future." Romand Coles, "Contesting Cosmopolitan Currency: The Nepantilist Rose in the Cross(ing) of the Present," *Nepantla: Views from South* 4, 1 (2003): 5-40; p. 16.

[32] *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, p. 1.

[33] *Ibid*., p. 65.

[34] Gregory, *Savage Money*, p. 65. Indeed, Parry's prefiguration of gift as sacrifice, containing the person of the author, is the point of divergence between Gregory and Parry, where Gregory sees the problem in the different values invested, and thus articulated, in the exchange by the exchanging parties. Compare with, Parry, "*The Gift*, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'," pp. 460-461; and *eadem*, "On the moral perils of exchange," in *Money and Morality of Exchange*: 64-93, esp. 70-77.

broadly as "a two-way or round-the-circle flow of goods,"[35] if the recipient is a third party, strangers, ancestors, or even god, so that reciprocation would be indirect or altogether redundant with respect to asymmetry or impossibility of sealing the exchange with a counter-gift. In a discussion of the classical instances of gift exchange in Maori and Kwakiutl, David Graeber maintains that "the most important Maori heirlooms were so caught up in the identities of the owner that they couldn't really be given away at all; among the Kwakiutl, they were so identified with a particular person that if given away, the recipient became the person who the giver used to be. At either extreme, identification does not facilitate reciprocity. It makes reciprocity impossible."[36] Therefore, not only the respective identities (and statuses) of the exchanging parties do count, but also the identities of the objects that facilitates the exchange efficacious.

Instead of reciprocity, pulling someone into or discharging one's own "debt" could be another way of approaching the task of delimiting the phenomenon. Instead of an image of liberal giving, Marilyn Strathern emphasizes the aspect of power involved, even the exchange is fairly symmetric with respect to goods. She states "[i]n both ceremonial exchanges and marriage, the recipients' 'needs' are forced upon them by the donors: their own 'demand' for the gift is their experience of this coercion."[37] Hence, any exchange is a confrontation where the capacities of the parties, in judging, bargaining, and keeping the agreement arrived, stand to test. The value equivalence of the exchange items is established posterior to exchange, and as

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[35] Walter C. Neale, "Reciprocity and Redistribution in the Indian Village: Sequel to Some Notable Discussions," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*: 218-236, p. 222.
[36] *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, p. 211.
[37] Marilyn Strathern, "Qualified Value: The Perspective of Gift Exchange," in Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, eds., *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992): 169-191, p. 178.

such it is a matter of "adequacy of response."[38] At the last instance, however, the efficacy and conduct of gift exchange is overdetermined by the cultural cosmology of a given society, where gifts may be transmitted along symmetric/asymmetric lines, increasingly differentiated as offering, present, tribute, charity, tip, bribe, or even taxes.

The predicament of analyzing such systems of giving rather than specific acts that constitute the system as such, follows from Mauss, both in his insistence of treating the circulating items as money,[39] and his portrayal of them as total, metonymically, standing for the society concerned. Hence, any study of gift-giving is geared towards the questions of value, exchange, or specific identities of things and

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[38] In a society where economic activities are embedded in different social systems, "[t]hough the economic significance of an act may be great, there is no way of assessing its relative *importance*." Karl Polanyi, "Aristotle Discovers the Economy," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*: 64-94, p. 73. (italics mine) Also, see, Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, "Introduction: Barter, Exchange and Value," in *Barter, Exchange and Value*: 1-20, p. 8. On the exchange of identical or equivalent things so as to constitute social difference or social reproduction, see, Robert J. Foster, "Value without Equivalence: Exchange and Replacement in a Melanesian Society," *Man(N.S.)* 25 (1990): 54-69, esp. pp. 56, 61, 65, 67 n. 2.

[39] Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 126-129 n. 29. Mauss reasons that, since those items were used in exchange and discharging debts, containing purchasing power and a set ratio among exchanged items, they should be treated as money. He maintains "[e]ven if it is recognized only between individuals, clans, and certain tribes, or only between associates, it is none the less public, official, and fixed." *Ibid*., p. 128. However, according to Karl Polanyi such use for exchange does not automatically qualify those items as money. He dismisses tripods, "for only by an artificial construction could such an honorific gift-use be subsumed under either payment or exchange. Transactions of treasure finance were restricted to the narrow circle of the gods and chiefs. While some things could be paid for with treasure, very many more could not be bought with it." Polanyi, "The Semantics of Money-Uses," in George Dalton, ed., *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971): 175-203; p. 186. In his opinion, money can be any quantifiable object used for payment, hoarding, exchange, or as standard. "Actually, the value of money does not derive from convention and is not therefore illusory, but neither does it derive from "value in use," as the commodity theory would have it. Its utility derives from the fact that one can buy things with it, and its value, from its scarcity. This, however, does not account for its origin, which lies with the institutions of government and banking." *Ibid*., p. 197. The main argument against gift as money is that they were ascertained not ordinally, but cardinally, where there are different spheres of exchange, across which it is impossible to convert without moral implications, and gifts assume their value in a specific social context, ceremonious, festive, etc. See, Ian Morris, "Gift and Commodity in Archaic Greece," *Man(N.S.)* 21, 1 (March 1986): 1-17, p. 8; Charles D. Piot, "Of Persons and Things: Some Reflections on African Spheres of Exchange," *Man(N.S.)* 26, 3 (September 1991): 405-424, p. 406, 421 n. 15. According to the Godbout, archaic money's function is serving as a means of redistribution for reproducing the particularity of humans and things, the living and the dead in a social cosmology, circulating in the mode of gift. Godbout, *Armağan Dünyası*, pp. 173-174.

persons, in circulation or withdrawn.[40] The gifts are not so much objects themselves, but the specific form an inventory of objects assumed to animate a certain social effect, highlighting the communicative and efficacious aspects in ceremonial contexts. That's why the allure of explaining this effect leads the analytical emphasis to slip away from certain discreet acts and their context to drawing models and systems.

Different Cycles of Giving

In order to account for the variability of the specific identities objects assumed, Appadurai argues for "looking at the commodity potential of all things rather than searching fruitlessly for the magic distinction between commodities and other sorts of things."[41] In a complementary fashion, Igor Kopytoff talks about decommoditization / singularization of objects where in the former they have a generic value, an item exchanged for another with less and less impeded by cultural constructs and the history attributed to that particular object, and in singularization objects preserve the traces of lived memory, thick with meaning sometimes

[40] For treatments of these mainstays of anthropological query, see, Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction," in *The Social Life of Things*, 3-63; Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," *Ibid*, 64-91; Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, "Introduction: money and the morality of exchange," in *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, 1-32; Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, eds., *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological Approach* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992); Fred Myers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," in *The Empire of Things*, 3-61; Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, *passim*; Alain Pottage, "Persons and Things: An Ethnographic Analogy," *Economy and Society* 30, 1 (February 2001): 112-138.

[41] Appadurai, "Introduction," p. 13. This analytical move is severely criticized by Chris Gregory, counter-arguing that binary analytical devices have their own uses, and Appadurai's approach leads to obfuscation regarding commodities as both genus and species, and such analytical imprecision is tried to be made up for by employing a set of adjectives in a ad hoc fashion. See, Gregory, *Savage Money*, pp. 42-45. Such uncircumscribed potential of objects for assuming gift or commodity status is also noted for criticism by Comaroffs. Jean and John L. Comaroff, "Goodly Beasts, Beastly Goods: Cattle and Commodities in a South African Context," *American Ethnologist* 17, 2 (May 1990): 195-216; p. 211. In Graeber's reading, Appadurai "ends up writing as if all exchanges are simply about *things* and have nothing to do with making, maintaining, or severing social relationships. Insofar as goods affect relations between people –insofar as society and culture come in at all– he is left only with the domain of consumption." *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, p. 32.

maintained and invested in for several generations, drawn more and more from circulation.[42] Yet, Kopytoff's argument is suggestive in the way it presents the biography of things going beyond the free flow of commodities. He maintains that "unless *formally* decommoditized, commoditized things remain potential commodities – they continue to have an exchange value, even if they have been effectively withdrawn from their exchange sphere and deactivated, so to speak, as commodities. This deactivation leaves them open not only to the various kinds of singularization...but also to individual, as opposed to collective, redefinitions."[43] However, commodities are not the exceptions that such redefinitions apply, indeed, even the individual redefinitions were defined in culturally and historically specific ways, giving the prominent place to kinship, political structures, or "free" economic activity, as these become the dominant logic or organizing principles of different sets of practices.[44] As such, the economic process, as delimited by Karl Polanyi in three "forms of integration," reciprocity, redistribution, and (market) exchange, cuts across three modes of exchange, commodity exchange, gift-giving and barter.

> Reciprocity denotes movements between correlative points of symmetrical groupings; redistribution designates appropriational movements toward a center and out of it again; exchange refers here to vice-versa movements taking place as between "hands" under a market system. Reciprocity, then, assumes for a background symmetrically arranged groupings; redistribution is dependent upon the presence of some measure of centricity in the group; exchange in order to produce integration requires a system of price-making markets.[45]

Polanyi supposes that these forms' achieving the integration of economic practice corresponds with certain social structures, and outside of it, the economic phenomenon remains embedded in different social systems, or say, analytically invisible with respect to the intellectual devices of self-observation of a given

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[42] Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," pp. 72-77.
[43] *Ibid*., p. 76 (italics mine).
[44] On the market exchange, Fred Myers states that "the market regime does not replace other regimes of value so much as it reorganizes them." Myers, "Introduction," pp. 58-59. Certainly practices are not values, but the former is judged according to latter, where the possibility of capturing reality between the two is a limit case, prone to the principle of the impossibility of self-observation without objectifying oneself.
[45] Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," p. 250.

society.[46] He argues that internal and international trading have different origins, the former has to do with war provisioning and the latter with the signing of treaties, that is, all trade is venture-specific, in war or in peace.[47]

> Over millennia trade between empires was carried on as gift trade – no other rationale of two-sidedness would have met quite as well the needs of the situation. The organization of trading is here usually ceremonial, involving mutual presentation; embassies; political dealings between chiefs or kings. The goods are treasure, objects of élite circulation; in the border case of visiting parties they may be of a more "democratic" character. But contacts are tenuous and exchanges few and far between.[48]

Presenting an ethnographic case from Melanesia, Alfred Gell observes the emergence of bartering in the males' attempt to free themselves from the marital obligations owed to wife's kin in the form of services or gifts, the inter-tribal barter thus giving a sense of equality among the males of the same status, and he goes on to argue, such relationships are reconfigured to adjust the intra-communal relationships of gift-giving.[49] Bloch and Parry makes a parallel statement that "once objects have become commodities in external trade, they *inevitably* tend to become commodities within the community and to dissolve the bonds of personal dependence between its members. Independent communities become dependent, and dependent individuals become independent."[50] Though the transforming capacity of the emergence of a prominent mode of exchange over the general field of exchange is noteworthy, it is culturally bounded and historically contingent. If the source of the supposed transformative capacity of commodities is the introduction of new objects into a social universe, pending for meaning attribution and utilization, and the increasing

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[46] In his opinion, action does not produce structure but the vice versa. "Reciprocity behavior between individuals integrates the economy only if symmetrically organized structures, such as a symmetrical system of kinship groups, are given. But a kinship system never arises as the result of mere reciprocating behavior on the personal level." *Ibid*., p. 251.
[47] *Ibid*., p. 260.
[48] *Ibid*., p. 262.
[49] Alfred Gell, "Inter-tribal commodity barter and reproductive gift-exchange in old Melanesia," in *Barter, Exchange and Value*: 142-168, pp. 161-162. Yet, Marilyn Strathern asks why we should assume the sole appearance of commodities brings in the transformation of the constitution of objects and subjects in a community. She suggests "there would have to be an enabling condition in the constitution of persons that allowed the commodity to be captured as a metaphor for reproductive exchange." Marilyn Strathern, "Qualified Value: The Perspective of Gift Exchange," p. 189 n. 1.
[50] Parry and Bloch, "Introduction," p. 4. (italics mine)

rate of the influx of goods is surely an input that might turn the stakes, nonetheless, the ascribed prowess of commodities is suspended, held at bay, until political (military) intervention.[51] Although furthering the exchange metaphors at the expense of the production and consumption processes is *reductio ad absurdum*, analyzing the differentiation of various sets of give-and-take is fundamental to understand the reproductive processes of a social cosmos.

Bringing the cycles of giving in the ancient texts of the Indo-Iranian literature to the fore, Almut Hintze demonstrates the transformation of a triangular form of gift-exchange into a reciprocal one, where the contributions of the patron, the priest, and the deity, to the politico-religious order is succeeded by a rhetorical empowerment of the priest admonishing the followers not to go astray from his teachings in the path of god.[52] The schema of patron paying the priest to perform the rituals for seeking the support of the deities for the patron's acquired wealth is displaced through the priest's attempt at defining a clause of what if the priest is not properly rewarded. Since the setting of the goods in motion is circumscribed by the priest's chanting encouraging both the gods and the patrons to give, "[i]f the patron does not give the fee, a basic social order is disturbed, and the circulation of goods is blocked."[53] Consequently, the promise of a divine reward in the aftermath, for all the deeds done and words said good and bad, a capacity humans are created with in the

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[51] The relation between settlers and natives remains to be one of a mutually sustaining one, up until the imperial designs on the administration of colonies came to be realized through mid-18th century, when trade ventures turn into military ventures backed up by the former. For the Iroquois case of the North America, see, Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, chap. 5, esp. pp. 117-124, 145-149. For the divergence of the meanings and uses of a transaction rendered differently by Columbus and the natives, see, Elvira Vilches, "Columbus's Gift: Representations of Grace and Wealth and the Enterprise of the Indies," *MLN* 119 (2004): 201-225; p. 205 n. 5, 208. On the forced change of means of exchange, and the incommunicado between the involved parties, see, C. A. Gregory, "Cowries and Conquest: Towards a Subalternate Quality Theory of Money," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 2 (April 1996): 195-217; p. 212.

[52] Almut Hintze, "'Do ut des': Patterns of Exchange in Zoroastrianism," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14, 1 (2004): 27-45.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 40.

beginning, becomes a law of nature in priest's teaching, leaving a reciprocal relationship between the deity and the believers.[54] Yet, the nonequivalence in the respective standings of the exchanging parties diverts the reciprocity into a circular form on the one hand, and a uni-lateral one, on the other. Gradually, the vision of a transcendent god leaves the possibility of constraining the god to reciprocate what has been given redundant since the creation is recognized as an utmost gift which cannot be reciprocated.

> In a Christian conception of the world borrowed from Neo-Platonism, man and his possessions must return to their Creator just as effects must return to their cause. However, to achieve this end, both the possessions and the persons must first be transformed: the worldly assets into celestial ones, and the sinner into a new man. This is accomplished by means of special rites of transformation, above all that of the Eucharist, which only priests are qualified to perform.[55]

In this vein, giving alms to the poor for the sake of one's soul as a token of good deeds, is mediated by the monasteries (as such contributions were already held to be in the service of godly works, or eventually redistributed to the poor) and the wealthy is encouraged to give, as the teaching goes, for such "offerings destined for the celebration of the sacrifice. In this way the gift permitted the lay donor to enter into the ritual community of the monastery and to take part in exchanges with God."[56] Bernhard Jussen states that in the Middle Ages there is a complex of words that highlight the character of exchange where *donum* (with an image of loving God) is counterpoised with *munus* (in the image of the stern God).[57] As such, *munus* is never reciprocated but accepted or just got a glance from the god.[58] Jussen explicates two sets of exchange conjoined with two aspects of a person, where on the one hand there

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[54] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[55] Eliana Magnani S.-Christen, "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift *pro anima* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Negotiating the Gift*: 269-284; p. 270.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 279.
[57] Bernhard Jussen, "Religious Discourses of the Gift in the Middle Ages: Semantic Evidences (Second to Twelfth Centuries)," in *Negotiating the Gift*: 173-192; p. 177.
[58] *Ibid*., p. 183.

is a circular form and on the other it is outright unilateral giving which is simply to be sealed by a proper recognition in the heart (*cor*).

> *[R]emuneratio* made it possible to articulate expectations of behavior: *opus – remuneratio*. The focus here is on the outer man (*homo exterior*). *Munus* surveys the inner man (*homo interior*) and the dependence of human existence upon the Creation and the Redemption. This semantic constellation is oriented towards intention, and it is non-reciprocal: *cor – munus*.[59]

What is concluded from the Indo-Iranian and Christian cases, as far as the narratives of gift exchange is emblematic of a cultural cosmology, is that the figure of the transcendent god purports a particular "spirit of the gift that wants to move through time, through history, never reversing its direction."[60] Hence the fine balance of power enmeshed in kinship or feudal ties, enacted and reproduced symbolically through rituals, occasionally in the form of gifts, in order to sanctify the social order, is displaced by a god, whose will (intention) is simultaneously action capable of creating and maintaining a social cosmos on its own terms. Hence, what appears as "the obligatory yet voluntary" aspect of the gifts emerge as a paradox where obligation and will are ascribed to different domains, the legal sanction is contrasted to felicity of family, and the gifts are reconfigured as uni-lateral and disinterested, given out of "pure love."

The Functions of Gift-Giving

Although the discrepancy between gift-giving as a model and a practice is noted, an ambivalence ensuing from this discrepancy is an eminent feature in accounting for the general rhetorics of gifts. As such ambivalence permits the meaning of a set of actions to be construed differently, this ambivalence maintains the social hierarchy,

[59] *Ibid*., p. 189.
[60] Davis, *The Gift*, p. 118.

insofar as it facilitates communication across status boundaries. Valentin Groebner reasons such that:

> [T]he people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries depended upon individuals for a number of services that we now receive through such institutions as the postal service, classified advertisements, telephone books, and official application forms (not to mention financial institutions, insurance companies, and unemployment offices), that is, for access to information. These individuals stood in widely varying relationships to the applicant or petitioner, and the degrees to which they could be helpful or cooperative also differed sharply. The web of small or large gifts known as gratuities, *leitkauf*, love offerings, or tokens of honor referred to these indispensable services: gifts may thus be understood as part of an economy of information.[61]

The communicative aspect of gifts is rather well-attested.[62] Yet, the intended recipient of the message is usually the public who have whatsoever no part in the exchange other than observation.[63] In a study of nuptial gifts in Renaissance Italy, Jane Fair Bestor explicates the legal disputes over the proper definition of transactions related to the gifts preceding the marriage. The predicament was to respond to the social expectations relative to one's social standing through the size of the dowry and matching gifts of the groom, while at the same time preventing the alienation of patrimonial wealth.

> The groom's ornaments magnified the bride, transforming her into an iconic symbol of the material and social capital she brought to her marriage. In the process they signified his (and his family's) capacity to give and receive, thereby also representing the social order as a visual order open to public inspection and ratification.[64]

The legal story Bestor recounts is based on a differentiation of the *munus* (*donum cum causa*), namely the gift with a reason, which includes gift-giving on birthdays and weddings where it is customary, and in some sort obligatory, to give, from the general concept of gift (*donatio*), supposedly occasioned by a gratuitous intention (*animus donandi*) not construed as a form of contract, whatsoever.[65] As the nuptial

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[61] Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, p. 142.
[62] Davis, *The Gift*, p. 42; Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, "Preface," in *Negotiating the Gift*, p. 7; J. van Baal, "Offering, Sacrifice and Gift," *Numen* 23, 3 (December 1976): 161-178, p. 169; Miller, "Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities," p. 99; Bestor, "Marriage Transactions in Renaissance Italy," p. 37.
[63] Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, p. 140.
[64] Bestor, "Marriage transactions in Renaissance Italy," p. 39.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 23.

gifts are redefined as neither unless explicitly stated as so with an oath,[66] the practice of re-appropriating the nuptial gifts by the husband after the marriage, attained legal justification, whereas the social efficacy of the exchange is maintained through the display taking place in the actual ceremony. Thus Bestor's case is indicative of the intricate links between kinship, property, gift-exchange and law. The communicative aspect of the gifts meets the contested field of social cohesion.

In accounting for the cycle of the gift and counter-gift, Bourdieu identifies a "sense of honour" as what stimulates the gift exchange, which cannot be codified ultimately in rules but draws on the mastery of the custom and the knowledge of the particular standing of the parties. The practical sense of honour is acquired through trial-and-error following observation, inculcated in gestures and posture, accounted and recounted, demanded and reinforced by the group.[67] In his opinion, "[t]he interval between gift and counter-gift is what allows a relation of exchange that is always liable to appear as irreversible, that is, both forced and self-interested, to be seen as reversible."[68] In this formulation, gift-exchange is a male preserve who can contend for power, and appear to act free from the custom, while ultimately their standing follows from it. As such, the gift-exchange signals the containment of identities and reproduction of the hierarchy by allowing or denying recognition to the challengers. The degree of delay becomes constitutive of the specific meaning of the exchange, promises given, concluded or renewed.[69] Aafke Komter, however, argues what constrains the return gift is the feeling of gratitude, in turn creating social

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[66] *Ibid*., p. 30.
[67] Bourdieu, "The Work of Time," p. 103.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 105.
[69] Elvira Vilches follows how the inability of Christopher Colombus to materialize his promises is seconded with periodic tokens of gifts of insignificant material but of great symbolic value, including narratives of the wonders of the New World, to gain time to keep up with his promises. Vilches, "Colombus's Gift," esp. pp. 206, 212-213.

cohesion.[70] Beate Wagner-Hasel dismisses such a role for the gifts. She maintains that "[n]ot gifts, but the controlling gaze of those who requited one another for services and gifts functions as the mediator of social cohesion."[71]

The exchange of prestige items extended in the mode of gift among the elite as a token of their real and/or acclaimed status (or privilege) is a measure of the redistribution of the power, and backbone of the maintenance of social hierarchy. Hence, assuming a political function, what is at stake is what is deemed valuable, both persons and things. It is not solely the struggle to appropriate what is valuable but "to establish what value *is*."[72] Bourdieu supposes that rituals and symbolic representations institute a practical relation between natural and social worlds, and the contest for power is enacted through "officialization strategies."[73]

> [T]he agents competing for political power can only implement ritual strategies and strategic rituals, aimed at the symbolic universalization of private interests or the symbolic appropriation of official interests.[74]

Inasmuch as gift-giving is a practical performance, its political function is played both at the level of action and intention. It constitutes and reproduces the status boundaries as they stood in here and now, while simultaneously incorporating possible future infringements, circumscribed by the symbolics of exchange.

> [T]he distinction between my "action" and "reflection" is really only one between actions to be carried out in the future and ones already carried out in the past...By engaging in persuasive display, then, all one is really doing is calling on others to imitate actions that are implicitly being said to have already been carried out in the past.[75]

In Appadurai's terms, "*politics* (in the broad sense of relations, assumptions, and contests pertaining to power) is what links value and exchange in the social life of

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[70] Komter, "Gratitude and Gift-Exchange," p. 210.
[71] Wagner-Hasel, "Egoistic Exchange and Altruistic Gift," p. 170.
[72] Graeber continues, "Similarly, the ultimate freedom is not the freedom to create or accumulate value, but the freedom to decide (collectively or individually) what it is that makes life worth living. In the end, then, politics is about the meaning of life." *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, p. 88. (italics in original)
[73] Bourdieu, "The Work of Time," pp. 108-110.
[74] *Ibid*., p. 110.
[75] Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, p. 99.

commodities."[76] He comments that the sumptuary laws, and the regulations over the production, circulation and consumption of goods is such a political struggle where contenders attempted to widen the pool of commodities and the elite tried to accommodate such attempts. The social and symbolic senses of politics are mobilized simultaneously in gift-giving.

The Politics of the Ottoman Empire

A cursory look at the trans-historical sketch of the differentiation and cycles of exchange underwrites the fact that not only the values associated with but also modes of giving are to be read against the grain. In a parallel reading of Greek *euergetism* and the Ottoman waqf, inasmuch as they are regarded as legal structures through which urban notables legitimated their prominence over city affairs through construction projects or the finance of festivals undertaken for the enjoyment and use of the urban residents, Işın and Lefebvre coin the term "gift of law", "produc[ing] the subject who can make promises and thus establishes a field of obligation."[77] Since waqf has manifold uses as "one kind of property holding, one type of capital investment, one form of patronage, one form of beneficence,"[78] they originate multiple contexts for actors to act at a certain capacity, and notably a great many welfare functions are undertaken by these institutions, such as education, care (health) services, distribution of basic nutrition, etc.

> More significantly, however, waqfs as gift-giving practices also produced substantive legal subjectivities, not only donor, donee, and beneficiaries but also supervisors, trustees, managers, and workers as well as travelers, strangers, and outsiders who collectively governed themselves as subjects through waqfs.[79]

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[76] Appadurai, "Introduction," p. 57. (italics in original)
[77] Isin and Lefebvre, "The Gift of Law," p. 7.
[78] Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), p. 12.
[79] Isin and Lefebvre, "The Gift of Law," p. 18.

Such subjectivities are configured in an institutional beneficence structure making the Ottoman empire, in Singer's phrasing, "not a welfare state but a welfare society."[80] Nonetheless, Metin Kunt sees in the use of the waqf institution a measure of "implementing public policy,"[81] as his example of the Köprülü endowments stands as an establishment by one of the forerunners of the influential households that would dominate the Ottoman politics.

The Ottoman empire, a complex agrarian-bureaucratic empire, mainly dwells on the revenues extracted from agricultural produce where the land is considered to be the patrimony of the sultan, and by association, of those in the service of him. The sense of privilege is reinforced with the sense of entitlement through the legitimation of the order.[82] In a cogent formulation, Leslie Peirce presents the administrative fold of the empire as such:

> One of the means by which [the dynasty] contained the administrative hold of the military elite over society was to make judges, members of the *ulema*, a second arm of the central administration by endowing them with the power to apply both religious and customary law, that is, with the responsibility of enforcing both the Sharia and imperial commands. The policy of binding the most powerful of slave statesmen to the dynasty through marriage was another means of control, aimed primarily at curbing the potential centrifugal power of the slave elite. This policy not only prevented this elite of the elite from allying itself with other interests in the society but also diverted its primary loyalty from its own group, the slave institution, to the dynasty.[83]

The consolidation of power by the Ottoman dynasty follows a gradual phasing out of the Turkic elements with palace-trained slave corps of the Ottoman household,[84] and

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[80] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 13.
[81] İ. Metin Kunt, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy: Notes on the Köprülü Family Endowments," in, Colin Heywood, and Colin Imber, eds. *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (Istanbul: ISIS, 1994): 189-198, p. 190. The social complexes instituted and supported by waqfs are taken to be an essential element in urban regeneration. For a discussion of this early Ottoman employment, see, Saïd Amir Arjomand, "Coffeehouses, Guilds and Oriental Despotism: Government and Civil Society in Late 17th to Early 18th Century Istanbul and Isfahan, and as seen from Paris and London," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 45, 1 (2004): 23-42, p. 36.
[82] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p. 19; Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), p. 56.
[83] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 71.
[84] Interestingly, Leslie Peirce notes the simultaneity of the growth of the imperial harem with the male counterparts of the elite slave corps' assuming a political role in addition to military function. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

increasingly taking measures of social stability in addition to war-making, where a "civilian oligarchy composed of neither the sipahi order nor the standing army"[85] comes to rule by the mid-seventeenth century. Even though the final authority and responsibility resided with the sultan, the delegation of effective power to officials was the rule. The growing intensification of struggle for the higher echelons led to novel solutions like the shortening spans of appointments,[86] institution of honorary ranks in ulema hierarchy,[87] systemic delay of payments, or employment of military force as an element of negotiation, especially by the army commanders on campaign,[88] and the corresponding strategy of co-optation by the authorities.[89] Even at times crucial decisions being taken by the agents lower down the hierarchy, or modification of the decisions taken while conveyed through the hierarchy and implemented in quite a modified form, did not appear as compromising the sultan's authority.[90] Indeed, as the sultan were in a position to rely more and more on various agents beyond his immediate control, the competition among factions acted as a check in court politics through the mechanism of political favoritism and

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[85] Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 41.

[86] For the time management, rotation, and the demarcation of social networks through scheduling, see, Karen Barkey, "In Different Times: Scheduling and Social Control in the Ottoman Empire, 1550 to 1650," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 3 (1996): 460-483. On the careers in foreign affairs bureaucracy in the later eighteenth century, Christoph Neumann attends to the difficulty of establishing the duration of political clientèle since the alliances are for career-enhancement rather than in pursuit of a political programme, see, Christoph K. Neumann, "Decision Making without Decision Makers: Ottoman Foreign Policy circa 1780," in Caesar E. Farah, ed., *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire* (Kirksville, Missouri: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1993): 29-38, p. 32.

[87] For the increased competition in ulema careers and the consolidation of great scholar families occupying the top-levels of ulema hierarchy, see, Madeline C. Zilfi, "Elite Circulation in the Ottoman Empire: Great Mollas of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26, 3 (1983): 318-364.

[88] For the "mutiny" as an instrument of political negotiation addressing the grievances of meager allocations and delayed payments, as well as being a calculated risk for career formation for the commanders, see, Palmira Brummett, "Classifying Ottoman Mutiny: The Act and Vision of Rebellion," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, 1 (Spring 1998): 91-107.

[89] Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), chap. 6.

[90] Neumann, "Decision Making without Decision Makers," p. 30; Linda T. Darling, "The Finance Scribes and Ottoman Politics," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*: 89-100, pp. 96-97.

clientelism.[91] Concurrently, the cadres of the top-ranking bureaucracy began to be stuffed with clients who were trained in and employed by pasha households growing in size and political stature, observing "the institutionalization of a grandee-directed bureaucracy."[92]

Abou-El-Haj views the prevalence of the "mirrors for princes" literature at this juncture as playing on "the difference between the *timar*-based feudal economy and commercial capitalism."[93] In his formulation, the *nasihatname* works are tracts with a political agenda, portraying intra-elite struggle as representing the summation of different class (faction) interests.[94] The appellations to religious or customary law is detected by him as the justification for royal absolutism or corporate rule.[95] If tracts were one aspect of the political activity, another aspect was the petitioning, which required mustering sufficient resource to submit a petition to the capital, the access and communication with the authorities being "in itself a political feat."[96] Commenting on the question of whether what is contained in the records of the complaint registers is initiated by a private person or a collective, Suraiya Faroqhi states that:

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[91] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 112.

[92] Tülay Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princess in the Eighteenth Century," *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53-94, p. 56. In a classic article, Abou-El-Haj had suggested that "[i]t is quite probable that the vezir and paşa *kapilar* came to serve, in the second half of the seventeenth century, as the second and actual model for the growing number of ambitious notables (*ayan*) and *derebey*s (provincial military) of the eighteenth century. It was after all from the *kapilar* that a growing number of assignments was made to head the provincial governments." *Eadem*, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, 4 (October-December 1974): 438-447, p. 446 n. 37.

[93] Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, "Power and Social Order: The Uses of the *Kanun*," in, Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, eds., *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991): 77-99, p. 88.

[94] Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 25. Also see, Virginia H. Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, 1 (February 1993): 53-69.

[95] Abou-El-Haj, "Power and Social Order," pp. 77, 88-90.

[96] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation (1570-1650)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 1-39; p. 2.

> [M]any cases formally initiated by the kadis had originally been brought to a local administrator's attention by a collective petition of one sort or another. In these collective petitions we can assume that the role of provincial notables was always significant: not necessarily the formally *ayan* of the eighteenth century, but *ulema*, dervishes, low-level administrators, and at least under certain conditions, merchants and tradesmen.[97]

The issuing of the "rescripts of justice" or customary law prefigure, in a sense, as the rules of administrative conduct, akin to cultural templates as "modeling devices," addressing and condemning the state functionaries themselves, as well as constituting a discourse of legitimate complaint, the time of issuing being a significant so as to define it as a political intervention.[98]

Insofar as "justice" came out to be the quintessential concept in the figure of "the circle of equity" as it signifies the social order, which was employed to formulate status differences, counterbalance the functions of the social strata, and maintain stability in the face of the possibility of acute social mobility, codified in terms of a divinely sanctioned "world order," observance of which was first and foremost personal responsibility of the sultan himself,[99] the threat of leaving one's place became both a political action and a misdemeanor,[100] an act in defiance of moral-political order.[101] In tracing the different senses of the order through a conceptual history of *nizam-ı 'âlem*, Gottfried Hagen notes the shifting of emphasis from the injustice committed by state functionaries to social unrest around mid-

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[97] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Some Evidence for Their Existence," in *eadem*, *Coping with the State: Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: ISIS, 1995): 1-11, p. 10.

[98] Gottfried Hagen, "Legitimacy and World Order," in *Legitimizing the Order*: 55-83, p. 81; Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers," p. 13, 11; Abou-El-Haj, "Power and Social Order," p. 83.

[99] Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate," p. 38.

[100] "Given the *de facto* mobility of the *reaya*, the Ottoman administration may well have considered that the Sultan's legitimacy was best maintained if the challenge to his authority was ignored, and flight of the *reaya* was regarded as an indicator of distress and not as defiance." Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers," p. 28.

[101] Baki Tezcan demonstrates how the unity with God associated with the unity within one's soul and respective personal, familial and state levels is endorsed via the trope of justice, through a reading of Kınalızâde's *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*, one of the sophisticated formulations of the "circle of equity." *Eadem*, "Ethics as a Domain to Discuss the Political: Kınalızâde's *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*," in, Ali Çaksu, ed., *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2001): 109-120, esp. p. 113, 117. For the precedents of Kınalızâde's text, see Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Ahlâk-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," *Dîvân* 12 (2002): 185-233, p. 209, *passim*.

seventeenth century, the dampening of the force of moral argument in formulating legitimacy following in the next half a century.[102] Eventually a new set of concepts, "*devlet*, *memleket*, *taife* rather than *din-ü-devlet*, *shari'a*, *kanun*," came into use in the political discourse by the end of the eighteenth century.[103]

Notes in Prospect: The Gifts and the Political Agency

The reimbursement of services in the form of granting fiefs initiates yet another cycle, be it reward for past services or securing of future services by lord's disinterested giving, approximating buying out or outright bribing.[104] Hence, whether the redistribution of land would follow immediately after the conquest by army commanders, or the fiefs should be centrally assigned is a matter of contestation.[105] On the medieval economy, Patrick Geary asserts that "[r]itual exchanges of goods and services formed the normal means of distributing wealth acquired either through plunder or from agriculture."[106] If this feature of feudal economies, with accompanying reciprocal ties and obligations, tends to dissolve in the long run, such co-existence of feudal economies and commercial capitalism witnesses both the emergence of freeholds and a flourishing gift economy securing the former through setting into motion clientèle networks.[107] In accounting for the increasing monetization of the economy, Mehmet Genç notes the genesis of a new and powerful

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[102] Hagen, "Legitimacy and World Order," p. 80.
[103] Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing," p. 59.
[104] Stephen D. White, "Service for Fiefs or Fiefs for Service: The Politics of Reciprocity," in *Negotiating the Gift*: 63-98, p. 65, 86.
[105] Pál Fodor, "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier: Changes in the Ottoman Ruling Elite and the Formation of the Grand Vizieral *Telhīṣ*," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47, 1-2 (1994): 67-85, p. 78.
[106] Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in *The Social Life of Things*: 169-191, p. 173.
[107] Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p. 69.

social stratum with consequences following for the social and political order.[108] Gifts might reinforce social cohesion, or strictly speaking, social networks, yet, destabilize the balance of power as well, and the means of legitimation.

Tülay Artan traces an interesting episode of passage from charity to luxury, on the part of the female members of the Ottoman dynasty, when their crucial role in connecting the vezirial contenders through marriage with the dynasty emerges as an eminent policy.[109] Peirce suggests that the visible public role of the *valide sultan* through the patronage of charitable works and construction projects is diminished with the seniority principle of succession, where the princes were no more sent out to form their own households as apprentice-rulers, despite the continuing political significance of the *valide*s in court politics.[110] However, in Artan's portrayal, princesses reemerge as libertine public figures visible through their lifestyle and taste over an urban landscape of flourishing seaside residences.[111] Abstinence and providing for the poor is heightened to the level of political virtue beyond the specific acts of charity, inasmuch as luxury and consumption as self-enjoyment becomes subversive when exceeds the received frame of the public festivities and acts of conviviality that preserve the public gesture of self-effacement and beneficence. If the image of receiving sultan replaces that of the warrior-sultan,[112]

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[108] Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," in *eadem*, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000): 43-52, p. 51.

[109] Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p. 62. Peirce observes that "[o]ne of the goals in the dynasty's *damad* marriage policy may well have been to undermine the ability of the elite to build its own marriage networks." Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 70

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[111] Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p. 68. More importantly, however, Artan details the sources and forms of income of the princess households where the management of these resources required active participation and vigilance on the part of princesses themselves. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[112] In case the representations of the official histories of the court suffices, depicting the sultan as receiving gifts, messages, envoys. Christine Woodhead, "Murad III and the Historians: Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late 16th-Century Historiography," in *Legitimizing the Order*: 85-98, p. 91. This portrayal is in accord with the paintings of the court of Ahmed III by Vanmour.

the image of charitable women is supplanted with the self-managing princesses of their own households.

Nonetheless, these diverse lines of inquiry needs to be reconfigured with a case study of gift registers that might help our understanding for the economy and sociology of gift-giving in the supposed time and society.

CHAPTER 3: GROUNDWORK FOR AN ECONOMY OF GIFT-GIVING

Political Economy of Wealth

In legal terms, a transaction takes place with the transfer of rights over the use of an object, which can be defined in a relationship of ownership, between the parties (legal persons) involved; the exchange of objects being customary, the exchange of words is a must. Through endowments and gifts, the wealth accumulated, economic and symbolic, is redistributed, respectively, among the beneficiaries and the elite. An emergent gift economy can be identified juxtaposed with the advent of commercial capitalism, on a par with the transformation of the Ottoman system of land use, revenue-extraction and the corresponding administrative-military order with a preference of "privatization"[113] in office-holding over fief grants, which is a transference from a gift mode to a sales mode itself. As the payments due to one's office (services) are layered, in the form of coins, food, clothes, entitlements to tax collection, benefits from a waqf, or the wardenship of a guild,[114] so there is evinced a diversity of the means of exchange, coins, bills of exchange,[115] and textiles.[116] In this

[113] Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: 'Privatization' and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Politics and Society* 21, 4 (December 1993): 393-423, p. 410.
[114] Mehmet Genç identifies a tendency, ascendant in 17th century and prevalent in the 18th, especially in Istanbul, of the managerial staff of guilds becoming state officials. The state reverted to designating the customary contributions due to the guild wardens as a compensation for the salaries that should be paid by the treasury to state officials, hence guild wardenship turning into a revenue source. "Osmanlı Esnafı ve Devlet," in *eadem*, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*: 293-307, p. 300.
[115] Despite an initial attempt by the Ottoman authorities, discarded soon after, to curb the circulation of the bills of exchange drawn by French merchants, these bills, which were initially intended as a secure way of transferring the merchant capital to France, gained wider currency throughout the 18th century in international trade. See, Edhem Eldem, "The Trade of Precious Metals and Bills of Exchange in Istanbul in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *V. Milletlerarası Türkiye Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Kongresi: Tebliğler* (Ankara: TTK, 1990): 579-589. Also there is the sale and exchange of the *ulufe* papers in domestic circulation as an entitlement to regular payment from the treasury unattached to a specific office or doing state service. Ahmet Tabakoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal Güvenlik Sistemi," in *eadem*, *Toplu Makaleler I: İktisat Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2005): 319-329, p.

constellation, the waqfs and ubiquitous gifts, distributing benefits or allocating payments in kind, serve as a counterpoint to the monetarization of the overall economic activity, not inimical to but mutually supportive of each other.

In the Ottoman ideology, "the material security" of the subjects was an issue, since they "were considered entrusted personally to the sultan by God (*cenab-ı Allahın vediası*)" that should be attended personally by the sultan through dispensation of "justice."[117] In order to stifle the elements of social disturbance and insurrection, taking preemptive measures against scarcity at all costs, and spreading an image of abundance and wealth became both a matter of policy and the logic of managing economic affairs.[118] Since the subjects were rhetorically encouraged to stand against the "injustices" caused by the inadequate actions of the state functionaries, they are supposed to have a right to material security relative to their standing in the overall social system, by virtue of their subjection to god. The required social stability is achieved through close regulation of economic activity and the redistribution of the surplus accrued, which were justified in turn by the political conception of a "just, eternal world order". Looking for the Islamic precedents of

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323 n. 13. The trade in certificates of entitlement to waqf beneficence is also notable to this effect. See, Oded Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy: The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 167-186, p. 177.

[116] Especially the textiles of a luxury sort, not limited to the ceremonial robes granted by the officials, were regarded as "the currency of the Ottoman honours system." Michael Rogers, "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation," in Hans Georg Majer, ed., *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte: In Memoriam Vančo Boškov* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986): 135-155, p. 139.

[117] Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate," pp. 37-38. Also, Tabakoğlu, "Türkiye'de Sosyal Güvenlik Tarihine Bir Yaklaşım Denemesi," in *İktisat Tarihi*: 330-340, p. 334.

[118] The encouragement of imports, while regulating agricultural and artisanal production, circulation of goods and labor, and prices that effectively restricts the volume of exportable items, were instances of an economic principle identified by Genç as "provisionism." *Eadem*, "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," pp. 46-47. Indeed, Erol Özvar suggests that these checks and regulations turned commercial activities into "a sort of public service" and impeded speculative fluctuations that might create instant fortunes. *Eadem*, "Servet ve Güvenlik Arasında Osmanlı Sultanı," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13-14 (Eylül 2003): 47-60, p. 58.

such redistribution, Michael Bonner's note on the early Islamic economy strikes a note.

> [T]he concept of *fay'* (another word for return), which came to refer technically to the wealth accruing from the lands they have conquered and from the labor of the conquered, non-Muslim "protected people" (*ahl al-dhimma*), in a never-ending cycle or return...The poor recipient of alms becomes rich so that he may then reimpoverish himself by giving, in a never-ending eleemosynary chain. However, he is not, again ideally, a producer of the goods that circulate. These enter the system from outside – as this is, after all, a conquest polity and economy. What the Muslim eats has ideally been produced by others; and gain is perceived as separate from the activities of production and exchange.[119]

Apparently, such elements, like the booty acquired as a token of god-sanctioned *gaza* and the existence of a significant volume of non-Muslim subject populations, are also present in the Ottoman expansion that even without the diffusion of early Islamic conception of wealth this formulation might have been one of the possible conceptualizations of the parallel experience that the Ottomans would actually come up with. The undergoing change in early Islam from an aristocratic egalitarianism to maintenance of social welfare and social stability is also detected *vis-à-vis* the redistribution of wealth in the form of zakat and maintenance laws.[120] While consolidating the political authority as a trade off between security and wealth, the bid for security on the part of the Ottoman sultanate through extensive means of redistribution is circumscribed since there were relatively successful measures against both the capital accumulation at the hands of state dignitaries, and the conversion of the liquid assets of the *sarraf*s into property or investment that might destabilize the intended balance in the economic sphere. The contenders for power remained unable to cash their economic assets into symbolic capital that might legitimize the further expansion of the economic productivity or *de jure* recognition

[119] Michael Bonner, "Poverty and charity in the rise of Islam," in *eadem*, Mine Ener, and Amy Singer, eds., *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003): 13-30, pp. 14-15.
[120] "...there is later indication in [later jurists'] texts that one of the main purposes of zakat is to lessen the gap between rich and poor in a local community. Rather, zakat exists to alleviate individual needs – needs that are calculated according to the rank and status of individuals." Ingrid Mattson, "Status-based definitions of need in early Islamic zakat and and maintenance laws," in *ibid.*: 31-51, p. 42.

of their political rule.[121] Therefore, the wealth accruing to the power elite were not utilized as a means for furthering income but as a resource pooled for expenditures invested in political influence or beneficence.[122] Özvar contends that the sovereign did not share the wealth with the contenders but "the state,"[123] which stands as a resilient trope for political legitimization and the vision of Ottoman rule.

Preliminaries to Ottoman Consumerism

If "the modernity" as a highly synthetic category prevails over a narrative with a dominant theme of "the industrial revolution" in identifying an epoch in the contemporary scholarly parlance, it is so thanks to the historical works presenting a series of prior social transformations, like urban, agrarian, military, and consumer revolutions. Focusing on the household as "a unit of coresidence and reproduction, of production and labor power, of consumption and distribution among its members, and of transmission across generations," Jan de Vries coins the term "the industrious revolution," chiefly comprising "the reduction of leisure time as the marginal utility of money income rose, and the reallocation of labor from goods and services for direct consumption to marketed goods."[124] The evident primacy of the household in stimulating the consumer revolution is traced, in Maxine Berg's portrayal, back to a "revolution of sociability,"[125] where the home industry inspired by oriental luxury imports freely experimented with source material and styles, while simultaneously erecting cultural barriers against the importation of oriental production technology, in

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[121] Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households 1683-1703," p. 446.
[122] Özvar, "Servet ve Güvenlik Arasında Osmanlı Sultanı," p. 59.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[124] Jan de Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution," *The Journal of Economic History* 54, 2 (June 1994): 249-270, pp. 256-257.
[125] Maxine Berg, "In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 182 (February 2004): 85-142, p. 98.

order to produce in bulk for the middle classes.[126] The democratization of consumption coincided with British imperialism, as the colonies provided new "indigenous" resources and were provided with the new consumer goods for the "English living in provinces."[127] If the households of the Ottoman grandees took more of a bit of attention in the Ottoman case with the agenda of defining the power elite, with respect to the pertinent political role of these households, the primacy of them as a social unit remains steady.[128] In a case study of an account book identified to the governor of Diyarbekir, dated 1670-71, Metin Kunt observes the increasing autonomy of the governor in the measures of tax collection and the appointments in the province under his jurisdiction, as well as his sizable retinue, steady or recruited temporarily.[129] Faroqhi underlines the functional aspect of the luxury consumption of the male members of the household as a bid for status, since the publicly visible males demonstrated the prowess and tastes of the household in claiming certain goods, or through donning a particular attire, thus closely scrutinized.[130]

Tobacco and coffee were highlighted as addressing a sea change in Ottoman consumerism, Quataert conjectures that they "may well have served as instruments in the creation of a common Ottoman cultural system, as well as markers of social differentiation, as various social groups purchased different grades of the drugs."[131] Baram argues that this sea change "marks the political and social unification of the eastern Mediterranean under Istanbul and the start of the modern age in the Middle

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[126] *Ibid.*, p. 115, 124.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 141, 133.
[128] Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households 1683-1703," p. 439.
[129] Metin Kunt, *Bir Osmanlı Valisinin Yıllık Gelir-Gideri Diyarbekir, 1670-71* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1981), pp. 53-58.
[130] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Exploring the Ottoman Case," in *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*: 37-62, p. 43.
[131] Donald Quataert, "Introduction," in *Consumption Studies*: 1-13, p. 5.

East."[132] His study of the clay tobacco pipes shows a sector flourishing in its production of diverse shapes, colors and designs in the 18th century replacing the restricted range of output in the preceding century that was eventually left to standardization in the 19th.[133] By accommodating new forms of sociability and becoming hotbeds of political dissent and opposition,[134] coffeehouses were of prime political significance for urban and imperial politics, especially in the imperial capital, and hints a public sphere that reflects the continual calls to action against innovations that couldn't be legitimized and conflicting interests unresolved. Baram concedes that "around the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, these commodities embodied the new, the modern, the rebellion against the social order" that become outmoded as they were replaced by "tea, cigarettes and nationalism" under the shadow of the economic and colonial dominance of the Western Powers in the Middle East.[135]

Indeed, the profusion of consumer goods and the increasing chances of wider or different sections of the society to acquire and possess items deemed valuable was a sign of the improvement of the material means of the peoples if not a direct outcome of social mobility on the part of certain sections.[136] Hence, at the symbolic level the elite reaction was to underplay the significance of objects as valuables in themselves, but the appropriate posture, manners and taste to be cultivated that

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[132] Uzi Baram, "Clay Tobacco Pipes and Coffee Cup Sherds in the Archaeology of the Middle East: Artifacts of Social Tensions from the Ottoman Past," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, 3 (1999): 137-151, p. 141.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[134] Arjomand, "Coffeehouses, Guilds and Oriental Despotism," p. 31.
[135] Baram, "Clay Tobacco Pipes and Coffee Cup Sherds," p. 148.
[136] On Koçi Bey's denunciation of the costly apparel of the office-holder not matching his capability in office, see, Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, pp. 107-108. On the increased likelihood of attaining a fine robe for the middle strata, see Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman clothes," in *eadem*, and Christoph Neumann, eds., *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren, 2004): 15-48, p. 28. For a comment that an extra pair of clothes instead of adding a second room to the house is preferred, based on a study of 17th century Manisa probate inventories, see, Joyce Hedda Matthews, "Toward an *isolario* of the Ottoman inheritance inventory, with special reference to Manisa (ca. 1600-1700)," in *Consumption Studies*: 45-82, p. 67.

deserves the merit and and was the "real" indicator of the status that distinguished the deserving and undeserving rich.[137] The complementary measures taken by the authorities was issuing sumptuary laws in an increased frequency.

> Food, housing, and transport were often subject to curbs and cautions, but clothing stuffs, on every one's back, were much more often on everyone's mind. Clothing was socially ambient as housing was not; it was public, or at least readily visible, as meals were not, and it was universal, as transport in a pedestrian world was not.[138]

Zilfi characterizes the official indictment as "a convenient and relatively low-cost response" to the blurring of the status boundaries, the demeaning status of the Muslim subjects relative to the upward mobility of the non-Muslims,[139] who became increasingly operational as agents in domestic financial sector and in foreign trade earning privileges under the aegis of the consulates that effectively combined diplomatic and commercial functions.[140] The initial attempts to curb the non-Muslim immoderation, whose conduct is condemned popularly including the women and the children of the poorer Muslims,[141] gave way to the intensification of scrutiny over the conduct and apparel of the Muslim women. While the non-Muslims were gradually slipped out of the authorities' grasp for economic, diplomatic and eventually political reasons, the military failures and economic distress was channeled into political action using the idiom of the conduct of the women to gather force under the banner of the guilds under pressure, and the religious establishment and Janissaries noted for corruption.[142]

Despite the Tabakoğlu's opinion that the consumer rent was channeled not into luxury consumption but to the social welfare and social security through

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[137] On the devaluation of the symbolism of animal skins associated with sultanic power, see, Hülya Tezcan, "Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultans," in *Ottoman Costumes*: 63-79, p. 79. On the refinement of taste, see, Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, 3 (August 1997): 403-425, p. 405.
[138] Madeline C. Zilfi, "Whose laws? Gendering the Ottoman sumptuary regime," in *Ottoman Costumes*: 125-141, p. 125.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[140] Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society," p. 408.
[141] Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman clothes," p. 41.
[142] Zilfi, "Whose laws?," p. 138.

charitable endowments, Salzmann takes up the consumption of luxury flowers as an indicator of personal bid for status and social conflict.

> As metonyms for a mass consumer revolution, flowers served as natural representatives as well as sublimated forms of advertising, which refracted a commercialized intertextuality of design found in gardens, and on ceramics and textiles. No longer the privileged possession of a select social group, mass consumption of imported manufactures like luxury flowers challenged the established order of persons and goods, and their regulation by society and the state.[143]

Gradually, the market became a viable option for various actors over the means of redistribution in wealth and symbolic tokens supporting social stability and incorporation into the elite.

The Redistribution of Wealth Through Waqf

Waqf, as a legal construct, is the designation of private property as endowment, irrevocable once set up, the income due which is vested in financing various public services, small-scale credit arrangements or the maintenance of various social groups. By diverting property from sale or inheritance laws, economic enclaves were created, in a sense, resources were treasured while the accruing benefits were redistributed. Since the permanence of the endowment is intended, ideally the preferred economic resources to be endowed were real estate or land. At a symbolic level, however, waqfs had arisen in the urban landscape as heirlooms, occasionally welding different heritages.[144] Amy Singer's study of the imperial soup kitchen of

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[143] Tabakoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal Güvenlik Sistemi," p. 321; Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of the Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)," in *Consumption Studies*: 83-106, p. 88. However, it can also be argued that the enjoyment of flowers, just like that of fresh fruits, was initially "a sign of urban prestige" rather than social mobility on the part of a certain social stratum, hence challenge to the order. See, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Supplying Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Istanbul with Fresh Produce," Paper presented at XIII. Economic History Congress. Buenos Aires, 22-26 July 2002. http://www.eh.net/XIIICongress/cd/papers/6Faroqhi374.pdf, p. 8.

[144] "In many societies, there is a complex game of strategies going on in which others are constantly trying to get hold of the heirlooms that ultimately guarantee another's historical identity and thus the authentication of their claims to status and authority." Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, pp. 34-35.

Hurrem, the head consort (later wife) of Süleyman I, documents such an instance where the same urban site that had lodged previous charities of the Byzantine and the Mamluk princesses, was marked by beneficence as part and parcel of communal memory. Singer comments "Ṭunshūq's house may have been a conscious choice on Hurrem's part, in which she built on the *baraka* (blessing, beneficent force) of the previous owner in organizing her own charitable institution."[145] Thus, both revenue sources and sites of memory were treasured and endowed in the legal form of waqf.

Against the established opinion of regarding the endowed property as frozen assets, Singer argues that legal dictum and the principle of the community benefit leaves substantial leeway for the managers to realize the precepts established in the waqf deed, hence the constituents and the status of the endowed property might be changed in line with those precepts.[146] There are multiple motives to endow property, e.g. being in good graces, the religious sanction of providing support for one's community beginning from the family to relatives, associates, etc. Singer notes:

> The motivation as stated in the endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) was usually limited to *qurba*, although sometimes a desire to contribute to the well-being (*maslaha*) of Muslims was also attributed to the founder. In contrast, unstated reasons for founding waqfs included the protection of assets from confiscation, personal glorification, avoidance of inheritance laws, promotion of urban development, and the search for political legitimacy or social status. Along with their intended benefits, endowments could also result in the enrichment of family members or prominent religious figures, the alienation of state lands, the deterioration of endowed properties, the corruption of employees and the diminished motivation of beneficiaries to seek real work.[147]

In terms of the status of property, the endowment of a plot of land in an irrevocable legal form, in effect, meant the alienation of imperial domains that could be granted to military/administrative officials, or contracted out as tax-farms yielding revenue for the central treasury. Tabakoğlu makes a projection of 12% for waqfs in the total public income at the beginning of the 16th century increasing to 20% and 25%, in the

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[145] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 67.
[146] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[147] Amy Singer, "Charity's legacies: a reconsideration of Ottoman imperial endowment-making," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*: 295-313, pp. 298-299.

17th and 18th centuries respectively.[148] Yet, with respect to the greater waqfs endowed by the imperial elite, it was administratively and fiscally alienated too. Aside from the list of revenues stated in the documentation establishing the property as private in the first phase, it could not be surveyed nor interfered with its administration by the state functionaries, even the legal injunctions were exercised with the prior knowledge of the trustee of the waqf.[149] Concerning the tax exemption of the peasants working on the lands or the direct intervention of the waqf trustee in fiscal and administrative matters, Singer witnesses a direct link of communication between the center and the periphery with respect to the waqfs of the imperial elite, a feature unavailable to the endowments of the local elites.[150] Singer summarily states:

> Collectively, waqfs constituted one of the fundamental organizational idioms for society as a whole, comparable in their importance and effect to the dynasty and military corps. They were numerous and widespread enough to shape fundamentally economic activity, property ownership, urban-rural relations, and the physical shape of cities. Ritual and education were sustained and defined almost entirely through their agency. All of this, moreover, was packaged in the language of beneficence, from the most personal and selfish of projects to the most public and grand.[151]

The waqf establishment both created employment or business, and distributed benefits to the designated recipients. In circumvention of the inheritance law, waqf formula enabled differential treatment of the kin entitled to inheritance or a post or benefit for the slaves.[152] While the rate of the trusteeship assignment to the members of the religious establishment might be overstated,[153] Baer maintains that waqfs supported social units and cohesion, whether based on kinship or association, or the

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[148] Tabakoğlu, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Vakıf Sistemi," in *İktisat Tarihi*: 373-383, p. 378.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 375. For the status of the trustees *vis-à-vis* local state functionaries and their relations, Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 125. For the situation of the same waqf in the 18th century and the manifold authorities, Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy," p. 176.
[150] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 49, 164.
[151] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[152] Gabriel Baer, "The Waqf as a Prop for the Social System (Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries)," *Islamic Law and Society* 4, 3 (1997): 264-297; pp. 271-272, 275. For the case of the intergenerational transfer in the form of gifts or waqf in the South India, see, Lucy Carroll, "Life Interests and Inter-Generational Transfer of Property Avoiding the Law of Succession," *Islamic Law and Society* 8, 2 (2001): 245-286, for the implications of the transfer over the status of property diverting the corpus for one use and the usufruct for another, p. 265 *et passim*.
[153] Miriam Hoexter, "Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, 4 (1998): 474-495, p. 479.

religious establishment as constituting and consolidating well-defined, discreet social groups, or notables, though more loosely defined nonetheless remarkable for their economic and political prominence.[154] As such they formed both a web of mutual dependencies as well as litigations.[155] While assuming various social welfare functions like medicine, education, material relief for the poor, lodging for wayfarers, supporting military rank and file, or redeeming taxes for the community,[156] they maintained a differential treatment due to one's station in life. The services of the imperial soup kitchen in Jerusalem supports this statement.

> Depending on class and location, more varieties of meat, bread, vegetables, fruits, and delicacies were available, and the size of portions or amount laid out on the table changed. Another factor distinguishing between the fare of the poor, the working people, the notability, and the imperial hierarchy were the vessels used to serve food. These varied from the simple bowls of the 'imaret to the delicate and decorated dishes of the Ottoman elites. Two further factors refined the demarcation of class or group boundaries among the 'imaret clients: the quality of the food served and the order in which people ate.[157]

Although the political implications of the waqf apparatus is tangible insofar as to attest a public policy function for these establishments, the treatment of the poor rather supports a view of providing welfare in order to ward off social tension rather than a commitment to a vision of egalitarianism.[158] Hence socially marginalized is usually ignored, if not dismissed.[159] Eyal Ginio goes on to document the abuse of the

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[154] Baer, "The Waqf as a Prop," pp. 288-289.

[155] For example, the lawsuits at the local courts of Nablus and Tripoli points to a slightly more than half rate for the issues concerning waqf or immovable property in the early 18th century. Beshara Doumani, "Adjudicating Family: The Islamic Court and Disputes between Kin in Greater Syria, 1700-1860," in *eadem*, ed., *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property, and Gender* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003): 173-200, p. 178.

[156] For hospitals, Miri Shefer, "Charity and hospitality: hospitals in the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*: 121-143; for poor relief, Miriam Hoexter, "Charity, the poor, and distribution of alms in Ottoman Algiers," in *ibid*.: 145-162, and Eyal Ginio, "Living on the margins of charity: coping with poverty in an Ottoman provincial city," in *ibid*.: 165-184; for lodging of travelers, and the support of troops, Kunt, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy," p. 196; for taxes and army, Baer, "The Waqf as a Prop", p. 283, 285; for taxes and various construction facilities, Tabakoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal Güvenlik Sistemi," p. 327.

[157] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 62.

[158] On poor relief and the deserving poor, compare Ginio, "Living on the margins of charity," p. 169, with the French case, Raymond Mentzer, Jr., "Organizational Endeavour and Charitable Impulse in Sixteenth-Century France: The Case of Protestant Nîmes," *French History* 5, 1 (1991): 1-29, pp. 16-17.

[159] Ginio, "Living on the margins of charity," p. 172.

child labor, where the employed domestic servants were inherited in half a commodity status under the pretense of charity provision.[160]

Also notable was the cash waqf in its stipulations for small-scale yet ubiquitous credit operations.[161] Although the endowment of cash became controversial and hotly-debated, the arguments in favor of the community benefit and the widespread presence of such waqfs as customary won over in the matters of state policy.[162] Murat Çizakça's study of cash waqfs of Bursa demonstrate that these waqfs remained remarkably durable over time thanks to the operations of capital enhancement. In a sense, capital as a scarce resource was redistributed through the arrangements of cash waqfs, hence Çizakça estimates around 8.5 or 9% of the total population of Bursa resorted to cash waqf credit in mid-18th century.[163]

To sum up, the manifold social functions of this legal form were disseminated in the service of the state either directly by the waqfs established by the imperial household or that of the grandees', or through the social services contributed to by the waqfs of lesser provenance.[164] When established by the imperial household these endowments were tokens of prestige and privilege, as well as instruments of "the Ottoman project of settlement, colonization, legitimization, and urban development."[165] Notably, the shift to seniority principle in the reproductive strategies of the sultanic household, and in consequence, the restricted role of the *valide*, on the one hand, while the princes were no more apprentice rulers going out

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[160] *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176. Compare with the notes on "the slave as a commodity," see, Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," p. 65, and, Madeline Zilfi, "Goods in the *Mahalle*: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Consumption Studies*: 289-311, p. 296.
[161] Jon E. Mandaville, "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, 3 (August 1979): 289-308, p. 290; Tabakoğlu, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Vakıf Sistemi," p. 379.
[162] Mandaville recounts the history of the debate in the Ottoman case, *ibid.*, p. 295 *et passim*.
[163] Murat Çizakça, "Cash *Waqf*s of Bursa, 1555-1823," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38, 3 (1995): 313-354, p. 325, 336.
[164] Singer, "Charity's legacies," pp. 308-309.
[165] *Ibid.*, p. 300; Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, p. 152.

to administer a particular province by the start of the 16th century, corresponds to a decline in waqf-making in parallel to a loss of public role albeit not political prominence.[166] On the other hand, the princesses would be more prominent in maintaining the primacy of the imperial household through their role in tying the probable contenders among the elite to the imperial household via bonds of affinity. Although the maintenance of the already established charities might have been considerable, the decline of construction projects and endowments in the provinces possibly follows from the concentration of power in the imperial capital. Hence, the symbolic forms of legitimacy and luxury would prevail over the charities as the public tokens of the Ottoman rule. The "image of bounty" conveyed and the works of construction in the capital by the Ottoman princesses in the 18th century should be situated at this juncture.[167]

Luxury and Honor

In account of the 17th century protocol concerning the diplomatic gifts by the foreign envoys, Hedda Reindl-Kiel notes the exhibition of the items "on benches along the left portico in the second court" of the palace, as an indicator of the Ottoman awareness of the "gift exchange as a special form of conspicuous consumption." However, the symbolic significance of the items was lost once the demonstration was over, hence stored in the treasury for safe-keeping.[168] Not only the diplomatic but also the domestic gift exchange among the grandees follows a redistributive route,

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[166] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 104.
[167] Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate," p. 47. For the comparison of charity and luxury, and the welding of heritage at a built site, compare Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, chap. 3, and Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," pp. 307-308 n. 41.
[168] Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange," p. 115.

since most of the items produced prior to industrial and consumer revolutions were relatively in short supply. Hence the control over the prestige items was part and parcel of maintaining the stability of the status markers.[169] If the booty constitutes the primary reserve for a gift economy, the Ottomans managed to control and regulate the production and trade of the high quality textiles, as well as china.[170] The bestowal of the robes of honor in the name of the sultan was a regular practice accompanying promotions, celebrations or campaigns.

Characteristically, the gift economies functioned in court societies in bonding the early modern interest groups and bureaucracies under various forms of patronage and faction-building. While Olwen Hufton takes our attention to various gifts extended and favors granted in the formation of early Jesuit society,[171] Mario Biagioli demonstrates the parallel gestures of magnanimity and patronage over the career of Galileo.

> Gift-giving was the best investment for a client because the patron was bound by his status to reciprocate gifts in proportion to his own (rather than the client's) status. Often, a high patron received gifts as challenges. If he accepted them, he was bound to behave as if he accepted a duel, that is, "heroically."[172]

If the artworks, elaborate demonstrations on the stage and an intricate iconography were part and parcel of the baroque culture and the early modern forms of political symbolism and legitimization, the manners, gestures and the posture of the participants at the court were geared towards an immediate and ongoing ratification of the status boundaries, which is increasingly contested with respect to the management of bureaucratic mechanism and the wider distribution of the wealth in

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[169] For an inventory of common gift items in domestic circulation in the early 18th century, see, Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," pp. 307-313.
[170] Rogers, "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation," pp. 146-147; Lynda Carroll, "Could've Been a Contender: The Making and Breaking of "China" in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, 3 (1999): 177-190.
[171] Olwen Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity: The Early Jesuits and Their Female Patrons," *Renaissance Studies* 15, 3 (2001): 328-353, pp. 339-340.
[172] Biagioli's thesis is that by associating himself with the prestige of the absolute monarch, and becoming a court astronomer, Galileo counteracted the received lower status of technical sciences in the established hierarchy of medieval university and legitimated his scientific studies under the auspices of the court prior to the rise of scientific academies. Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier*, p. 6, 39.

the society. If the monarchs' authority were effectively devolved over agents administering in the name of the monarch, and the autonomy of his rule is compromised in "financial, administrative and legal matters[,]...the court culture was his domain exclusively, where he could attempt to score some points and create loyalties that might perhaps be useful in his political struggles."[173] To this effect, the appearance of "the court favourite" as the single channel (or interface) through which the king dispensed favors (or "justice"), is in tandem with the sales of offices, prevailing over the distribution of revenue sources through grants, in order to maximize the cash influx due to the central treasury.[174] The volume and rate of the gift exchange, and even "the exchange of glances" were aimed at the reproduction of the society at a symbolic level through the participation of the power elite and the status climbers at the court, or at the milieux spawned by or incorporated into court culture.[175] Even though there are different levels of loyalty reflected in the language of "friendship," in Kettering's words, "[g]ift-giving was a euphemism for patronage."[176] Whereas the "real" efficacy of such ceremonial gestures and enactments at the court is seconded with various disciplinary measures, there is a complementary layer of "works," that is, various projects of construction signifying political authority and disseminating a certain image of the royal persona.[177]

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[173] Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, "State Ceremonial, Court Culture and Political Power in Early Modern Denmark, 1536-1746," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27 (2002): 65-76, p. 71.
[174] Peck, "For a King not to be bountiful were a fault," p. 49, 52.
[175] Kettering, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," p. 156 n. 90. On the relation between status recognition and exchange, also see, Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, p. 70.
[176] Kettering, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," p. 143; *eadem*, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," p. 131.
[177] Compare Tülay Artan's analysis of the 18th century development of seaside residences constructed through the patronage of the Ottoman princesses, with the various projects of claiming "the territory" under Louis XIV of France, see, Chandra Mukerji, "Unspoken Assumptions: Voice and Absolutism at the Court of Louis XIV," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, 3 (September 1998): 283-315, pp. 296-304.

The gifts were mainly intended as the generic material tokens of ongoing relationships among the parties rather than specific rewards or gratifications due to specific actions and achievements, indeed a veritable element of the court societies.[178] Like the bestowal of honorary ranks or titles by the court, the payments, allowances or gifts in particular, signalled status differentiation, rather than being strictly levelled at need alleviation or assignment of an economically significant sum.[179] The political undertones of every transaction among the elite is highlighted. In demanding *pīshkash* (tributary payment) from the provincial governors on the occasions of Nawrūz (an annual festival), and the promotion, or the renewal of the appointment, not unlike the *'ıydiyye* and *cāize* in the Ottoman case, the *shāh* (Iranian ruler) aimed "not to augment the royal coffers but to underline their subjection to the Shāh[;]...in all cases what they gave in *pīshkash* was an insignificant sum in comparison to what they obtained in revenue from their governments."[180] Such transfers were complemented by the grants of the robes of honor by the authorities as if to seal the exchange, arriving at an agreement marking the respective standing of the parties. Indeed, these gifts can be regarded as access fees and the robes worked like required access cards, without which no communication with the court could be set up and no access to the source of political legitimacy could be achieved.[181] However, since the material used in robes, for example silk, was costly and limited in

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[178] Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," p. 139, 141.
[179] On the *mevacib* (allowance) lists indexing the status of the recipients, see Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 126.
[180] Lambton, "*Pīshkash*," pp. 148-149.
[181] For the Mongol example, Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire*, p. 25. For an episode of denied access to the Ottoman court, when the Moroccan mission has failed to provide customary presents and demanded sum in cash due the minister (the episode occurred sometime between 1774-1784), see, M'Hammad Benaboud, "Authority and Power in the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*: 67-79, p. 69. In a dispatch dated 8 February 1721, Giovanni Emo, the Venetian *bailo*, remarks: "Negotiations are not managed without gifts." In another dispatch dated 9 February 1733, Angelo Emo deems the Ottoman court akin to a whirlpool with respect to the gifts. Mary Lucille Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734: as revealed in despatches of the Venetian baili* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978[1944]), p. 41, 55.

supply, the garments received by the recipients were redistributed in return thus kept in circulation, most of the older garments were recycled in order to avoid large outflows in cash, or the garments were just "loaned," that is, taken back after the occasion.[182] If the quality and material of the robes do not necessarily document a hierarchy, *sensu stricto*, such a ranked order is intended at least in visual and textual representations.[183]

Thomas Allsen correlates the acquisition and redistribution of luxury items with empire building based on his study of the Mongols.

> Luxuries were than a form of political currency, an essential element in the formation and maintenance of premodern states of various types and levels of complexity. For the Mongolian rulers, as for many others, the creation of a following required a sustained system of what might be called conspicuous redistribution. And once started, such presentations, like the Roman bread and circuses, essentially expenditures on legitimacy and loyalty, could not be halted or even significantly reduced, and typically became a permanent and heavy drain on the treasury.[184]

Yet, the acquisition of the prestige goods and the redistribution of them is not solely instrumental in retention of a following, but the respective political roles of the agents were interwoven in the "matter" of this political discourse.

> In preindustrial agrarian kingdoms, however, transactions in goods representing the labor and integrity of communities, castes, or families were themselves elevated to the status of discourse. The failure of the king to consume, the artisan to produce, or the merchant to market was tantamount to a denial of political obligation.[185]

Gifts in the Archive

The decline in the government-sponsored production of luxury goods corresponds with an increase in the supply and range of the same set of items of a relatively lower

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[182] Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange," p. 116; Rogers, "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation," p. 140; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire*, p. 26.
[183] Christoph K. Neumann, "How did a vizier dress in the eighteenth century?" in *Ottoman Costumes*: 181-217, p. 183. For the divergence of textual and visual accounts of a public event, like 1720 circumcision festival, and the representations of affluence and generosity, see, Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," p. 303.
[184] Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire*, p. 104.
[185] C. A. Bayly, "The Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930," in *The Social Life of Things*: 285-321, p. 302.

quality to make up for the lost income.[186] In order to underline the eminence of non-market transactions, Faroqhi proposes a definition of consumption inclusive of various forms of acquisition devoid of the motive of resale. The taxes in kind, for instance, as well as the utilization of sources and services, at a price quite below the market range in line with the principle of "provisioning," were labelled "acquisition" located under the general heading of consumption.

> Goods acquired for the purpose of redistribution in our perspective will figure as having been used by the person who gave these items away. Where the elite was concerned, ceremonial gifts and invitations thus constituted an appreciable factor of total consumption.[187]

The archival evidence attests to such a conception of acquisition and consumption, hinted by the variability or juxtaposition of words supposedly denoting different forms of transfer, as well as the presence of the accounts of income and expenses of various forms within the same account book or side by side on a single page.[188] An instance of Faroqhi's formulation of consumption, is the shopping order of Defterdar İzzet Ali Bey[189] for the items that would be presented as gifts to the grand vizier and

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[186] For textiles, see, Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman clothes," p. 28, and Rogers, "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation," pp. 144-146; for pottery, see, Carroll, "Could've Been a Contender," pp. 185-186.

[187] Faroqhi, "Consumption and Elite Status in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," p. 38. On the acquisition of goods and services based on the principle of "provisioning," compare, Miller, "Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities," pp. 101-102, with Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri," pp. 45-47, and Ariel Salzmann, "Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Régime, 1695-1807," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1995), pp. 247-248, 334-338.

[188] For the payment of *'ıydiyye bahşişi* with *aylık* all paid in *gruş* to the members and attendants of the *harem* of a grandee on the *'ıyd-ı fitre* of 1143/9-11 April 1731, see, MAD 2100, p. 4. [All references hereafter to MAD series suggest the archival material stored in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul.] (MAD 2100 also includes the lists of fur remodeled, the items entrusted to *rahtvan*, as well as gifts of textile rolls presented by an İbrahim Bey, brother of a Mehmed Bey of Yanya, although greater part of the account book is blank.) For an example of an account book recording gifts, grants of robes of honor, gratuities, as well as loans and income from the tax farms, see MAD 293 (mostly from 1103-1110/1691-1699 with a few records from 1126/1714-1715). On the occasion of a child birth (on 26 Safer 1103/18 November 1691), the *hediye* (gift) of precious cloths (corresponding sums in *gruş* included) from the agha to the "*devletlü efendimiz*" and the *kethüda kadın* (head stewardess) exemplifies an instance of the gift-giving within the household. *Ibid*., p. 5. Also recorded were the *hil'at*s (robes of honor) granted and *ihsān*s (gratuities) paid in gruş on the occasion of a wedding as well as *in'ām* (grant/favor) granted to the messengers who brought *kaftān* (fine robe) from the sultan on the *'ıyd-ı şerif* (of 1103?/16-18 June 1692?). *Ibid*., p. 18, 25.

[189] Identification is based on the concordance of the dates for the assumption of the office of *defterdār*, compare MAD 4973, p. 4, with, Fahameddin Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı (1717-1730)* (Ankara: TTK, 1997), p. 268.

kethüda beğ (literally, warden of the grand vizier's household, actually in charge of several administrative tasks) on the occasions of the *'ıyd-ı fitre* and *'ıyd-ı aḍhā* (two holy festivals of Islam) of 1141 and 1142.[190] Besides the multiple transfers that might be construed as gifts in the account books,[191] gifts are under record in a specialized form in the item-books[192] kept in *raht hazinesi* (literally horsegear treasury, actually keeping various valuable items and cloths), *in'ām-* and gift-logs,[193] as well as through their sporadic appearance in the ceremonial registers. In order to sketch an economy of gift-giving practices, the scope of the analysis should involve both the production of what is commonly gifted as well as the acquisitive/consumptive aspects of the cultural template of gift-giving.

My rather straightforward task in this section is to lay the clues to interpret the material composition of the gifts in a gift-log. The gift-log under consideration, MAD 1279,[194] is exemplary in certain regards: it keeps sufficient number of records

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[190] For example, two records of acquisition for the *'ıyd-ı şerif* of 1142/19-21 April 1730, are 25 Şaban 1142/15 March 1730, and gurre-i Ramazan 1142/20 March 1730, through Osman Agha. MAD 4973, p. 4, 12. In this account book, there are also records, dated 14 Şevval 1144/10 April 1732, of the expenses of *bahşiş* (tip, gratuity) and *kavuk* (headgear) granted to *karakullukçu*s (minor officials of the Janissaries charged with the maintenance of supplies and several other tasks) in the apartment of İzzet Ali Paşa when he was *sadaret kaymakamı*, compare, *ibid*., p. 143, and, Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, edited by Münir Aktepe (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1976): I, p. 28.

[191] In addition to the examples given, there is the occasional appearance of *atiye-i hümayun* paid to Kırım khans in various account books, an example is MAD 10316, p. 38 (the script of payment to be dated 12 Safer 1137/31 October 1724). Also, for a record of the gifts, dated 18 Şevval 1132/23 August 1720, presented by the artisans of Istanbul on the occasion of the circumcision festival of the princes, MAD 1284, pp. 48-53.

[192] MAD 1605, MAD 1667 and MAD 5122 are three *bisat defteri*s, former recording the gifts of the grand vizier and several other personages given to the sultan and the princes on 23-25 Ramazan 1136/15-17 June 1724, the second, spanning 12 Rebîülevvel 1124/19 April 1712 – 21 Şevval 1130/17 September 1718, and the third, keeps the records of 6-7 Zilhicce 1146/10-11 May 1734, both were akin to the first with regard to the internal (calligraphy and form) and external features (the items, occasions of bestowal, and people's standing) of the text.

[193] İsmail Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi'nin Arşiv Kaynakları I: II. Bâyezid Devrine Ait Bir İn'âmât Defteri," *İÜEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10-11 (1979-1980): 303-342. MAD 773 is a gift-log of Tiryaki Hacı Mehmed Paşa during his term of grand vizierate (records of gifts from 22 Receb 1159/10 August 1746 to 6 Receb 1160/14 July 1747).

[194] The gift-log, MAD 1279, is 41,5 cm by 15,5 cm, written in *dīvānī* and *siyakāt*, water-damaged yet mostly legible. It comprises 85 numbered pages with two flap-like, half-a-long sheets, one attached to the beginning and the other to the end (the former sheet is unnumbered, the latter one bears the number 85 on the recto). The transcription of the text is included as appendix II below. References for

to assemble a crude time-series, provides an initial answer to the use of the items with regard to the manner and the parties of consumption, and the human reserve in the gift-log, remarkably, introduces a perspective on the non-elite (yet, middle-rank administrative, and arguably upwardly-mobile) section of the society. Although the text is in greater part a gift-log, there are also purchases made or items sent from elsewhere interfering with the records of the gifts. Moreover, the textile rolls gifted, which were recorded in extended form at the beginning of the gift-log, also appears in brief form in a tabulated sketch,[195] with a high degree of match between the two, whereas the other items are left out. The tabulated sketches continue with the acquisitions in the form of taxes, and the expenses,[196] again in textile rolls. Therefore, I limited myself with *hediye*s,[197] even though an analysis of household economy would require a fuller analysis, taking into account the whole range of transactions, recorded as income or expenditure.

The gift-log contains basically four constants (time, items, people, geographical locations, not all of them always present), and their attributes and relations to each other. I employed the word "bestowal" for an occasion of gift-giving from a party, not always a private person but sometimes a group or a community (as in the examples of the *zu'amā* of Grebene, the *kocabaşı*s of Tırnova, or the *re'āyā* of Manastır[198]), where a number of items are given. One important difference between the extended lists and the tabulated lists was that the former contained a greater range of items, with their qualities recorded, and the use (redistribution/consumption) of the items, sometimes including the party, date and

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the text given hereafter refer to the document's authentic pagination shown in bold on the left margin at the appendix.

[195] *Ibid*., p. 38 *et passim*.

[196] For taxes, *ibid*., p. 54, 60, for various expenses, p. 48 *et passim*.

[197] *Ibid*., pp. 2-13, 38-40, 60.

[198] The landholders of Grevena (in Greece), local non-Muslim notables of Veliko Tarnovo (in Bulgaria), and the people/inhabitants of Bitola (in Macedonia).

the manner of this use, whereas the latter recorded only the items in textile rolls without any hint on the consumption of the items thus bestowed. Hence, I constructed two databases, the first included the extended and brief lists, employed to characterize the human and the geographical material, and the second one solely included the extended lists to obtain a balanced distribution for the range of the gift items, the domain and manner of consumption. Nonetheless, even together with the tabulated lists, the textile rolls remains slightly under-recorded for the number of the items, since they remain distinguished solely on the basis of rough categories (*çuḳa*, *hāre çuḳa*, *aṭlās* [*ḳumāş*][199] etc.) not on other features of quality, and thus conflated when being entered into the tabulated lists.[200]

In order to assemble a time series and enable comparison for population of the items, I have disregarded the fact that the bestowed objects are multiple in quantity as well as in unit of count. The incommensurability of the units of count across categories notwithstanding, the facts that they remain mostly same within a class of items (exception being the textile rolls and weapons), and the actual distribution for the quantity of the items[201] hints a pattern of bestowals differentiated through quality rather than quantity, also supported by the relatively small number of items per bestowal[202]. The impossibility of a comparison in real values notwithstanding, the actual distribution of the gifts in the current gift-log lends support to such an operational use and the relative validity of the nominal values thus constructed.

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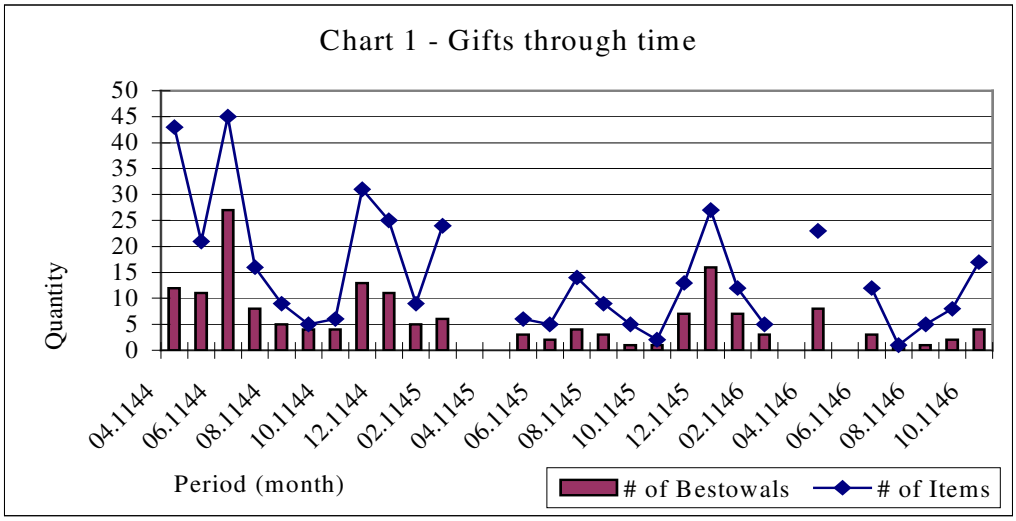
[199] Broadcloth, moiré broadcloth, satin [fabric]. There are also different sections for *sāye çuka* (literally, shaded; serge broadcloth), *Londire çukası* and *Macar çukası* (probably, broadcloth of London, and of Hungarian origin) in the tabulated lists. For cloth types, see, Mine Esiner Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları," *İÜEF Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1980-1981): 291-340.
[200] For the comparison of database 1 and 2, see chart 2 below, and table 2, appendix I. Except for chart 2, and table 2, all charts and tables draw solely upon database 2.
[201] For database 1: n=475, μ=1.46, mode=1, σ=1.15; for database 2: n=398, μ=1.45, mode=1, σ=1.2.
[202] In total, for database 1: 2.13, for database 2: 2.31.

The gift-log begins with the opening expression: "*Berāy-ı defter hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimiz eyalet-i rumeline mutasarrıf olduğunda gelen hedāye fī sene 1144*"[203] indicating that the gift-log belongs to the governor of the province of the Rumelia.[204] One candidate for the identity of the governor is Muhsin-zâde Abdullah Paşa who was the governor of Rumelia several times before,[205] even though the gift-log records the gifts of İsmail Paşa with the title of the governor of Rumelia on 28 Ramazan 1145/14 March 1733.[206]



The distribution of the number of bestowals and corresponding number of items over

[203] MAD 1279, p. 2. (as a journal [of] the gifts that came when our beneficent patron became propraetor to the province of Rumelia on the year of 1144/1731)

[204] The appointment registers as late as the year of 1141/1729 for the province of Rumelia employs the same phrasing and the word *mutasarrıf*, Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı*, p. 36. The *mutasarrıf* came to use without regard for the title of the acting governor, since there ocurred a widening of the vizieral pool in the 17th century, where many of the provinces were governed by viziers, or a district not matching their rank was allotted as a remedial source of income actually governed by a deputy, or bestowed as a pension. In the second half of the 18th century *mutasarrıf* also came to mean contractors for munitions, who were entrusted with the authority of levying taxes in order to meet the wartime expenses. On the meaning of *mutasarrıf*, Orhan Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı: Eyalet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ: Ceren, 1997), p. 23; Carter Findley, "Mutaṣarrıf," *EI*^{2}: VII, 774a-775b; Virginia H. Aksan, "Locating the Ottomans among Early Modern Empires," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, 2 (1999): 103-134, p. 124, 132.

[205] On the recurrence of the appointments, compare Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı*, p. 36, and Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, p. 19, table 1. For a short biography of Muhsin-zâde Abdullah Paşa, Mehmed Süreyya, "Abdullah Paşa (Muhsinzâde)," in Nuri Akbayar, ed., *Sicill-i Osmanî* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996): I, 82, and, E. Rossi, "'Abd Allāh Pasha Muḥsin-Zāde Čelebi," *EI*^{2}: I, 56a-56b.

[206] As apparent from the chart 1 and 2, there is a year-round cycle of gift-giving which probably corresponds with the term of service. Mehmed Süreyya recounts Abdullah Paşa as the governor of Bosnia for the year of 1145. Also, he records one İsmail Paşa of Georgian origin who became the governor of Rumelia in Safer 1145/August 1732. Mehmed Süreyya, "İsmail Paşa," in *Sicill-i Osmanî*: III, 828.

months in this timeline roughly demonstrates a year-round cycle, probably matching the term of service. Within the strictures of the databases, the earliest date of bestowal is 25 Rebîülâhır 1144/27 October 1731 and the latest one is 29 Şevval 1146/4 April 1734.[207] The relative insignificance of the number of bestowals during the Ramazan (9th month of the Islamic calendar), which is noted as the annual site of ceremonious occasions, visits, celebrations, and gifts, is noteworthy[208] that might be telling about the character of gift-giving (whether due office or the person/station of the recipient, albeit these two might be corresponding) or as a reminder for the limits of the gift-log, probably far from being a full record of the bestowals due the "beneficent master" for the supposed period, in spite of the relative continuity of gifts over time. Indeed, in the first year round from 25 Rebîülâhır 1144/27 October 1731 to 21 Rebîülevvel 1145/11 September 1732, were recorded 55.6% of the bestowals and the 54.9% of the items of the total population for the overall timeline, based on database 1.[209] This fact might be due to the relative importance of the posts on the condition that the cycles correspond with the term of office and the relative validity of the data for the comparison of those offices, or might be due to the book-keeping, suggesting the presence of different registers.

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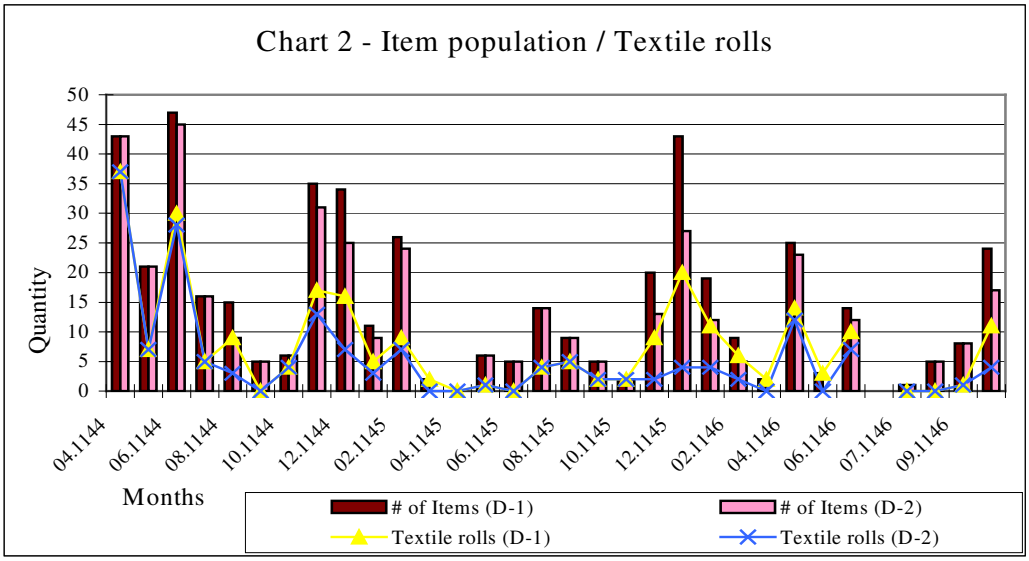
[207] MAD 1279, p. 2, 47. In the entirety of the gift-log, the earliest record dates 16 Rebîülevvel 1143/29 September 1730 with regard to the gratuities distributed to the military band, and the latest one dates 25 Cemâziyelâhir 1150/20 October 1737 of an item made at *Kal'a-yı Cedîd* (literally, The New Fortress, on the strait of Kerch in Crimea?) granted to the brother of Timur Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 84, 33. If the conjectured identity for the patron in the gift-log is to be considered, Abdullah Paşa had an assignment in Rumelia (possibly, the governor of Rumelia, just before called to Istanbul and become janissary agha in Cemâziyelevvel 1143/November 1730, for a brief period) in the former date, compare *Sicill-i Osmanî* article with, Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, pp. 17-18. In the latter date, he was grand vizier (after a period of being commander at Bender, Bessarabia, from Cemâziyelevvel 1149/September 1736 onwards, against the Russian and Austrian hostilities), for approximately four months beginning from 8 Rebîülâhır 1150/5 August 1737. See, *Sicill-i Osmanî* and *EI*[2] articles referenced above, and Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, p. 69, 77.

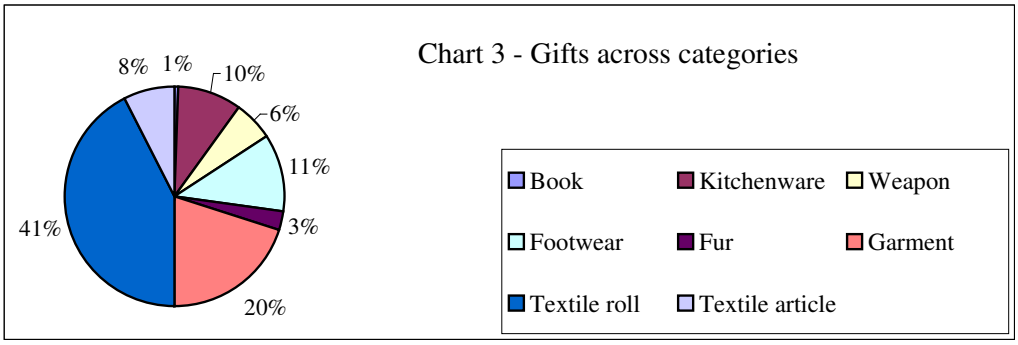
[208] Nonetheless, the bestowals in the next month of Şevval, the first three days of which constitutes the *'ıyd-ı fitre*, might act as a check, albeit they also remain not quite remarkable in the overall pattern.

[209] In regard to the database 2, it is 61.6% of the bestowals and 58.8% of the items. Based on table 2, appendix I.



The record for Rebîülâhır 1144, of the gifts bestowed just at the last week of that month, forms the peak in the number of textile rolls, one of the peaks in the number of items overall, but not altogether distinctive in the number of bestowals. The rate of 3.58 items per bestowal is notable as above the 2.31 average (in database 2) for the whole period. In comparison, the item/bestowal rate for Cemâziyelâhir 1144/December 1731 is 1.67, whereas this month stands as the peak in the number of bestowals and the items. Moreover, the item pool is more variegated for both Cemâziyelevvel and Cemâziyelâhir 1144 when compared to Rebîülahır's. If these initial gifts can be regarded as related to the grandee's initiation to the office, the different characteristics of these two influxes might be due to the geographical or relational proximity of the donors to the grandee. If the supposition of year-round cycles is maintained, the record for Safer 1145/August 1732 with an item/bestowal rate of 4, corresponding to a number of bestowals slightly fewer than that of Rebîülahır 1144's, might be signalling the gifts related to parting with the office. In contrast to the insignificance of Ramazan, the month of Zilhicce with the *'ıyd-ı aḍhā* is noticeable in the number of bestowals and items, whereas moderate in item/bestowal rate. Nonetheless, the notable presence of Zilka'de 1144 and

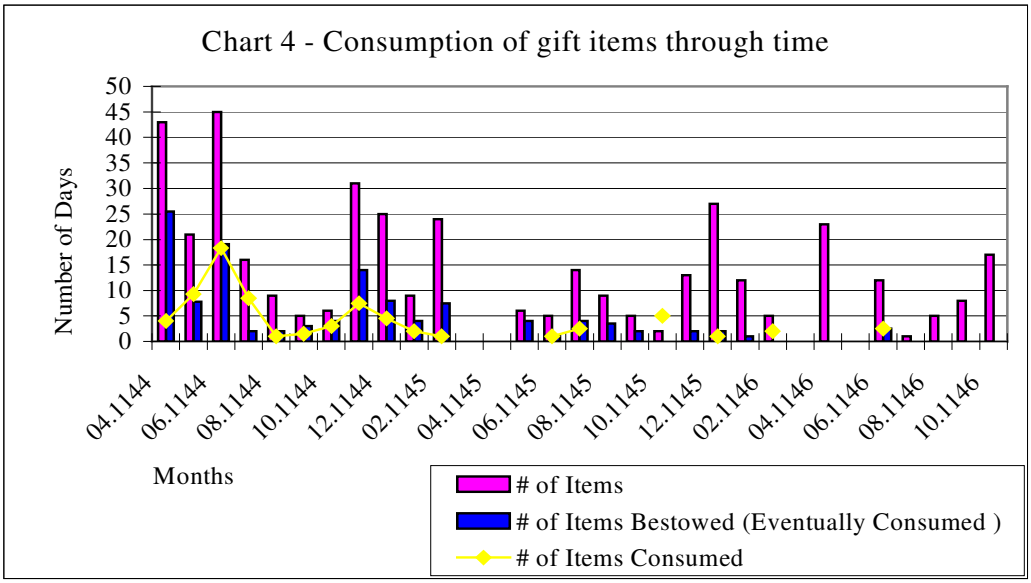
1145/May 1732 and April 1733, as well as that of Şevval 1146/March 1734, in the number of bestowals and gifts might call to question to what extent the year-round pattern of gift-giving conforms to the customary festive occasions. Hence, the pattern in evidence might be pointing out the context of gift-giving, possibly less to do with the festivals and more to do with the pattern of the official or mundane dealings and connections of the grandee. The analysis of the human material would yield the results testing the supposition.



The items bestowed were classified in 8 categories.[210] Although I tried to name categories after a literal fashion, under kitchenware I included various metal, and decorative items, like stirrup, censer, mirror, fan, that have nothing to do with cooking utensils, whereas they all might be regarded as various household items and such a sense and use of the kitchens are not outlandish within the *arts de faire* of the supposed time and society. Yet, the greater part of the items are more customary kitchen items, like bowls, dishes, spoons, cups or basins. Rifles and pistols form the three fourths of the weapons, also including a sword and various gun parts like rifle barrel. Footwear comprises boots and a particular soft-leather shoe (*mest pābuç*) almost equal in number, and also noted was a pair of slippers. Furs are of ermine, with the two exceptions of fox throat and corsac. Headgears (*destār/ṣārıḳ*), belts, bath sets, shawls, and generic garments (*çamāşır*, possibly underwear, accounting for

[210] Compare chart 3 below, and table 3, appendix I.

the two fifths of the garment category) constitute the general category of garments. Different pieces of cloth like napkins, hand towels, rugs, or towels of various quality were included under textile articles. The large category of textile rolls is made up of the cloths of various quality that could be cut or sewn for any use, 68% of which is qualified to be for garments/robes (*ṭonluḳ*). Whereas most of these items including other cloths were counted in numbers (*aded*), only 18% of this category is measured in rolls (*ṭop*). Likewise, generic garments (*çamāşır*) were counted in the number of folds (*ḳāt*) and furs in the number of regular units called *tahta*.[211] Hence, pistols and footwear were counted in pairs. If we spare the non-clothing items, a mere 17%, there remains a strict 69% of the items, textile-oriented, even when furs and footwear were grouped apart, standing for 14% of the item population.



The gift-log conveys invaluable information about the general features of the consumption of the items bestowed. 29.87% of the items bestowed were noted as consumed after one fashion or another. Overall, 61% of it goes to household consumption, 33% is extended to various parties apart from the household, where the

[211] Meaning, "the regularly shaped pieces of fur" stitched together. Tezcan, "Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultans," p. 66.

remaining 6% is classified as granted to the agents attached to the household. The manner of bestowal is being given (to, *verildi*, or a party *dāde*) in 50.4%, granted (*in'ām*) in 27.5%, submitted (*teslim*) in 6%, sent (*irsāl*) in 6.3%, spent (*ṣarf* or an item *şūde*) in 9.8%.[212]

The pattern of consumption over time is shown in chart 4, "the items bestowed (eventually consumed)" standing for what portion of the bestowed items destined to consumption, while the actual consumption is deferred.[213] The average time interval for consumption of the items is 34.9 days and remains not quite differentiated with respect to the domain of consumption. Nevertheless, the average decreases to 20.4 days, excluding the cases when it takes more than a hundred days. It is 17.5, 26.9, and 12.1 days with respect to the household consumption within, external, and adjunct.[214] In this pattern, we should note the high rates of eventual consumption for Rebîülâhır 1144/October 1731, Cemâziyelâhir 1144/ December 1731, Zilka'de 1144/May 1732.[215] We might conjecture that the rate of eventual consumption for initiation gifts is higher, however, the high rate of eventual (as well as, actual) consumption for Zilka'de 1144 is question-begging. Even together with the proviso of deferral, any explanation based on pattern recurrence cannot be made

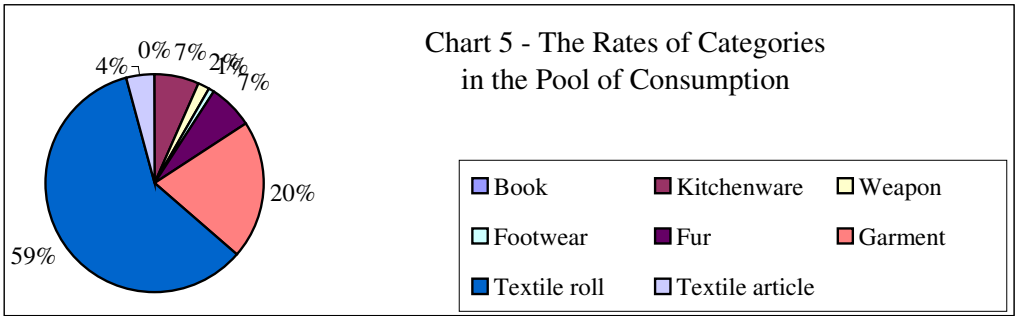
[212] See, table 2 and 4, appendix I. When focused on the first year-round, the rate of consumption reaches 41.41%. The rates for the domains of consumption, internal, external, and adjunct, are 62.4, 30.3, and 7.3%'s, respectively. The rates for the manner of consumption, given, granted, submitted, sent, and spent, are 56.3, 26.7, 6.3, 1.1, and 9.6%'s, respectively.

[213] While n=118.9 for the items eventually consumed, n=74.6 for the distribution of the actual date of consumption (for the first year-round, they are 96.9 and 60.6, respectively). Although not all consumptions were dated, we might infer whether an item is consumed or not through the notes added, as well as from the cases where the quantity of the item is underlined twice. Since the various portions of an item might be (and in some cases, are) consumed in different domains, I calculated weighted averages for the items (with regard to the share of the consumption in the overall quantity of that item), while making the following estimations.

[214] The cases $x>100$ constitutes the 10% of the population of the items for which we are given a date of consumption. Approximately, for the 47% of the population, it is $0\leq x\leq 10$. For 17%, it is $10<x\leq 30$. Hence, it is $30<x\leq 100$ for a 27% of the population. Slightly more than half of the household consumption is under 10 days limit, where the rest is divided in almost equal shares to the other two. 44% of external consumption is under 10 days, and a 38% over 30 days. 78% of the items that were given to the adjuncts is again under 10 days limit. Nevertheless, the validity of the estimations are compromised by the rather small population size.

[215] I have excluded the cases when n for bestowed items is less than 10, and the rate of eventual consumption is lower than 40%. For the full list, see table 2.

vis-à-vis Zilka'de 1144, since it is greater in number for the items of eventual (and, actual) consumption compared to the preceding and the next month. This might be cited in support of the non-conformity of the current gift-giving pattern to the pattern of customary festive occasions, or as indicating merely the insufficiency or inadequacy of the data at hand.



The shares of different categories in consumption can be seen in chart 5.[216] The textile rolls on their own constitutes almost three fifths of the total population of items consumed. 43.9% of the textile rolls was eventually consumed. Yet, 7% of consumption in furs actually stands for a remarkable 72.7% of the furs bestowed. After them, 20% in garments corresponds to the 32.5% of the garment population, and 7% in kitchenware matches the 21.6% of the items under this category. Textile-oriented items make up 83% of the consumption pool. Subsequently, we might suggest that footwear and weapons are under-represented in consumption, whereas textile rolls, furs and garments are noted for the greater size or rate of contribution to the total consumption.

Despite the limits of the data, we might infer that slightly less than a third of the gifts were kept in circulation, one third of which in turn is extended to the parties outside of the household. For both gifts, and the items re-extended, textile-orientation is predominant. Although the distribution over time suggests a pattern, the evidence

[216] Also see, table 3.

is far from being conclusive. The time interval between bestowal and consumption is quite variable, the presence of the concentrations under 10 days and over 30 days notwithstanding. Therefore, I'll turn to the analysis of human material in the next chapter in order to clarify the character of gift-giving current in the gift-log under study.

CHAPTER 4: GOVERNMENT, AGENTS, AND GIFTS

Periodization

Periodization is an essential part of the historical craft in capturing the complexity of the world through the observance and in account of the well-defined relations among a limited number of elements over the intensity of the circulation of these elements. What goes around in the span of time covering 16th to mid-19th centuries are considered to be qualitatively different from what goes before and what follows after, while a set of elements in circulation justifies the use of the "early modern" as a discrete period. Jack Goldstone, first challenges the credentials of this periodization for creating a transitional age occupying a blank point between two better defined periods of feudalism and industrial capitalism, as an offshoot of a western materialist eschatology, and then he suggests, both the modernity happened in a shorter span of time as "a jump or quantum leap," and the time frame of the early modern is better labelled as the period of "the advanced organic societies."[217] Against the greater stability of these societies, the modern breakthrough in Europe, in his opinion, is initiated with the uneven consequences of the political crises of the 17th century, loosening the grip of the traditional elite on power. He identifies cultural, technological and environmental elements for the emergence of modernity as a novelty, which supported sustained economic growth and liberalizing political bodies that enable a more efficient use of human capital.[218] In concurrence with Goldstone's criticism of Eurocentrism, Subrahmanyam underlines the need to "to delink the

[217] Jack A. Goldstone, "The Problem of the "Early Modern" World," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, 3 (1998): 249-284, p. 261, 269, 277-278.
[218] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-275.

notion of 'modernity' from a particular European trajectory," yet he retains the use of the label of "early modern," in his scheme designating "a more-or-less global shift, with many different sources and roots," spanning from mid-14th to mid-18th century. In characterizing the period, he mentions the geographical discoveries and "a new sense of the limits of inhabited world," the dynamic between the nomadic groups and the sedentary population that is conducive of "certain broadly universal conflicts during the period in life-styles, and modes of resource-use" to be linked to global trade flows, as well as the common trope of "Universal Empire" in the political field.[219] Obviously, the rate of change or the identity through time for these analytically isolated elements might be uneven, but it is the provenance of the historians' judgment.

While the Ottoman dynasty reigned from the 14th century to 20th, the history and the corresponding periodization for the population living under the dominion of the Ottoman sultan can be drawn based on various criteria, e.g. the change of living standards over time in a given locality or social group, but the periodization of the Ottoman Empire implies the structuration of a social entity with particular emphasis on the state formation. Tülay Artan sketches four empires before the Hamidian rule in the last quarter of the 19th century: the first empire under Murad I and Bayezid I, the second one under Mehmed II and his successors in the 16th century, the third one covering 17th and 18th centuries in the aftermath of the Celalî uprisings, and the fourth being the Tanzimat. Highlighting the change in "the alliance matrices, modes of legitimation and cooptation strategies utilised by the Ottoman dynasty,"[220] Artan traces the elements of power at the elite level in the "Third Empire."

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[219] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3 (1997): 735-762, pp. 736-739.
[220] Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," pp. 54-56. In comparison, Tabakoğlu presents a longer term approach to the "Ottoman system," treating 11th to 18th centuries as the classical

Ottoman Empire had reached the zenith of its expansionism by the late 16th century through the received methods of seasonal war campaigns, military organization, resource mobilization and war technology. With the advent of protracted wars without any significant gains, and the need for a larger reserve of salaried troops armed with firearms in contrast to the declining efficacy of cavalry, the Ottoman authorities were left in a position to maximize the cash flow due to the central treasury. The spurt of mirrors for princes literature, especially from the second half of the 16th century onwards, and the common issue of a remedy for the perceived decline in the eyes of the contemporary critics, was juxtaposed against the previous period of expansion and prosperity. Pictured as a golden age and despite the fact that various authors chose different sultans for the depiction of an illustrious reign, there was a concentration of attention on the long reign of Süleyman I "if only because cultural maturity and self-confidence are acquired over time."[221] The perception of illustriousness together with a measure of early modern centralization, "not in the administrative and economic sense but the political and ideological,"[222] (or, basically, administrative standardization and codification at the centre, and the corresponding growth of the bureaucracy) in turn rested on, according to Abou-El-Haj, a period of working consensus among the elite roughly spanning late 15th to mid-16th century.[223] Price revolution, the testing of the current Ottoman war machine its limits at the protracted wars, and the eruption of a relatively open struggle among

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period and the 19th and 20th centuries as the renovation period. The classical period is portioned into formation (11th to mid-15th centuries), maturation (mid-15th to 18th centuries) and loss of flexibility (the 18th century). Tabakoğlu, "Bin Yıllık Tarih İçinde Osmanlı Devleti," in *İktisat Tarihi*: 1-9.

[221] Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the post-Süleymânic Era," in, Halil İnalcık and *eadem*, eds., *Süleymân the Second and His Time* (Istanbul: ISIS, 1993): 45-57, p. 47.

[222] Tabakoğlu, "Bin Yıllık Tarih İçinde Osmanlı Devleti," p. 3.

[223] The presence of such a consensus notwithstanding, notable is the fact that the period was far from being free from contenders, as it is exemplified by both the need for a partial accommodation of the disprivileged groups by Bayezid II and the tribal unrest contrived by the Turkic princely houses of the Anatolia during the reign of Süleyman I. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 34.

the parties at the center to exert influence on decision-making, are some of the elements underwriting the end of the "Second Empire."

Despite the strong presence of the centrifugal elements in the "Third Empire," the social uprisings of the 17th century and the rising of the local potentates or notables to prominence in the 18th century,[224] the claim of the Ottoman dynasty to reign remained strong while the actual rule was devolved over pashas and their retinue mid-17th century onwards. As such, the period exhibits a sustained effort on the part of central authority to maximize the cash influx via delving further into the resources of the empire where the initial measures like borrowing from the internal treasury, coin debasement, confiscation and extraordinary wartime taxes led to a second set of measures over taxation, land tenure and administration, signalling a structural transformation.[225] On the one hand, the introduction of *avarız-i divaniyye*, being determined due to the need as a lump sum further portioned into administrative units top down as a collective assignment, and its analogues introduced at the beginning of the 18th century, were pertinent to this transformation where the local figures like *ḳāḍī*, *a'yān*, as well as, non-Muslim notables like *kocabaşı* and the like, became operational in the overall tax assessment, assignment of specific sums to the individuals, and the extraction of the assigned sums.[226] On the other hand, the expansion of crown lands that is to be farmed out for cash instead of being granted to the cavalry in exchange of service,[227] corresponds to the narrowing of the revenue

[224] Kafadar noted that the Celali rebellions did not really subsided but melded into the process of decentralization at the certain parts of the empire while turned into constant brigandage at the others. Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, 1-2 (1997-1998): 30-75, p. 54.
[225] Yavuz Cezar, "From Financial Crisis to the Structural Change: The Case of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *Oriente Moderno* 79, 1 (1999): 49-54.
[226] Gilles Veinstein, "İnalcık's Views on the Ottoman Eighteenth Century and the Fiscal Problem," *Oriente Moderno* 79, 1 (1999): 1-10, p. 5, 9; Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 57.
[227] Erol Özvar observes the expansion of the crown lands remarkably at the countryside over the 17th century, "Osmanlı Tarihini Dönemlendirme Meselesi ve Osmanlı Nasihat Literatürü," *Dîvân* 7 (1999): 135-151, p. 148.

pool reserved for the local governors, and the eventual decline of the provincial army. The income of the governors were supplemented with the illegal but commonly overlooked levies called *tekalif-i şakka*, which were furthermore declared legal, being re-labelled as *imdad-i seferiyye* and *imdad-i hazariyye* in the 1730's.[228] The introduction of *mālikāne* at the end of the 17th century as a special kind of tax-farming, the change in the constitution of the provincial army, the rise of the pasha households and the new set of actors at the grassroots level playing an increasingly quintessential role for the functioning of the system,[229] were the elements of the structural transformation the Ottoman system underwent at the turn of the century. Indeed the survival of the Ottoman dynasty beyond the 18th century depends on this structural configuration maintaining a considerable margin of resource mobilization compared to European monarchies.[230] Rather than creating a class prospered through foreign trade lending considerable sums to the monarch,[231] Ottoman system of internal borrowing created a rentier class whose stakes were invested in the influence over the center, whereas the political challenge of the local agents would only emerge late in the 18th and early in the 19th century. Salzmann surmises that "long-term institutional decentralization may well be a viable strategy, in fact an integral part, of the socio-organizational evolution of the modern state."[232]

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[228] Cezar, "From Financial Crisis to the Structural Change," p. 52.
[229] Hathaway points the need to "acknowledge how closely linked decentralization in the Ottoman provinces is to [the] diffusion of power among elements at the center." Jane Hathaway, "Problems of Periodization in Ottoman History: The Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20, 2 (Fall 1996): 25-31, pp. 27-28.
[230] Edhem Eldem, "Osmanlı Devleti ve Fransa: 17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda Devlet-Ekonomi İlişkilerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Bakış," in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e: Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998): 14-32, p. 28.
[231] Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited," p. 400; Jean-Claude Waquet, "Who Profited from the Alienation of Public Revenues in Ancien Régime Societies? Some Reflections on the Examples of France, Piedmont and Naples in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries," *Journal of European Economic History* 11, 3 (Winter 1982): 665-673.
[232] Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited," p. 394.

Douglass North detects the clue to the sustained economic growth in what he terms the "incentive structure," which is underpinned by the belief systems present in a society and the path of development for them, and embedded within the organizational structure, that runs the economic and political markets more efficiently. He suggests that the question of political markets still remain more of a puzzle in contrast to the understanding of the economic growth.[233] The institution of *mālikāne* system, in Mehmet Genç's way of putting it, a synthesis of *tīmār* and *iltizām* that is circumscribed by the monetization of the economy, introduces such an incentive structure, pertinent to both the political and the economic markets, carrying far-reaching consequences for land tenure, patronage networks and the governance structure of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, that goes beyond the initial and immediate motive of financing budget deficit through increasing cash infusion due central treasury.[234]

Mālikāne as a specific form of tax-farming, is the life-term lease of a revenue source through auction having provided required sureties, where the initial sum (*muaccele*) for the tax-farm, minimal value of which should double the estimated annual income of that revenue source, would be paid in advance to the central treasury, as well as the yearly installments in due course. Also, the contractors were to pay a quarter of their initial cash payment when a new sultan ascended to the throne, and another 10-15% in times of war that constitutes a remarkable sum in the

[233] Douglass C. North, "Where have we been and where are we going?" in *Economics, Values, and Organization*: 491-508, pp. 494-498, 502.
[234] Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*: 99-152, p. 105, 114. In a roundtable discussion of Genç's study, Gündüz Ökçün regards it as "a first attempt that introduces an element of the social content of political power in the Ottoman Empire." *Ibid*., p. 150. For the experimentation of authorities with production in woolen, silk, and canvas, through different organizational and technological schemes, see, Genç, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayisi," in *ibid*: 226-254.

second half of the 18th century. Even though the crown lands, for the greater part, were designated at the outset, custom dues or excises with lucrative returns were also included into the tax-farm form. The system required at least, the influence of a grandee in Istanbul for the auctions held, the management of a subcontractor locally based, and the financial surety of the bankers. As a form of quasi-private property, the autonomy concerning the finance, management and policing of the *mālikāne* is recognized, however the practical limits to attain a *mālikāne* contract was the capability to maintain connections within the network mentioned.[235]

The open avenue for local notables and the retainers of a pasha household was to amass their fortunes within this network through their roles as tax agents and superintendents. While the investments of the grandees were volatile with high rates of turnover, small-scale investments of the locals were on long-term, passed onto the heirs if possible and confined mostly to their own localities.[236] In consequence, regional monopoly consolidated by these agents over the local resources established a firmer grip of the administrative centres over the countryside, signalling the reorganization of the economy at an urban/rural axis. Guild regulations were tightened with the collaboration of the authorities, aiming both guild members and outsiders, against the moving of production outside the guilds to the countryside and to putting-out system, as a bulwark against the uneven consequences of the growing

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[235] Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi," pp. 114-115. However, the formal restriction against the participation of *reaya* at the auctions from 1714 onwards should be noted. *Ibid*., p. 107 n. 16. Also, Ottoman fisc employed several means of checks, over bankers, through the enforcement of decisions and transfer operations with regard to the *mālikāne* by the agency of the local administrators and judges, and via its control over the circulation and minting of coins. Salzmann, "Measures of Empire," pp. 61-62. On bankers' role in the financial system, see, Yavuz Cezar, "Economy and Taxation: The Role of the *Sarraf*s in Ottoman Finance and Economy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki, eds., *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), I: 61-76, pp. 66-67. Abou-El-Haj points out the loss of relative freedom in production for the peasants under *mālikāne*, compared to their status under *tīmār*. *Eadem*, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 64.

[236] Salzmann, "Measures of Empire," p. 169, 389. For the means and stakes of the political influence enlisted by the local notables, Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi," p. 113 n. 31; Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in *eadem*, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981): 36-66, p. 50.

foreign trade and the people involved (merchants, trade agents and the labor pool outside the guild system).[237] The ethnic pattern of the distribution of wealth within the urban sphere becomes strained with the increasing fortunes of non-Muslims, whether the actual source of the wealth is credit operations in domestic trade or agency in foreign trade.[238] The power equation this political economy yields, as Salzmann demonstrates, is such that:

> For the state, granting *malikâne* contracts on relatively insignificant revenues from tithes on villages and fields was a means of tapping into the cultural authority of provincial notables... Members of the gentry, especially those of lesser status or the retainers of a local magnate or an imperial grandee, had the most to gain by this association and remained obliged for these fiscal concessions as well as for the political capital gained by association with those in power.[239]

The pre-eminence of the role of local notables as tax agents for the administrative structure of the 18th century notwithstanding, there are disparate elements for the political prominence of the notables, e.g. their role in communications (the enunciation of grievances and complaints, and the transmission of petitions to the capital, thereupon which were incorporated into the decisions taken up at the center)[240] that predates the institution of *mālikāne*. We should also mention that the

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[237] Salzmann, "Measures of Empire," p. 214; *eadem*, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 159-160; Genç, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayisi," pp. 231-232; *eadem*, "Osmanlı Esnafı ve Devlet," p. 303; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Guildsmen Complain to the Sultan: Artisans' Disputes and the Ottoman Administration in the 18th Century," in *Legitimizing the Order*: 177-193, pp. 187-188; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700-1850," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 141-152, pp. 145-146.

[238] On the ethnicity of bankers, see, Cezar, "Economy and Taxation," pp. 63-64. For a vivid description of foreign trade and alliances in Aleppo, see, Bruce Masters, "Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire's Caravan City," in, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and *eadem*, eds., *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 17-78, p. 33, 39, 49, 58-61. On the strained relations, see, Robert W. Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20, 2 (1977): 185-207, pp. 201-202. In Balkans, Roudometof suggests class positions were on the same footing with the ethnicity, thus moving from a peasant, countryside origin to urban, middle class was perceived as moving from Slav ethnicity to Greek identity. Victor Roudometof, "From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16, 1 (1998): 11-48, p. 13, 19.

[239] Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited," p. 405. Moreover, the legitimacy of the tax collection by these agents were materialized through the agents' capacity to act as 'servants of the sultan.' Suraiya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır, "Introduction," in, *eadem*, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 1-55, pp. 31-32.

[240] Halil İnalcık, "Şikâyet Hakkı: *'Arż-i Ḥâl* ve *'Arż-i Maḥżar*'lar," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7-8 (1988): 33-54, p. 40. However, the wavering standing of the local

administrative reorganizations were well underway before the institutionalization of *mālikāne*, e.g. the variability of the status of a district with respect to the agents involved in the actual government (or the supervision of revenues due the governor) of that district, and the inflation of high-ranking bureaucrats now governing minor administrative units not matching their titles, that manifests the erasure of middle strata in the administrative chain of command.[241] In short shrift, the diminishing status of the county (*sancaḳ / liwā'*) level administrative command coincides with the proliferation of agents, many of whose stakes were invested in the fortunes and spheres of influence created by *mālikāne*. If seeking *berāt* could be regarded as a popular form of a will to rights (in an empire, exemptions and privileges) for the career of an individual,[242] *mālikāne* would be seen as the institutional counterpart that will significantly be relied on.

The Context of the Gifts in Multiple

If the eminence of warfare as the reason of being and legitimation for an early modern state is to be conceded, 1683-1699 Austro-Ottoman war is such a watershed event and a catalyst for the Ottoman system's structural mutation extended to 17th and 18th centuries. Aside from the immediate territorial loss and the subsequent

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judges, and the increasing cost of following legal avenues for demands (court fees at higher rates for the poor) might be cited as elements of divertion from accustomed means of seeking justice, with the possible consequence of turning to local notables more and more not in their capacity as mediatiors but the final decision-makers. Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, p. 23; Boğaç A. Ergene, "Costs of Court Usage in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia: Court Fees as Recorded in Estate Inventories," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45, 1 (2002): 20-39, p. 29, 34.

[241] Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*, chap. 1; Kunt, *Bir Osmanlı Valisinin Yıllık Gelir-Gideri*, p. 60; Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 99; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Coping with the central state, coping with local power: Ottoman regions and notables from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans*: 351-381, p. 365.

[242] Zilfi, "Goods in the *Mahalle*," p. 307; Masters, "Aleppo," p. 58.

dethronement of the reigning sultan,[243] the recognition of the territorial integrity of foreign polities, commitment to a policy of sustained peace, and maintenance of border fortresses, had novel consequences for the livelihood of the border populations, and consolidation along the confessional lines, as well as for the conception of sovereignty.[244] Furthermore, the moderate poll tax collected in lump sum from a non-Muslim community is reformed to be an individual duty of considerable sums, even though tax collectors kept on holding the communities responsible for payment in full and on time.[245] In addition to the poll tax, Suraiya Faroqhi mentions recourses to "the originally religious practice of the vow (*nezir*) in order to secure the submission of rebellious subjects," the organizational restructuring for the maintenance of security in transportation and trade, "systematic attempts to settle nomads," the institution of tax-farming in a new scale and form, and the assignment of a notable for a district for the purpose of management and taxation, all of these as part of an administrative "package" implemented, roughly between 1690 and 1725.[246]

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[243] For the event, context, and the relevant structural transformation in Ottoman politics and bureaucracy, see, Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984), especially p. 12, 24-25, 71, 78, 87-93.

[244] *Eadem*, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, 3 (1969): 467-475, p. 467, 472; Aksan, "Locating the Ottomans among Early Modern Empires," p. 110, 120, 123. Olson propounds a later date of 1740, with particular emphasis on the Ottoman's understanding of a changed relationship with the Europe under the formative influence of conflicts with Iran. Robert Olson, "The Ottoman-French Treaty of 1740: A Year to be Remembered?" *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15, 2 (September 1991): 347-355, p. 350, 352. For a discussion of the recognition of Iran as a sovereign state by Ottoman authorities, see, Ernest Tucker, "The Peace Negotiations of 1736: A Conceptual Turning Point in Ottoman-Iranian Relations," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20, 1 (Spring 1996): 16-37, pp. 33-34. Veinstein traces the gist of the realignment of group solidarity along the confessional lines to the household interdependence imposed by the tax assessments at the end of the 16th century. Veinstein, "İnalcık's Views," p. 9.

[245] The prior exemptions of the clerics repealed, and poll tax became a notable resource for the treasury. Also, mass conversions into Islam in rural Albania followed. Antonina Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as an historiographical problem: The southeast-European perspective," in *The Ottomans and the Balkans*: 223-266, p. 243; Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 85 n. 35.

[246] Faroqhi, "Coping with the central state, coping with local power," p. 370.

Arguably, the administrative measures had some success insofar as the dynasty weathered the challenges from within the Ottoman elite, both provincial and central, for the most of the 18th century, and the agreeable performance of the economy was steady spanning the first half of the 18th century up to 1760's. The construction projects, pomp and vibrant social life in the capital partly embraced the crowds in the medium of a spectacle, or became the target of arsons by the resentful groups.[247] The outbreak of violence in the capital rather than countryside was directly consequential for imperial politics, with the occasional dethronement of the sultan or common death sentences, purges, and turnovers in office.[248] In addition to the habitual practices of cooptation, negotiation, or concession, there is devised, regularized or reintroduced a set of practices, e.g. the *Huzur Dersleri* in the second half of the 18th century, public speech and debate contests aiming the participation of the mid-level ulema, in order to accommodate popular forms of opposition.[249] Whereas the delegation of authority and the location within faction-building networks were definitive for the status of the officeholders, the services of the

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[247] Artan states that "[c]ourt life was rapidly decentralised on the scale of the capital." *Eadem*, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p. 58. On the arsons as indicating social resentment, Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul," p. 188.

[248] For the participation of the urban classes in these revolts and the subsidence of collective fervor with the assurance of the new sultan ascended to the throne, see, Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion*, p. 9, 17, 67, 86; Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul," pp. 193-198. Zilfi reminds that "in the eighteenth century, the sultans were mayors as much as emperors." *Eadem*, "Whose laws?" p. 132.

[249] Getting a grasp of the public opinion, and partly appeasing the grievances of religious vocation, seem to be the motives of the lectures. Zilfi supposes that "presenting of gifts, year after year, to hundreds of mid-level ulema was a ritual of incorporation, symbolically merging medrese and palace." Madeline C. Zilfi, "A Medrese for the Palace: Ottoman Dynastic Legitimation in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, 2 (April-June 1993): 184-191, p. 187, 190. Artan points out the specificity of the topic selected for the year of 1759 as addressing the rising power of the female members of the dynasty. Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," pp. 59-60. If 1740 French capitulations was a carrot to non-Muslim wealth, sumptuary laws was the stick. Compare, Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul," p. 201; *eadem*, "The Ottoman-French Treaty of 1740," p. 353; Zilfi "Whose laws?" p. 131, 134. Also the issue of surveillance among the guild members is to be noted. Faroqhi, "Guildsmen Complain to the Sultan," p. 188. For the cooptation of the military leaders, see, Virginia H. Aksan, "Mutiny and the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Army," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, 1 (Spring 1998): 116-125, pp. 119-122; as well as, Barkey and Brummett cited on p. 25 n. 88, 89 above.

officials were redeemed from several sources and via multiple means of payment.[250] Hence, the "transfer payments" due ulema in the form of "cash awards...along with ceremonial cloaks (*ferace*) and drawstring bags (*bohça*) filled with cashmere shawls and other fine cloths" on the occasion of *Huzur Dersleri*, or the "carrier tax" collected by the messengers aside from their income from land grants,[251] were payments in this sense while also playing on the communicative sense of the gift-exchange, more commonly occasioning the initiation or completion of a term of office.[252] In this fashion, the proliferation of gifts, as a marked form of payment befitting the political structure, coincides with the proliferation of agents under "vernacular government" in the 18th century.[253]

The Agents and Gifts in a Gift Log, MAD 1279

The gift bestowals concerning the appointment to the governorship of Rumelia in MAD 1279, begin roughly a year after the Mahmud I's ascendance, a time that marks the aftermath of the dethronement of Ahmed III, passed in greater measure

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[250] Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, pp. 56-58; Darling, "The Finance Scribes and Ottoman Politics," pp. 91-92.

[251] Zilfi, "A Medrese for the Palace," p. 187; J.E. Matuz, "Transmission of Directives from the Center to the Periphery in the Ottoman State from the Beginning until the Seventeenth Century," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*: 19-27, pp. 22-23. Also the post of the head gatekeeper should be noted for its control over communications, and the payments due him from the provincial administrators trying to bend the networks of communication and influence in ways favoring themselves. Kunt, *Bir Osmanlı Valisinin Yıllık Gelir-Gideri*, p. 50.

[252] Upon the arrival of the deputy of the new appointee to his post, the governor of Diyarbekir grants a robe of honor; or, the transmission of the robes of honor and insignia to the Wallachian and Moldavian princes stand in proof of the authorization of the prince as the legitimate ruler. *Ibid.*, p. 33; Viorel Panaite, "Power Relationships in the Ottoman Empire: The Sultans and the Tribute-Paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 7, 1-2 (Spring 2001): 26-53, pp. 37-41. The Venetian consulate keeps a treasury, of the articles to be gifted, called *ragionateria*. "According to custom, a *bailo* sent gifts to Turkish officials for Bairam each year; after formal entrances, audiences, and conferences; and to newly appointed officials." Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, p. 45.

[253] Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 25-26, 90-94, 127; Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule," p. 91. For the Persian society, Lambton suggests to see transfers in the form of *pīshkash* as a symptom of inadequate financial structure. Lambton, "*Pīshkash*," p. 158.

with restoring law-and-order.[254] The sequence of bestowals, from 25 Rebîülâhır 1144/27 October 1731 to 29 Şevval 1146/4 April 1734, spans the terms of (Topal) Osman Paşa and (Hekimoğlu) Ali Paşa in the office of grand vizierate.[255] During this time, the macro issues of the Ottoman Empire were the ongoing war with Iran that will continue until 1736, in spite of the brief cessation of hostilities leading to a treaty signed on 13 Rebîülevvel 1144/15 September 1731 which wasn't put into effect, and the growing tensions building up for some time at the Western front, eventually breaking out with the Russian attack of 31 March 1736 over Azov.[256]

Database 1, having noted the strictures in the previous chapter,[257] records 339 parties which possibly correspond to 233 real parties, 200 of which appear as donor, and 44 as recipient. The task was to identify real persons who might appear under various titles within the duration of two and a half years recorded in the gift log, or detect the multiple persons, where only a single title is provided. Thus, I supposed that it would be distinct parties unless there was an exact match between the name,

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[254] For the date of ascendance, Şem'dânî-zâde gives 19 Rebîülâhır 1143/1 November 1730 whereas Mehmed Süreyya provides 17 Rebîülevvel/30 September, Münir Aktepe cites 19 Rebîülevvel/2 October and the Venetian *bailo* Angelo Emo's dispatch dated 2 October 1730 concurs with the latter version of dating. The former version might be a misprinting due to the modern edition (yet the equivalent date in Gregorian calendar is included by the editor Münir Aktepe, thus it might be an error in transcription), or scribal error in the authentic manuscripts. Compare, Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, p. 11; Mehmed Süreyya, "Mahmud I" in *Sicill-i Osmanî*: I, 20-21; Aktepe, "Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54)," *EI*[2]: VI, 55a-58a, p. 55b; Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, p. 29 n. 89. For the aftermath of the revolt, its repercussions, and the relative dependence of the sultan on the clique of the sultan's mother, chief black eunuch and the chief finance officer, as well as the deposed sultan, see, *ibid*., pp. 29-38; Aktepe, "Maḥmūd I," p. 55b; Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, pp. 15-18, 23-25.

[255] Both of them, through their agents, are present in the gift-log. Mehmed Süreyya provides 19 Rebîülahır-15 Ramazan 1144/21 October 1731-12 March 1732 for Osman Paşa's vizierate, and Ramazan 1144-Safer 1148/March 1732-July 1735 for Ali Paşa. *Eadem*, "Osman Paşa (Topal)," in *Sicill-i Osmanî*: IV, 1309; *eadem*, "Ali Âlî Paşa (Hekimzâde)," in *ibid.*: I, 242-243. For the dismissal of the former and Ali Paşa's assuming the post in person on Şevval 1144/April 1732 after the brief term of İzzet Ali Paşa as *sadaret kaymakamı*, and Ali Paşa's dismissal on 22 Safer 1148/14 July 1735, see, Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, p. 28, 38-39. Emo's dispatches points at May 1732 for Ali Paşa's arrival. Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, p. 36.

[256] Aktepe, "Maḥmūd I," pp. 55b-56a. For the foreign relations of the Ottomans during the period, Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, p. 85, 147, 151. Also see, Aksan, Olson, and Tucker cited on p. 65 n. 257 above.

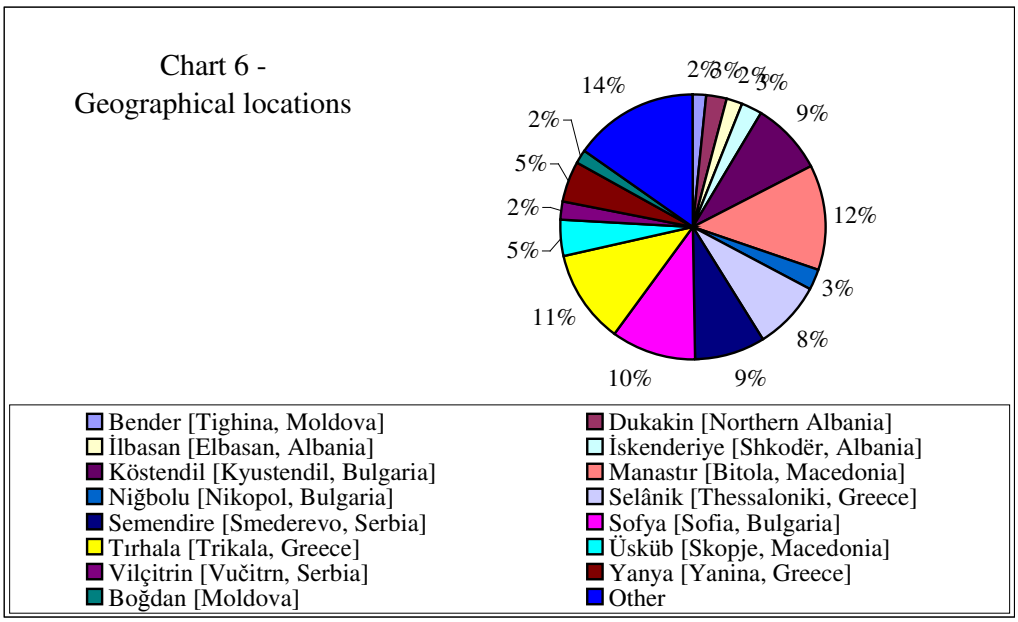
[257] Above, pp. 48-49. Having focused on the gifts, *sensu stricto*, the following figures disregard the substantial grants which were also recorded in the gift-log, initially purchased, or acquired and transferred in various form by other agents.

title, epithet, and the geographical marker, as a rule of thumb, since I didn't aimed a study that attempts to identify every private person referencing miscellaneous archival material, bibliographic dictionaries, histories and so forth. Note that donors, messengers and recipients were recorded in the database on the condition that there is a bestowal that initiates the exchange, and recipients were somewhat ultimate recipients, even though the primary recipient is "the beneficient master" in whose name the gift-log is kept. Furthermore, out of the 44 parties, 35 (%80 of the recipients) receives just once, 6 receives twice, 1 three times, whereas "the beneficient master" appears 17 times, and harem 24 times, as recipients, corresponding to the high rate of household consumption as 61% of overall consumption. In comparison, 88.5% of the donors gives only once, just 1% gives three times and none more than three. Once reminded the rather small average item size (2.31 for database 2, and for database 1 even lower due to the difference between the databases, explained in the previous chapter), we might suppose that even though the item size might matter, it didn't much differ with respect to the gift-log under consideration. Concerning the greater number of people who receives or gives just once with a rather small mean for the item size during the two and a half years under record, a modest standing might provisionally be surmised for the overall bestowals of the donors.

Table 1: The Distribution of Titles / Epithets

	AĞA	-ZÂDE	BEĞ	EFENDİ	ZAİM	ÇUKADAR	PAŞA	MİRALAY	İVLADİKA	YENİÇERİ AĞASI	KOCABAŞI	KETHÜDA	KADI	AHALİ
N_T=233	66	29	26	17	11	7	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
% in N_T	28.3	12.5	11.2	7.3	4.7	3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2

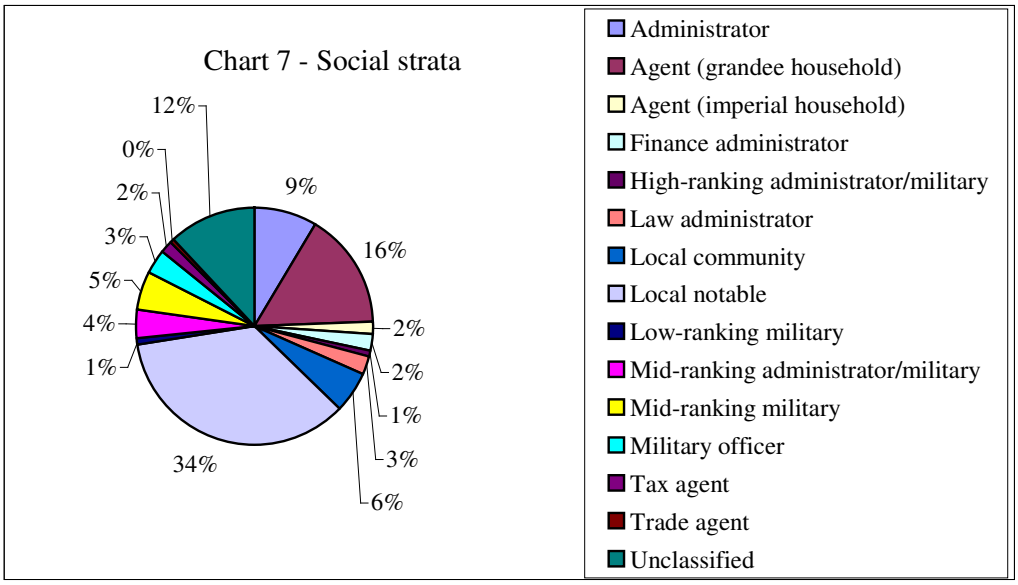
As exemplified in table 1,[258] 208 parties bear a title or epithet, and occasionally more than one. The use of *-zāde* (the son of) epithet might be regarded as a claim to notability or having roots in a community since many of these do not have an official title otherwise noted, and the many of the supposed predecessors are not quite highly placed even though the position of a state functionary is common.[259] There is recorded 75 different geographical locations in database 1, and the distribution at the county level is shown in chart 6, most of them being located in the province of Rumelia.[260]



Geographical data is recorded with respect to the relevant party's transactional status (donor, messenger, or recipient), and the manner of relation. Thus, the categories of "the place of affiliation" and "the place of origin" is used, respectively, when a geographical place is attached to a title like *nāẓır-ı Filibe* (the superintendant of

[258] For the extensive list, see table 5, Appendix I, below.
[259] The predecessors for these are agha in 5 cases, *efendi* in 4, *beğ*, *kadı*, or *sarıca* in 3, *çavuş* in 2, pasha, *emin*, *serdar*, or *zaim* in single cases, and various other in 5 cases.
[260] Although the actual administrative status of a locality is quite protean in this period for the reasons of territories lost and regained, and the reordering of land use and administrative hierarchy, I relied on the following sources listed in the sequence of appeal: Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı*; Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdarî Taksimatı*; Nuri Akbayar, *Osmanlı Yer Adları Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001).

Plovdiv), or *Leskovikli* Abdi Agha (Abdi Agha of Leskovik). "The place of redistribution" (consumption), and in 3 cases "the place of bestowal" are also included. If the places of redistribution and bestowal might be utilized to determine whereabouts of the entourage of the "beneficient patron," if not directly himself, we are provided with a rough view of a route.[261]



By making use of the titles and the geographical markers, I have assigned a label loosely reminding of a class position, yet a more profound class analysis would require further research and the innovation of analytical framework that is yet to appear for the 18th century Ottoman society.[262] Various governors responsible for a locality, whether specialized in tax collection or not, placed under the category of

[261] 27, 29 Rebîülâhır 1144/29, 31 October 1731: Yenişehir/Larissa (place of redistribution); 5 Cemâziyelevvel 1144/5 November 1731: Topçular supply point/somewhere near Sarıgöl, Bitola? (place of bestowal); 7 Cemâziyelevvel 1144/7 November 1731: Selânik/Thessaloniki (place of redistribution); 9 Cemâziyelevvel 1144/9 November 1731: Yenişehir/Larissa (place of redistribution); 3 Cemâziyelâhır 1144/3 December 1731: Çavuş village (place of redistribution); 15, 20 Cemâziyelâhır 1144/15, 20 December 1731: Niş/Niš (place of redistribution); 21 Rebîülevvel 1145/11 September 1732: Köstendil/Kyustendil (place of bestowal); 20 Receb 1145/6 January 1733: Bender/Tighina (place of bestowal).

[262] Aside from the issues mentioned in the section "Property and the Political Market," pp. 61-64, and the sources cited therein, also see, for a portrayal of the Athens in the second half of the 18th century based on the memoirs of Panayis Skouzes, member of an old Athenian family, Johann Strauss, "Ottoman rule experienced and remembered: Remarks on some local Greek chronicles of the Tourkokratia,"in *The Ottomans and the Balkans*: 193-221, especially pp. 212-214.

administrator.[263] Agents of the grandee household includes several people attached to a grandee household, occasionally assuming a variety of governmental functions, through actual management or communications. The category of finance administrator is reserved for the *defterdār*, the keeper of the accounts. "High ranking administrator/military" includes two pashas, one is the governor of a province, the other is charged with the guardianship. The other pashas remained as unclassified, for the lack of a position specified. "Law administrator"s are *ḳāḍī*s, exclusively. "Local community" represents the parties called after a geographical name with the epithets of *ahālī*, *re'āyā*, *yahudiyān*, or *ermeniyān* (people, subjects, Jews, or Armenians). "Local notable"s are composite who might bear the epithets of *a'yān*, *ivlādika*, *kocabāşı*, *monlā* or *muftī*, however approximately three fourths of this category comprises people bearing the epithets of agha, *beğ*, *efendi*, or *-zāde* who are recorded as being a resident of a locality. This might account for an inflated representation of this group, yet even with a quarter, the rate of local notables in the total population exceeds 8%. The commanders of the troops of a locality, or a fortress, make up the category of mid-ranking military, whereas janissary aghas and the *muḥḍır* agha are grouped as military officer. For *za'īm*s I have used the label of "mid-ranking administrator/military." Since this rough sketch is highly questionable I alternated between this and a classification based on titles. In addition to the prevalence of the local elements as it can be inferred from the chart 7 & 8, the rate of the agents attached to a grandee household is also significant, corroborating the earlier proposition of the proliferation of the agents under "vernacular government."

[263] Thus I counted 7 agents attached to the household of the "beneficent patron," another 7 to that of Topal Osman Paşa, 5 to the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's, 4 agents attached to the imperial household, and finally single cases for İsmail Paşa, *Reis Efendi* (to the Yekçeşm Halil Agha of [İsmail Efendi of Kastamonu?] for a grant (*in'ām*) dated 21 Receb 1144/19 January 1732), *Başbakı kulu* (a bestowal by [either İvâz Mehmed Paşa or his successor in this post]'s *çukadar* Hüseyin dated 13 Receb 1145/30 December 1732), and Ali Agha, *muḥaṣṣıl* of Üsküb. See, the sources cited, p. 50 n. 206, p. 67 n. 255, above; Mehmed Süreyya, "İsmail Efendi," III: 818, VI: 1782; *eadem*, "İvâz Mehmed Paşa," III: 843; Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, p. 32.

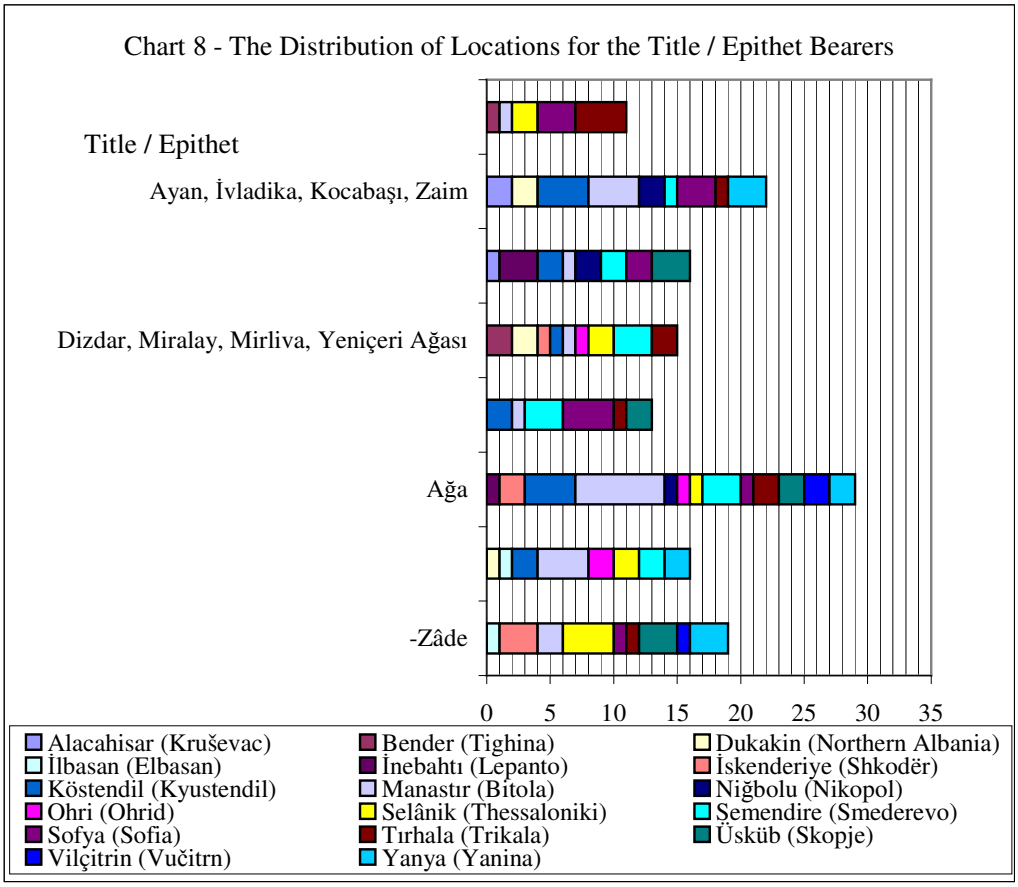


Chart 8 - The Distribution of Locations for the Title / Epithet Bearers
Title / Epithet
Ayan, İvladika, Kocabaşı, Zaim
Dizdar, Miralay, Mirliva, Yeniçeri Ağası
Ağa
-Zâde
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
Alacahisar (Kruševac)
Bender (Tighina)
Dukakin (Northern Albania)
İlbasan (Elbasan)
İnebahtı (Lepanto)
İskenderiye (Shkodër)
Köstendil (Kyustendil)
Manastır (Bitola)
Niğbolu (Nikopol)
Ohri (Ohrid)
Selânik (Thessaloniki)
Şemendire (Smederevo)
Sofya (Sofia)
Tırhala (Trikala)
Üsküb (Skopje)
Vilçitrin (Vučitrn)
Yanya (Yanina)

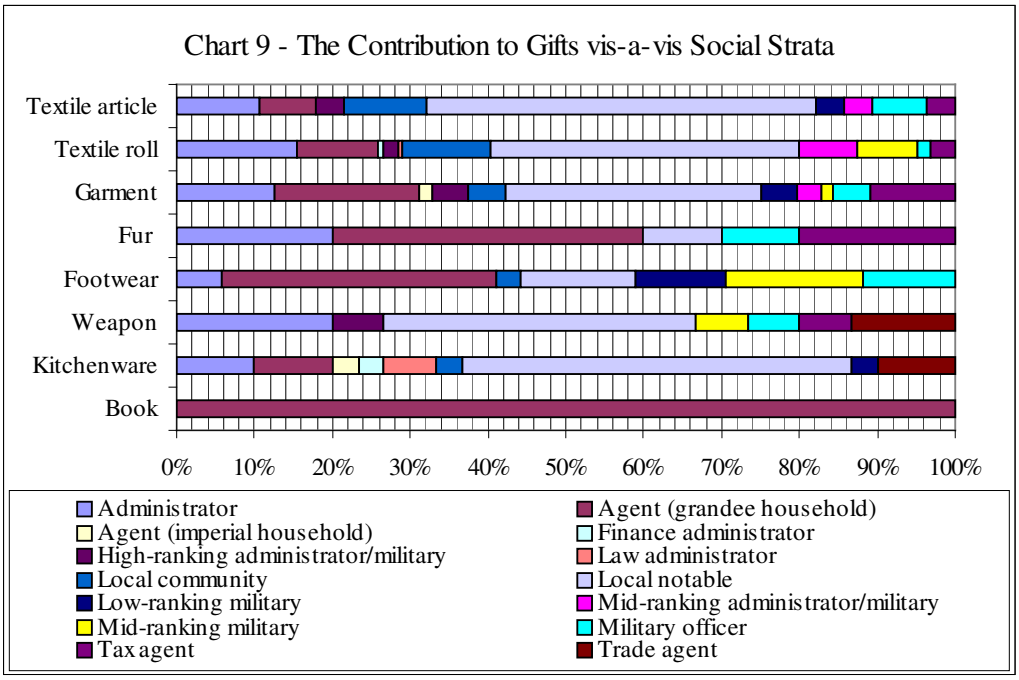
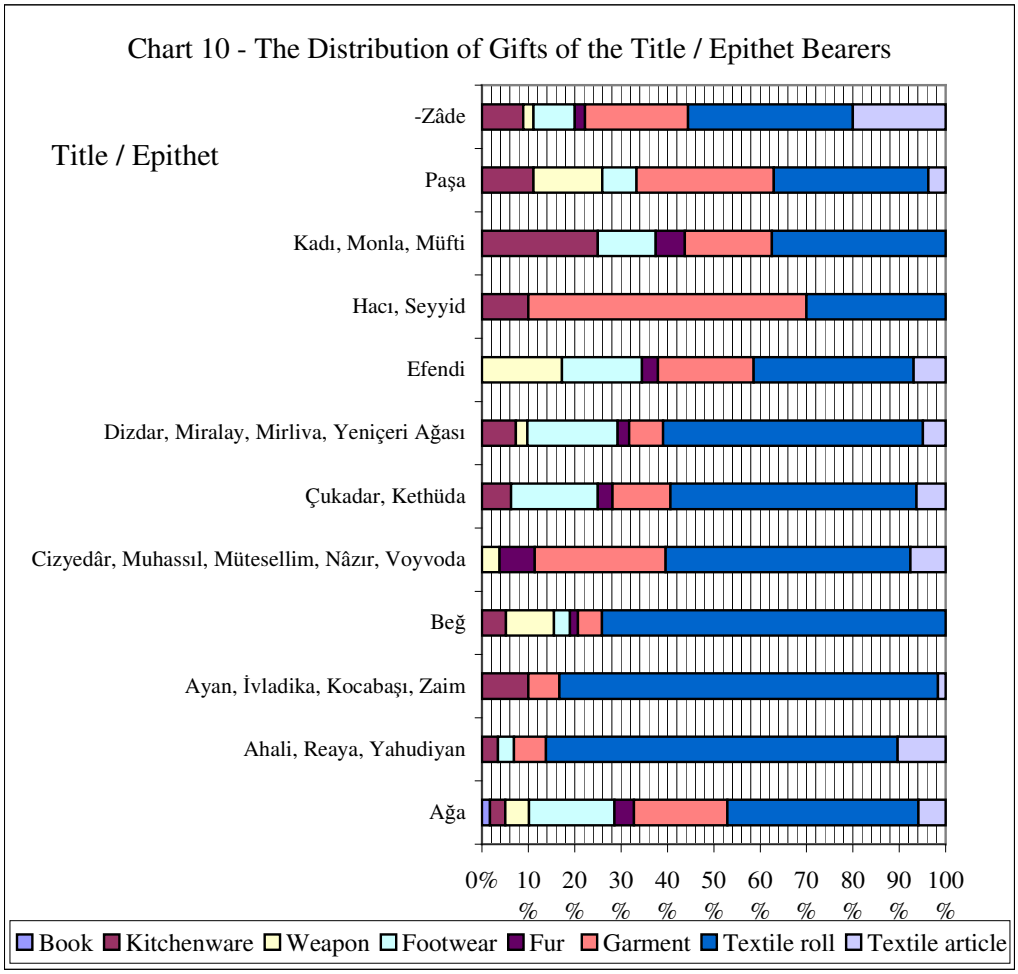


Chart 9 - The Contribution to Gifts vis-a-vis Social Strata
Textile article
Textile roll
Garment
Fur
Footwear
Weapon
Kitchenware
Book
0%
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
100%
Administrator
Agent (grandee household)
Agent (imperial household)
Finance administrator
High-ranking administrator/military
Law administrator
Local community
Local notable
Low-ranking military
Mid-ranking administrator/military
Mid-ranking military
Military officer
Tax agent
Trade agent

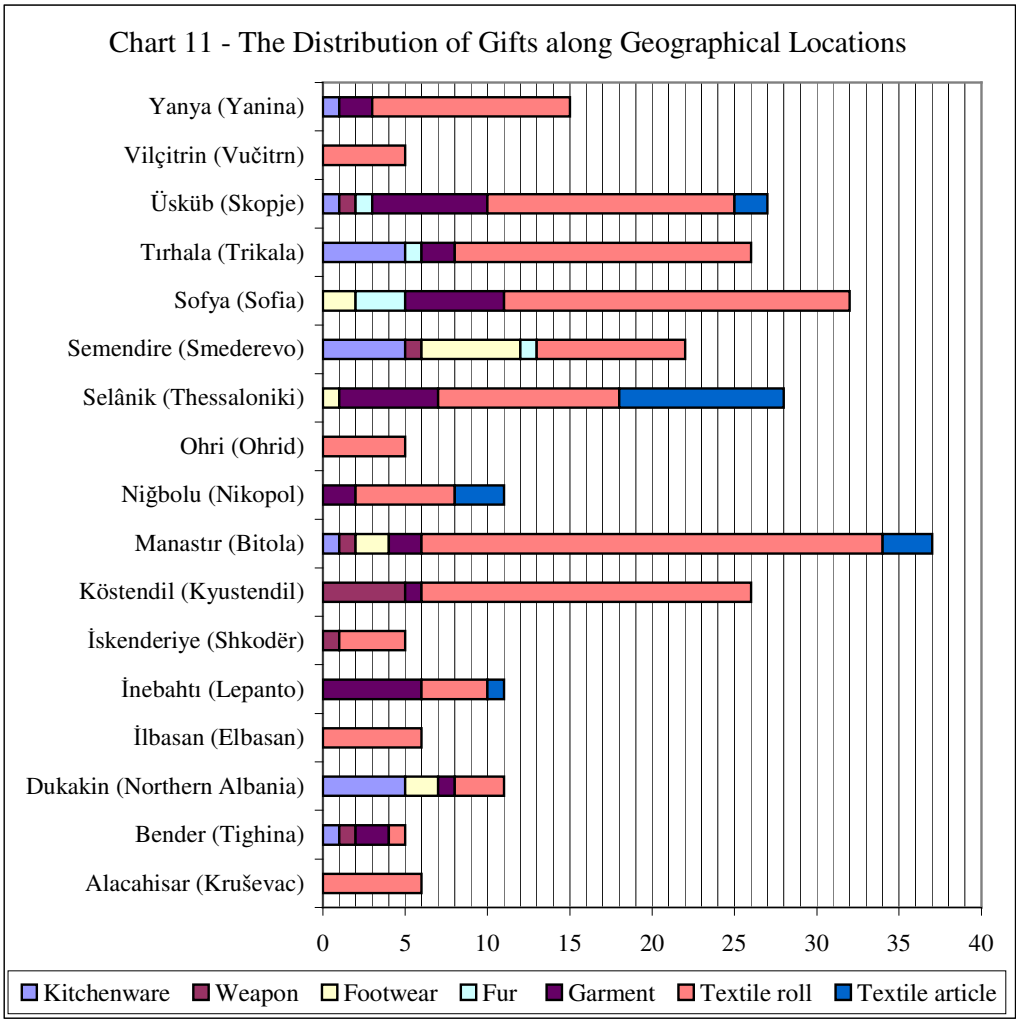


The correspondence between the markers of social standing and the bestowed articles is demonstrated on the chart 9 & 10,[264] and the distribution of gifts according to the geographical locations on the chart 11.[265] Overall, the locations with an item size over 25 is Manastır (Bitola, Macedonia), Sofya (Sofia, Bulgaria), Selânik

[264] Also see, the table 6 & 7, Appendix I, below. The relevant charts and tables depend on the total donor population. With due limitations of the quantitative data, some adjustments are in order. Although the differentiation of bestowals through the quality of the gift articles is evident, the extent of this differentiation is almost impossible to compute, because of the discrepancy between what is recorded and what actually existed. Even if we would have been provided with the actual objects, we would be no better served for the task of comparing the economic value of the gifts (the quest of attaching price tags to the items is both unlikely and forced). Therefore, notwithstanding the roughness of the comparisons I have endeavored with respect to the connection between bestowed articles and the donors, ordinal and rather impressionistic, the employment of the distributions shown on the charts and tables is of heuristic value.

[265] Also see, the table 8, Appendix I, below. Chart 8 & 11 exclude the cases when less than three gift bestowals arrive from a given county, and depend on the data provided on table 8. Yet the sample size is 65% of the total population for donors.

(Thessaloniki, Greece), Üsküb (Skopje, Macedonia), Tırhala (Trikala, Greece), and Köstendil (Kyustendil, Bulgaria), in descending order.[266]



Even though Manastır appears to be well-represented across the segments of the society, with a strong textile-oriented character in bestowed gifts overall, Sofya, possibly still remaining as the seat of provincial government,[267] is the place noteworthy for the presence of key people, e.g. *dāmād efendi* (the son-in-law) of the "beneficent patron" as the *monlā*, an Ömer Agha in the position of *mütesellim*, and

[266] On the basis of the number of donor parties, it is Manastır (20), Sofya (14), Köstendil (12), Selânik (11), Tırhala (11), and Üsküb (8), in descending order. With respect to the average item size, it is almost vice versa, Üsküb (3.00), Tırhala (2.42), Selânik (2.15), Sofya (1.88), Köstendil (1.73), and Manastır (1.61).

[267] Halil İnalcık, "Rūmeli," *EI*^{2}, VIII: 607b-611b, p. 611a. If the capital of the Rumelia moved from Sofya to Manastır, it remains uncertain whether this happened by the end of 18th century or earlier. Compare, Svetlana Ivanova, "Sofya," *EI*^{2}, IX: 702a-706a, p. 703a; Michael Ursinus, "Manāstır," *EI*^{2}, VI: 371b-372a, p. 372a.

Abram, the Jew, probably the banker of the "beneficent patron," and Yenişehir (Larissa, Greece) might be a possible place of residence, for a considerable time.[268]

If we attend to the patterns set forth in the previous chapter, the fact that the textile rolls are relatively under-represented for the parties bearing the epithet of agha, *hacı*, *seyyid*, or *efendi*, or identified as the agents of the grandee households, or the geographical locations of Bender (Tighina, Moldova), Dukakin (Northern Albania), İnebahtı (Lepanto, Greece), and Semendire (Smederevo, Serbia), arguably all frontier towns at this juncture, becomes significant. Whereas the greater share of textile articles or garments complement the textile rolls if the textile-orientation is to be maintained, as in the examples of agha, *hacı*, *seyyid*, or geographically speaking, Bender and İnebahtı, the bestowals by the *ḳāḍī*, *monlā*, *muftī*, *efendi*, or from Dukakin, and Semendire exhibits less of a textile-oriented preference. We should also note that the garment (or textile article) / textile roll rate as greater for *hacı*, *seyyid*, pasha, the new breed of administrators (various agents specialized in one aspect of revenue collection, e.g. *cizyedār*, *muḥaṣṣıl*, *mütesellim*, *nāẓır*, *voyvoda*), or those in the claim of succesion to a notable, a pattern present in the bestowals from Üsküb, Selânik, İnebahtı, or Bender; in contrast to the lower rates of local groups and notables, those titled *beğ*, or the older breed in the governing positions (several officials of a military backgound or duties, e.g. fortress or legion commander, county governor, janissary agha). Some reserve for non-textile items is retained in the bestowals primarily from Tırhala, Semendire, Sofya, and Dukakin, and only at a minor rate from Üsküb, Manastır, and Bender (for Yanya [Yanina, Greece], Selânik,

[268] The gifts of the son-in-law includes 2 footwear and 3 textile roll items, dating 2 Zilhicce 1144/27 May 1732. Ömer Agha's bestowal includes one item of fur, dated 23 Ramazan 1144/20 March 1732. An item classified as garment is bestowed by Abram, on 8 Cemâziyelâhır 1144/8 December 1731, possibly, as well as 2 items of textile rolls, bestowed by the son-in-law of Abram, together with another person on 25 Rebîülâhır 1144/27 October 1731, at the inception of the gift log. Two bestowals with an item size of 6 by *re'āyā* and *monlā* of Yenişehir is remarkable, the latter including fur as well, respectively dated 26 Rebîülâhır 1144/28 October 1731 and 3 Şevval 1146/9 March 1734. Also see, p. 70 n. 261, above.

and İskenderiye [Shkodër, Albania], there are only single items of non-textile category), whereas the bestowals from the remaining counties exclusively rely on a textile item of a sort.

When furs are under focus, we observe that the proponents of revenue collection, and the affiliates of a grandee household are well-represented, coming mainly from Sofya, and secondarily from Üsküb, Tırhala, and Semendire. No weapon is bestowed by an agent of a grandee household, nor by a local notable, in the strict sense of the term, whereas the donors of weapons mainly bear the titles of pasha, *efendi*, or *beğ*, the latter of whom might be locally based, with a concentration in Köstendil, and the presence of Üsküb, Semendire, Manastır, İskenderiye, and Bender, in single cases. Footwear do have a place in the bestowals by the agents of the grandee households, and the officials of a military bend, commonly departing from Semendire, Sofya, Dukakin, and Manastır, and once from Selânik. The gift articles would most probably be categorized as kitchenware if the donors are the agents of the imperial household, *ḳāḍī*, or *defterdār*, in addition to the considerable contribution of the local notables to this category, in contrast to that of the administrators and the agents of the grandee households relative to their numbers.

If the main hues are suggested with the broad strokes of the brush, the finer shades should also be mentioned. The maximum item size in the gift log is 11, of a bestowal dated 1 Safer 1145/24 July 1732 by *ketkhudā beğ*, which notably includes textile rolls, garments, kitchenware, and fur.[269] Another notable bestowal, dated 20 Receb 1145/6 January 1733, by Nu'mān Pasha, includes 9 items comprising

[269] MAD 1279, p. 10. This person could be Kel Ahmed Paşa. Compare, Mehmed Süreyya, "Ahmed Paşa (Kel)," in *Sicill-i Osmanî*: I, 214; Şem'dânî-zâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I, pp. 29-30. If this supposition is to be maintained we should also mention a bestowal of 6 items, fur, weapon, kitchenware, footwear, and textile rolls, dated 3 Rebîülâhır 1146/13 September 1733 by "*müjde[ci]başı* Ahmed-Paşa-zâde Ali Beğ." MAD 1279, p. 12. If we might identify the latter as former's son, according to the *Sicill-i Osmanî*, he should be around 30 years old at the time of bestowal. The earliest dated assignment of Ali Beğ, that *Sicill* records, is the post of *büyük mīr-ākhūr* in 1165/1752. "Ali Paşa (Hacı)," *ibid*., I: 285-286, VI: p. 1737.

kitchenware, footwear, garments and textile rolls.[270] If the item size is a relevant aspect of bestowals in order to ascertain the character of gift-giving, the recurrence of the same parties as donors is another. The single items of textile rolls bestowed in close succession, dated 24 Rebîülevvel 1146/4 September 1733, 3 Rebîülâhır 1146/13 September 1733, and 4 Cemâziyelevvel 1146/13 October 1733, by the *ḳocabāşı* of Görice (Korçë, Albania) is an example of such recurrence similar to that of the gifts of the *beğ* of Boghdān (Moldavia).[271] Subsequently, the bestowals with a sample size over 3 constitute 12.6% of all bestowals, and as far as the parties could be identified, there is no example of successive bestowals more than three times in the two and a half years the record of which is kept in the gift log.

[270] There is the earlier bestowal of 4 items, garments and textile rolls, by the same Numan Pasha, dated 29 Rebîülâhır 1144/31 October 1731, when the "beneficent patron" of the gift-log just became the governor of Rumelia. In these instances of bestowal, Numan Pasha is mentioned with the epithet of *ḥaḍret*, the use of which is infrequent for the parties other than the "beneficent patron" of the gift log. One candidate is the Numan Pasha, who was the acting governor of the İskenderiye county from 8 Rebîülevvel 1142/1 October 1729 onwards (probably for a year) and happens to be the guardian of Azov fortress and Bender in 1145/1733, yet I couldn't locate his exact position for the time in-between. He is noted as the uncle (in-law) and *ketkhudā* of Karayılanzāde Mehmed Pasha. See, Mehmed Süreyya, "Nu'man Paşa," *ibid*., IV: 1264; Başar, *Osmanlı Eyâlet Tevcihâtı*, p. 42.

[271] The bestowals, by the *beğ* of Boghdān, of a pair of gold-studded revolver and a gold-studded rifle, three items classified as textile rolls, and two items, again textile rolls, dates 21 Cemâziyelevvel 1145/9 November 1732, 10 Şabân 1145/26 January 1733, and 18 Şevval 1145/3 April 1733, respectively. Probably, the person under consideration is Grigore Ghica II who retains his position from September 1726 to April 1733. http://www.ici.ro/romania/en/istorie/hi91.html Apparently, Ghica brothers were quite influential, acting in the capacity of translators, for the diplomatic communication and negotiations, and as such recipients of many gifts on behalf of themselves. Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, pp. 49-52, 56-60, 93 *et passim*.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The modest contribution I have attempted by the way of this study is to attain a basic understanding of gift-giving by making use of an extant gift log, MAD 1279. The primary limitation is that the gift log is not considered, unfortunately, in its entirety, as the construction of the databases went by. Although several changes have been made afterwards to accommodate the various transactions in the gift log into the database to be inclusive of them, the problem could not be resolved. Hence the *in'ām*s were left out for no other reason than this. The analysis relies on the "gifts," in the terminological sense, yet the issue is to understand what that word corresponds to conceptually, which cannot be arrived at without making a sense of the encompassing web of social relationships. Since we do not have a sufficient number of comparable studies or frame-building attempts at hand on this topic, I have undertaken a survey research which overall encompasses the archival work. The conclusions drawn are highly limited and speculative, yet have heuristic value for further research.[272]

The perusal of anthropological literature, the basic arguments of which I could figure out to an extent and present in the first chapter, attests to the fact that the study of gifts constitutes neither an aspect of the "cultural" trait of the Ottoman society, that is resilient against the non-cultural phenomena, nor a simple derivative

[272] Apparently, the argument for the deep impact of the economic decisions made by the prime minister as shaping the livelihood of your family and your childhood is sound under a nation-state, whereas using macro parameters to understand a micro practice like gift-giving in the 18th century of Ottoman society faces due caution. The extant gift log belongs to a member of the Ottoman society, as by society we mean *societas*, not so much fellowship but partnership as in a firm, as Salzmann regards the pasha households to be, in the character of institutionalized patronage. Thus, it is not altogether unreasonable to presume that the micro practices of the elite might have to do with macro phenomena upon which the same elite made consequential decisions. However, the micro and macro phenomena never meets neatly, since both are consistent and regularized within, yet, in order to understand, even provisionally, human understanding makes a totality, albeit limited, out of what is extant, the world.

of antiquarian interest. The proposed functions of gift-giving wherewithal social cohesion, communications, and the value systems were stabilized via controlled and ritualized exchange, are fundamental to an understanding of the phenomena.[273]

Valentin Groebner's suggestive analysis of the rise of the agents as the embodiment of the early modern bureaucracy, the emergence of which is secured and publicized via transfers regarded as "gifts," was quite inspiring when read against the contributions by Tülay Artan and Hedda Reindl-Kiel, specifically, and the works of Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, Mehmet Genç, and Ariel Salzmann, in general. The way the records of the gift log responds to the inquiry of a possible presence of a comparative development that can be observed in MAD 1279, is an affirmation of the proposition for the participation of a wide pool of local and mid-level state functionaries in the exchange of gifts with the grandee under consideration in the name of whom the gift log is kept. In other words, the gift exchange, as revealed in MAD 1279, is by no means confined to the circles of the elite. Furthermore, the variability in quality notwithstanding, the number of items remained rather low excepting for the bestowals of a roughly 10% of the donor population. The pattern of bestowals over time does not strictly conform to the annual festive occasions, and I have no evidence to argue for a sense of ceremonious bestowals. Thus, the gift bestowals recorded in the gift log are transfers of a sort, but whether they were bribes, payments or fees cannot be conclusively replied for the lack of an account portraying the immediate context of gift bestowal.

On the question of bribery and corruption, it is remarked that:

> Bribes are then payments made to *agents* by people who are not their principals in return for a well-understood quid pro quo. For corruption to occur, the agent must

[273] I do not claim that gift-giving universally assumes these functions, yet the ubiquity of these aspects is worth consideration. For the different manners of gift-giving, socialization into these manners, and partial incommunicado across cultural boundaries, compare, Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange," p. 114, 118; and, Shay, *The Ottoman empire from 1720 to 1734*, p. 48, 55.

> have both discretion and monopoly power... Furthermore, corrupt relationships may be easier if the same small group deals with each other in numerous different contexts... Bribes may be a relatively efficient way to transfer rents from private individuals and organizations to public officials. Corruption is then a symptom of the underlying rent generating character of the state.[274]

The agents present at the gift log does not appear at a high rate of recurrence, most of them only once. As Metin Kunt observes, the provincial governors achieve a high degree of autonomy 17th century onwards, and arguably, we might suggest that the main patron in the gift log has "both discretion and monopoly power" with regard to the government of the province whereas the devolution of tax assessment and collection tasks over the local agents necessitated a margin of communication and negotiation with the local elements. Therefore, the parties might also stand as parties to bribery in relation to each other, but by personal judgment I would suppose that the overall volume of exchange and the features of the human material in the gift log signal a communicative function, where the respective standing of the parties is recognized and maintained, rather than a substantial transfer of wealth/rent. The bestowals distinguished for the number of items and the quality of articles should rather be taken as a token of the status of the donor due his post or proximity to the recipient. Nonetheless, the inability to locate any trace of a quid pro quo does not rule out the possibility of bribery actualized in one way or another, but it is hard to argue that the main character of gift-giving in this gift log is one of a market exchange or bribery.

By the way of a conclusion, it is propounded that the sequence of gifts bestowed upon a grandee in the second quarter of the 18th century could be regarded as access fees due office, bearing in mind that the character of the political rule of the era is pretty much corporate, e.g. the staff of the grandee households assuming governmental posts or administrative duties. As such, the study of the gifts reveals

[274] Susan Rose-Ackerman, "Bribes and Gifts," in *Economics, Values, and Organization*: 296-328, p. 300, 309. (italics in the original)

the pattern and the structure of connections among the elite to sketch the biographical facts and the prosopographical regularities, for the greater task of approaching an understanding of the institutional change involving political power.

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APPENDIX I: TABLES

TABLE 2	DATABASE 1		DATABASE 2						
TIME (month)	BESTOWAL OF GIFTS						CONSUMPTION OF GIFTS		
	[A] # of Bestowal	[B] # of Items	[C] # of Bestowal	[D] # of Items	[E] Aver-age Item Size	[F] # of Items (Eventually Consumed)	[G] Rate of the Eventual Consump-tion (%)	[H] # of Items	[I] Aver-age Time Inter-val
Rebîülâhır 1144	12	43	12	43	3.58	25.5	59.30	4.0	1.5
Cemâziyelevvel 1144	11	21	11	21	1.91	7.8	37.14	9.3	25.4
Cemâziyelâhir 1144	28	47	27	45	1.67	19.1	42.44	18.3	20.3
Receb 1144	8	16	8	16	2.00	2.0	12.50	8.5	44.9
Şabân 1144	10	15	5	9	1.80	2.0	22.22	1.0	51.0
Ramazan 1144	4	5	4	5	1.25	3.0	60.00	1.5	35.7
Şevval 1144	4	6	4	6	1.50	4.0	66.67	3.0	22.7
Zilka'de 1144	16	35	13	31	2.38	14.0	45.16	7.5	26.3
Zilhicce 1144	17	34	11	25	2.27	8.0	32.00	4.5	20.9
Muharrem 1145	6	11	5	9	1.80	4.0	44.44	2.0	1.0
Safer 1145	7	26	6	24	4.00	7.5	31.25	1.0	85.0
Rebîülevvel 1145	1	2							
Rebîülâhır 1145									
Cemâziyelevvel 1145	3	6	3	6	2.00	4.0	66.67		
Cemâziyelâhir 1145	2	5	2	5	2.50	1.0	20.00	1.0	23.0
Receb 1145	4	14	4	14	3.50	4.0	28.57	2.5	48.2
Şabân 1145	3	9	3	9	3.00	3.5	38.89		
Ramazan 1145	1	5	1	5	5.00	2.0	40.00		
Şevval 1145	1	2	1	2	2.00	0.0	0.00	5.0	106.4
Zilka'de 1145	11	20	7	13	1.86	2.0	15.38		
Zilhicce 1145	26	43	16	27	1.69	2.0	7.41	1.0	268.0
Muharrem 1146	11	19	7	12	1.71	1.0	8.33		
Safer 1146	5	9	3	5	1.67	0.0	0.00	2.0	35.0
Rebîülevvel 1146	2	2							
Rebîülâhır 1146	10	25	8	23	2.88	0.0	0.00		
Cemâziyelevvel 1146	2	3							
Cemâziyelâhir 1146	4	14	3	12	4.00	2.5	20.83	2.5	47.2
Receb 1146	1	1	1	1	1.00	0.0	0.00		
Şabân 1146	1	5	1	5	5.00	0.0	0.00		
Ramazan 1146	2	8	2	8	4.00	0.0	0.00		
Şevval 1146	10	24	4	17	4.25	0.0	0.00		
Total	223	475	172	398		118.9	29.87	74.6	
Mean (μ)	7.19	15.32	6.37	14.74	2.31				35.0
Standard deviation (σ)	6.92	13.32	5.67	11.51					

TABLE 3	THE CATEGORIES FOR ITEMS BESTOWED							
TIME (month)	[A] Book	[B] Kitchenware	[C] Weapon	[D] Footwear	[E] Fur	[F] Garment	[G] Textile roll	[H] Textile article
Rebîülâhır 1144		1			1	4	37	
Cemâziyelevvel 1144	1		2	1		4	7	6
Cemâziyelâhir 1144		2	6	2	1	6	28	
Receb 1144		1	3	6		1	5	
Şabân 1144		2	1	2		1	3	
Ramazan 1144				2	2	1		
Şevval 1144		1			1		4	
Zilka'de 1144		1		6	2	6	13	2
Zilhicce 1144		6		8		2	7	2
Muharrem 1145				1		3	3	1
Safer 1145		2		4	1	7	7	2
Rebîülevvel 1145								
Rebîülâhır 1145								
Cemâziyelevvel 1145			3			2	1	
Cemâziyelâhir 1145						2		1
Receb 1145		4		4		2	4	
Şabân 1145			1			1	5	2
Ramazan 1145						3	2	
Şevval 1145							2	
Zilka'de 1145	1	1	3			5	2	1
Zilhicce 1145		10		4		6	4	2
Muharrem 1146		2		2		3	4	1
Safer 1146		2				1	2	
Rebîülevvel 1146								
Rebîülâhır 1146		1	3	2	1	3	12	
Cemâziyelevvel 1146								
Cemâziyelâhir 1146					1	4	7	
Receb 1146						1		
Şabân 1146						1		3
Ramazan 1146						2	1	5
Şevval 1146		1			1	6	4	1
Total	2	37	22	44	11	77	164	29
# of Consumed	0	8	2	1	8	25	72	5
Consumption within the Category (%)	0.0	21.6	9.1	2.3	72.7	32.5	43.9	17.2

TABLE 4	[A] # OF ITEMS (Eventually Consumed)	THE DOMAIN OF CONSUMPTION (Household)			THE MANNER OF CONSUMPTION				
TIME (month)		[B] Intra	[C] Extra	[D] Adjunct	[E] Given (*verildi / dade*)	[F] Granted (*in'am*)	[G] Submitted (*teslim*)	[H] Sent (*irsal*)	[I] Spent (*sarf / şüde*)
Rebîülâhır 1144	25.5	14.5	9.5	1.5	12.5	10	1		2
Cemâziyelevvel 1144	7.8	4.3	2.5	1	4.2	2.5			1.1
Cemâziyelâhir 1144	19.1	12.25	4.83	2	10.75	4.33	2		2
Receb 1144	2.0	1	1		1	1			
Şabân 1144	2.0		2		2				
Ramazan 1144	3.0	2	1		2	1			
Şevval 1144	4.0	2.5	1.5		3				1
Zilka'de 1144	14.0	13			8	2			3
Zilhicce 1144	8.0	3.5	4.5		5	1	2		
Muharrem 1145	4.0	2		2	1	2	1		
Safer 1145	7.5	4.75	2.25	0.5	4	1.5		1	
Rebîülevvel 1145									
Rebîülâhır 1145									
Cemâziyelevvel 1145	4.0	2	2		1			3	
Cemâziyelâhir 1145	1.0	1			1				
Receb 1145	4.0	4			3			1	
Şabân 1145	3.5	1.5	1					2.25	0.25
Ramazan 1145	2.0	2							2
Şevval 1145									
Zilka'de 1145	2.0		2			2			
Zilhicce 1145	2.0	1	1			1	1		
Muharrem 1146	1.0		1			1			
Safer 1146									
Rebîülevvel 1146									
Rebîülâhır 1146									
Cemâziyelevvel 1146									
Cemâziyelâhir 1146	2.5		2.5			2.5			
Receb 1146									
Şabân 1146									
Ramazan 1146									
Şevval 1146									
Total Population	118.9	71.3	38.6	7	58.5	31.8	7	7.3	11.4
Percentage in the Population (%)		61	33	6	50.4	27.5	6	6.3	9.8

TABLE 5	TITLE / EPITHET																													
	Ağ.	Ah.	Ay.	B.	C.	Ç.	De.	Di.	E.	H.	İ.	Ka.	Ko.	Mira.	Mirl.	Mo.	Mu.	Müf.	Müt.	N.	P.	R.	S.	Ş.	V.	Y.	-Zâde	Zâ.	Za.	Other
Ağa	29				1	1				1				1			2		2				3		3	5	5	7	3	10
Ahali		5																												
Ayan			2																											
Beğ				17										5					1								3	1	2	1
Cizyedâr	1				3																									
Çukadar	1					5				1																				1
Defterdar							2		2																					
Dizdar								3																						
Efendi							2		9			1				1								3			4			
Hacı	1					1				1																				2
İvladika											6																			
Kadı									1			4															3			
Kocabaşı													5																	
Miralay	1			5										2																
Mirliva															4															
Monla									1							3														
Muhassıl	2																1													
Müfti																		3												
Mütesellim	2			1															1											
Nâzır																				3										
Paşa																					4						1			2
Reaya																						4								
Seyyid	3																													
Şeyh									3															1						
Voyvoda	3																													
Yeniçeri	5																													
-Zâde	5			3					4			3									1								1	8
Zâde	7			1																										
Zaim	3			2																							1		6	

TABLE 6	# of People	# of Bestowals	Average Item Size	σ in item size	Book	Kitchenware	Weapon	Footwear	Fur	Garment	Textile roll	Textile article	N_{item}
Administrator	20	23	2.48	1.64	0	3	3	2	2	8	35	3	56
Agent (grandee household)	21	22	2.90	2.37	2	3	0	12	4	12	23	2	58
Agent (imperial household)	2	2	1.00	0.00	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Finance administrator	3	3	1.00	0.00	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
High-ranking administrator / military	2	2	4.50	0.50	0	0	1	0	0	3	4	1	9
Law administrator	3	3	1.00	0.00	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Local community	13	15	2.27	1.53	0	1	0	1	0	3	26	3	34
Local notable	80	88	1.79	1.14	0	15	6	5	1	21	89	14	151
Low-ranking military	3	3	3.00	2.16	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	1	9
Mid-ranking administrator / military	10	10	2.10	1.14	0	0	0	0	0	2	17	1	20
Mid-ranking military	15	16	1.56	0.61	0	0	1	6	0	1	17	0	25
Military officer	6	6	2.67	0.75	0	0	1	4	1	3	4	2	15
Tax agent	3	5	3.80	2.48	0	0	1	0	2	7	7	1	18
Trade agent	1	2	2.50	0.50	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
Unclassified	23	27	2.19	1.10	0	7	7	10	1	12	19	1	57
Total	205	227	2.16	1.62	2	37	22	44	11	76	244	29	

TABLE 7	# of people	# of bestowals	Average item size	σ in item size	Book	Kitchenware	Weapon	Footwear	Fur	Garment	Textile roll	Textile article
Ağa	57	64	1.98	1.33	2	4	6	22	5	24	49	7
Ahali	5	6	2.17	1.46	0	0	0	1	0	2	7	3
Ayan	2	2	2.00	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0
Beğ	26	31	1.93	1.12	0	3	6	2	1	3	43	0
Cizyedâr	3	5	3.80	2.48	0	0	1	0	2	7	7	1
Çukadar	2	3	1.33	0.47	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Defterdar	3	3	1.00	0.00	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
Dizdar	3	3	1.67	0.47	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0
Efendi	9	11	2.64	1.67	0	0	5	5	1	6	10	2
Hacı	4	5	1.20	0.40	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	0
İvladika	7	9	2.25	0.83	0	6	0	0	0	1	11	0
Kadı	3	3	1.00	0.00	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kethüda	6	6	4.67	3.40	0	2	0	4	1	4	17	0
Kocabaşı	5	7	2.14	1.73	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0
Miralay	8	9	1.67	0.67	0	0	0	2	0	0	13	0
Mirliva	4	4	2.00	0.71	0	3	0	0	0	0	5	0
Monla	3	4	3.50	2.06	0	2	0	2	1	1	5	0
Muhassıl	3	4	4.75	2.28	0	0	0	0	1	6	8	3
Müfti	2	2	1.00	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Mütesellim	4	4	1.25	0.43	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0
Nâzır	3	3	2.67	0.94	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0
Paşa	6	7	3.86	2.53	0	3	4	2	0	8	9	1
Reaya	4	4	2.75	1.92	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0
Seyyid	3	4	1.00	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Voyvoda	3	3	1.33	0.47	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Yeniçeri Ağası	5	5	2.80	0.75	0	0	1	2	1	3	4	2
-Zâde	24	24	1.67	1.33	0	4	1	4	1	10	16	9
Zaim	11	12	2.00	1.08	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	1

TABLE 8				TITLE / EPITHET								GIFT ITEMS						
Location	County	# of People	Average Item Size	Zâde	Beğ	Ağa	Kadı, Monla, Müfti	Dizdar, Miralay, Mirliva, Yeniçeri Ağası	Cizyedâr, Muhassıl, Mutasarrıf, Mütesellim, Nâzır, Voyvoda	Ayan, İvladika, Kocabaşı, Zaim	Ahali, Reaya	Kitchenware	Weapon	Footwear	Fur	Garment	Textile roll	Textile article
Alacahisar [Kruševac, Serbia]	Alacahisar	1	2.00						1								2	
Leskofça [Leskovac, Serbia]	Alacahisar	2	2.00							2							4	
Bender [Tighina, Moldova]	Bender	3	1.67					2			1	1	1			2	1	
Dukakin [Northern Albania]	Dukakin	1	2.00					1						2				
Gosina [Albania?]	Dukakin	1	1.00					1									1	
İpek [Peć, Serbia]	Dukakin	2	3.50							2		4				1	2	
Yakova [Djakovica, Serbia]	Dukakin	1	1.00		1							1						
İlbasan [Elbasan, Albania]	İlbasan	4	1.50	1	1												6	
İnebahtı [Lepanto (Naupactus), Greece]	İnebahtı	2	5.50						2							6	3	1
Olendorik [Lidoriki, Greece]	İnebahtı	1	1.00			1			1								1	
Bar [Bar, Montenegro]	İskenderiye	1	1.00			1		1					1					
İskenderiye [Shkodër, Albania]	İskenderiye	1	1.00	1													1	
Podgoriçe [Podgorica, Montenegro]	İskenderiye	1	1.00			1											1	
Tiran [Tirana, Albania]	İskenderiye	2	1.00	2													2	

Dubniçe [Dupnitsa, Bulgaria]	Köstendil	2	1.50						1	1			1				2	
İvranya [Vranje, Serbia]	Köstendil	3	1.67		1	2							1				4	
İzenbol [Znepole, Bulgaria]	Köstendil	1	1.00				1										1	
Köstendil [Kyustendil, Bulgaria]	Köstendil	4	2.00		1		1	1		2			3			1	8	
Menlik [Melnik, Bulgaria]	Köstendil	1	1.00			1			1								1	
Radomir [Radomir, Bulgaria]	Köstendil	1	2.00			1				1							4	
Alasonya [Elassonos, Greece]	Manastır	2	3.00		1	1				1		1					5	
Debre [Debar, Macedonia]	Manastır	3	1.00		2	1		1								1	2	
Görice [Korçë, Albania]	Manastır	2	1.00		1					1							5	
Karacalar	Manastır	1	3.00			1											2	1
Manastır [Bitola, Macedonia]	Manastır	2	1.50				1		1				1				2	
Mat [Mat, Albania]	Manastır	1	1.00	1													1	
Nasliç [close to Kozani?, Greece]	Manastır	2	1.50			1				1							3	
Pirlepe [Prilep, Macedonia]	Manastır	1	2.00			1											2	
Sarıgöl [close to Edessa?, Greece]	Manastır	4	1.50	1		1				1				2		1	2	1
Serfiçe [close to Bitola?, Macedonia]	Manastır	2	2.50			1					1						4	1
Niğbolu [Nikopol, Bulgaria]	Niğbolu	2	3.00			1			2							2		3

Tırnova [Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria]	Niğbolu	2	3.00							2							6	
İstarova [Starovë, Albania]	Ohri	1	1.00			1											1	
Ohri [Ohrid, Macedonia]	Ohri	2	2.00		2			1									4	
Doyran [Doirani, Greece]	Selânik	1	2.00	1													2	
Karaferye [Veria, Greece	Selânik	4	2.80	2		1					1					4	1	9
Köprülü [Veles, Macedonia]	Selânik	1	2.50								1			1			4	
Selânik [Thessaloniki, Greece]	Selânik	3	1.67	1	1			1								2	2	1
Serez [Serres, Greece]	Selânik	1	1.00					1									1	
Yenice-i Vardar [Giannitsa, Greece]	Selânik	1	1.00		1												1	
Niş [Niš, Serbia]	Semendire	8	2.00			3	2	2	1	1		4	1	6	1		6	
Semendire [Smederevo, Serbia]	Semendire	1	1.00		1			1									1	
Üzice [Užice, Serbia]	Semendire	2	1.50		1		1		1			1					2	
Samakov [Samokov, Bulgaria]	Sofya	1	1.00							1						1	1	
Sofya [Sofia, Bulgaria]	Sofya	12	2.00	1			4		2	1	3			2	3	6	17	
Şehirköy [Pirot, Serbia]	Sofya	1	1.50			1				1							3	
Ermiye	Tırhala	1	1.00								1						1	
Tırhala [Trikala, Greece]	Tırhala	5	2.20	1		1		2		1		4				1	6	
Velesin [Velusina?, Macedonia]	Tırhala	1	1.00								1						1	
Yenişehir [Larissa, Greece]	Tırhala	4	3.20			1	1				2	1			1	1	1	

Üsküb [Skopje, Macedonia]	Üsküb	7	3.13	2		2	2		3			1	1		1	7	13	2
Gostivar [Gostivar, Macedonia]	Üsküb	1	2.00	1													2	
Priştine [Priština, Serbia]	Vilçitrin	3	1.67	1		2											5	
Grebene [Grevena, Greece]	Yanya	5	1.20	1		1				3						1	5	
Koniçe [Konče, Macedonia]	Yanya	2	1.50		2												3	
Leskovik [Leskovik, Albania]	Yanya	1	2.00			1											2	
Yanya [Yanina, Greece]	Yanya	2	2.00	2								1				1	2	
Total		130		19	16	29	13	15	16	22	11	19	10	13	6	38	174	19

APPENDIX II: THE TRANSCRIPTION OF MAD 1279

[flap]

hazîne-i âmireden mehterân-ı tabl-ı âleme teslim fî 9 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
zurna aded 4
nakra [naḳḳāre] çift atik 3 cedid 2 =5
zil çift atik 1 cedid 2 =3
cedid boru aded 3

[p. 1]

silahdar ağanın âsitâne-i saâdetden getürdiği mevaddın masârifi beyan şüde sene 144

silahdar ağanın getürdiği mevaddın çukadar-ı enderuna teslim fî 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
sûf kerrake aded 1 _____ 1 be-dest-i mühr-dâr ağa =2 +1 be-yed-i sermehterân-ı enderun =3 –1 Selanik yeniçeri ağasına =2 +2 def'aten teslim _____ =4 –1 Yergöğü beği Hüseyin efendiye fî 11 cemâziyelevvel sene
sûf ferace aded 1 Selanikde naibe puşide
sûf ferace aded 1 teslim fî 11 cemâziyelevvel sene 144 +2 fî 24 cemâziyelevvel sene

raht şeritleri ma' tahta aded 2 raht-vâna

sırmalı çuka kırmızı kesme aded 1 raht-vâna teslim

berây-ı teslim-i yed-i mehterân-ı tabl-ı âlem ber mevadd-ı mezbur fî 9 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144 (mevadd-hâ __?) an âsitâne be-yed-i silahdar ağa
boru aded 1 +1 fî 12 cemâziyelâhır sene
kaba zurna aded 2 +1
cura zurna aded 2 +2 fî 12 cemâziyelâhır sene
zil çift 1 +1 def'aten fî 21 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
nakra çift 1

[p. 2]

berây-ı defter hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimiz eyalet-i Rumeli'ne mutasarrıf olduğunda gelen hedaye fî sene 1144

Abram yahudinin damadından ve İsak'ın kaynı yahudiden fî 25 rebîülâhır sene 1144
hare donluk aded 2
çuka yeşil donluk aded 1
Yenişehirli Haşimî Şerif Çelebi'ye in'am fî 27 cemâziyelevvel sene 144

Abdülaziz efendinin getürdiği hedaye
yeşil kemer-bend kuşak aded 1
sarık helâlî bendi aded 1
kırmızı ham sûf aded 1 harem dade fî
alaca kutni top aded 1
kırmızı ___ kutnu-yı Hindî top aded 1
karsak kürk tahta aded 2

Niş'de efendimize fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144

Yenişehir reayasından gelen hedâyâ fî 26 rebîülâhır sene 1144
çuka yeşil donluk aded 2 –1 Yenişehir'de Ahmed efendiye fî 29 rebîülâhır sene –1
_____ emire =0
çuka mai donluk aded 1 şeyh efendiye ferace fî 17 cemâziyelâhır
çuka (çimânî?) donluk aded 1
hare siyah donluk aded 2
hare yeşil donluk aded 1
hare sarı donluk aded 1

Serfiçeliler'den gelen hedaye fî 26 rebîülâhır sene 144
çuka mor donluk aded 1
çuka kırmızı donluk aded 1 Yenişehir'de hareme verildi
_____ atlaz donluk aded 1 mektub kesesine masraf fî 9 cemâziyelevvel sene
sarı atlas donluk aded 1 Yenişehir'de hareme verildi

Tırnova kocabaşılarından gelen hediyye fî 27 rebîülâhır sene 1144
çuka kırmızı donluk aded 1 Yenice-i Vardar müftisine in'am fî 10 cemâziyelevvel sene
çuka yeşil donluk aded 1 Yenişehirde hareme verildi 27 rebîülâhır sene
atlas yeşil donluk aded 1 hareme verildi fî 28 rebîülâhır sene

Tırhalalı Ömer ağanın oğlu getürdüğü sim tas aded 1
beğefendimize ihsan fî 29 cemâziyelevvel sene

Tırnova keşişlerinden gelen hedaye fî 27 rebîülâhır sene 1144
hare yeşil donluk aded 1
çuka kırmızı donluk aded 1 ibrikdar-ı sadr-ı âlinin ademlerine çakşır
çuka yeşil donluk aded 1 ferace yapılub der-hazîne olundu fî 6 receb sene 144

Tırhala kocabaşılarından fî 28 rebîülâhır sene
hare kırmızı donluk aded 2
yeşil hare donluk aded 2
kırmızı çuka donluk aded 1
yeşil çuka donluk aded 1 reis efendi tarafından gelen yek-çeşm Halil ağaya in'am fî 21 receb sene
neftî çuka donluk aded 1 Yenişehir'de harem dade
turuncu çuka donluk aded 1 Yenişehir'de harem dade

Alasonyalı Nişlü (?) zaimi Ahmed beğden fî 28 rebîülâhır sene
atlaz kırmızı donluk aded 1 Yenişehir'de hareme verildi
atlaz beyaz donluk aded 1 mektub kesesine sarf fî 10 cemâziyelevvel sene
mor çuka donluk aded 1 +1 çimânî çuka =2 ibrikdar-ı sadr-ı âlinin ademlerine donluk fî 3 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
meneviş çuka donluk aded 1
nefti çuka donluk aded 1 Sofya monlasına in'am fî 6 receb sene

Leskovikli Abdi ağadan hediyye fî 28 rebîülâhır sene

çuka yeşil donluk aded 1 İştib kadısı efendiye in'am fî 3 cemâziyelâhır sene İkbali (?) efendi
cam göbeği hare donluk aded 1

İlbasan sükkanından karakulakzadeden hedaye fî 29 rebîülâhır sene
kırmızı çuka donluk aded 1 çukadar-ı sadr-ı âli Osman ağaya in'am fî 19 cemâziyelevvel sene

fî 29 rebîülâhır sene 1144
gülabdan ma' buhurdan-ı sim aded 1 kilarîye teslim fî 16 cemâziyelâhır sene 144

[p. 3]

_____ şeker kaşığı aded 3 kilarîye teslim fî 16 cemâziyelâhır
(yeşil?) çuka donluk aded 1 ____ 5 efendimiz ferace içün masraf olundu fî 8 receb sene 1144 _____ semur kablandı
mai çuka donluk aded 1 ____ 5 efendimiz semura kablandı fî 28 receb sene 144
biri dahi müezzin efendi ödedi çuka donluk aded 1 ____ 5

an canib-i İslambol be-dest-i çukadar-ı enderun be-irsal kapu kethudası Bekir ağa sene 1144
kaşık deste 12 –1=11 efendimiz Yenişehir'de hareme getirdi
fincan _____ aded 20 kahveciye teslim
fağfuri tabak aded 2
kaftan-ı cedid aded 10 –4 iki divan çavuşlarına iki Aziz efendinin ademisine gönderildi =6 teslim-i kaftan fî 16 cemâziyelâhır
çuka donluk 1 (yeşil?) ___ 5 1 mai ___ 5 1 _____ 5 1 kırmızı =4 ____ 20
kakum kürk tahta aded 6 –2 elçi beğe in'am =4 –1,5 efendimiz sarf fî 8 receb sene 144 =2,5 yarım dahi sarf oldu _____ sarf fî 16 ramazân Yenişehirli damad efendiye in'am fî 3 zilhicce sene 144
kakum deste 5
beyaz tilki boğazı parça çift 2 efendimiz sarf eyledi der menzil-i Ustrumca fî 18 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
karsak tahta aded 2 ikisi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
vaşak parça aded 4 Yenişehir'de efendimiz _____ kürküne sarf eyledi
sûf donluk aded 4 –1 efendimize kontoş şüde fî 20 şevvâl sene 144 =3 –1 efendimize kerrake fî 29 şevvâl sene =2 efendimize kerrake aded 1 ferace aded 1 fî 10 zilka'de sene
haracî kerrake aded 5 ikisi (eslah?) _____
ûd deste 50 efendimize dade be-yed-i mühr-dâr ağa fî 17 minh sene 144
kırmızı sûflu kemer-bend kuşak aded 1
tuğlar aded 2
bir mikdar kalem aded 100 teslim
def'aten sûf donluk aded 5 haracî 5 (ıslahî?) =10 –1 Sofya'da fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 144 =9 –1 der niş fî 18 minh sene =8 –1 feraceye sarf fî 29 şevvâl =7 –1 receb efendiye in'am =6 –2 efendimize ferace aded 2 fî 25 zilhicce sene =4 –2 efendimize ferace aded 1 ve haracî kerrake aded 1 fî 16 safer sene 145 =2 def'aten kerrake aded 2 fî 21 safer sene
frenkî mum deste 200
_____ deste 100
_____ kıyye 1

kozalak aded 500
mürekkeb kıyye 1 mühr-dâr ağaya teslim
sancak ve bayrak tobu aded 5
direkler kovası aded 4
sancak bayrağı aded 3

gümrükçü Ahmed ağa yediyle der-hazîne olunub çukadar-ı enderuna teslim olunmuşdur

meneviş çuka kablı cedid kakum kürk aded 1 damad efendiye melbus
meneviş çuka kablı kakum kürk aded 2
meneviş sûf ferace-i cedid aded 1
süd mai kerrake sûf cedid aded 1 Yenişehir serdarına melbus
def'aten mai kerrake sûf müsteamel münakkaş aded 1 sarıcazâde Mehmed ağaya puşide
al kerrake müsteamel münakkaş aded 1 Tırhala mütesellimine in'am
çizme çift
kırmızı çizme çift
çuka ferace aded 2

Numan paşa hazretlerinden gelen hedaye fî selh-i rebîülâhır sene 1144
(câlibî?) sâde kutnu top 2
alaca kutnu top 2 –1 hareme verildi fî 15 minh sene 144 _____ amed fî 16 minh sene _____ kaftan 2 _____
car şal aded 2
bendî sarık aded 2 –1 efendimize be-dest-i silahdar ağa fî 12 minh sene 144

an canib-i İlbasan hedaye-i İbrahim bey fî 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1 (sâye?) 1 beyaz 1 turuncu =3

topçular menzilinde sarıcazade Mehmed ağadan haracî havlı makrame fî 5 cemâziyelevvel sene çift 10 –1 masarif oldu fî 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 144 9–2 efendimize _____ silahdar ağaya verildi fî 7 cemâziyelevvel sene 144

[p. 4]
berây-ı hedâye-i ahali-yi Karaferye fî 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
kılabdanlı havlı seccade aded 1 hareme fî 15 minh sene
su peşkiri aded 1
sâde hamam rahtı aded 1 mühr-dâr marifetiyle sarf oldu _____ fî 10 cemâziyelevvel sene _____
kılabdanlı hamam rahtı aded 1 hareme verildi fî 15 minh sene 144
havlı makrame çift 2

an canib-i Doyran hedaye-i Seyfullahefendizâde fî 7 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 2 –1=1
kumaş donluk aded 2 –1 –1=0
Selanikde kule? şeyhi İbrahim efendiye in'am fî 7 cemâziyelevvel sene
reis efendi tarafından gelen yek-çeşm Halil ağaya in'am fî 21 receb sene

an canib-i Debre hedaye-i Hasan beğ sakin-i kaza-yı mezbur fî 8 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
çuka donluk aded 1 Kumanova kadısının oğluna Çavuş kariyesinde be-dest-i mühr-dâr ağa fî [boşluk] sene 144

an canib-i Yenice-i Vardar hedaye-i Mehmed beğ sakin-i kasaba-yı mezbur fî 10 cemâziyelevvel sene 144 veyahud gayriden ____
çuka donluk aded 2 _____

an sakinan-ı İvranya hedaye-i Feyzullah ağa fî 12 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
Kalkandelen piştovu çift 1

an canib-i Debre hedaye-i Ahmed beğ fî 21 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
çamaşır ma' _____ kat aded 1

an canib-i Köprülü hedaye-i ahali-yi kasaba-yı mezbur fî 21 sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 3 aziz efendinin uşaklarından alınan aded 3 kaftan içün
hare Venedik donluk aded 1 hareme verildi 15 minh sene
mest pabuç çift 1

an canib-i Üsküb hedaye-i Ali efendi fî 26 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
çamaşır kat aded 1
sırmalı makrame-i abdest aded 1
kılabdanlı yağlık aded 1 ____ +1 beyaz =2
tüfenk aded 1 altun kakma mısır tüfeng (bilezik?) 2 +1 altun kakma sim (bilezik?) 3 =2

berây-ı hedaye-i miralay-ı sancağ-ı Köstendil fî 3 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1 Aziz efendinin uşağından alınan aded 1 kaftan içün dade

Dubniçe ivladikasından gelen hedaye fî 4 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1
siyah hare donluk aded 1 hareme verildi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır

an sakinan-ı Sofya hedaye-i serdarzade-i Kırım fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çamaşır ma' (yağlık zemini?) kat aded 1

an cizyedâr-ı kaza-yı Sofya hedaye fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
sûf kırmızı donluk aded 1
kakum kürk tahta aded 2 efendimize sarf fî 5 zilka'de sene 1144

an sakinan-ı Sofya hedaye-i kavm-i yahudiyan fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
yeşil çuka donluk aded 1 in'am şeyh Müsli efendi sakin-i Şehirköy fî 11 cemâziyelâhır sene
yeşil atlas donluk aded 1
çakşır _____ aded [boşluk]

an sakinan-ı Sofya hedaye-i Abram yahudi fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çamaşır kat aded 1 harem-i muhtereme verildi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 144

[p. 5]

hedaye-i reaya-yı varoş-u Sofya fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
_____ kutnu donluk aded 1 beyaz +1 patlıcanî =2
_____ çuka donluk aded 1

an sakinan-ı Sofya hedaye-i müfti-yi kadîm fî 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çamaşır kat aded 1 hareme verildi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 144

an canib-i İlbasan hedaye-i [boşluk] fî 11 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
çuka donluk aded 2
kemha donluk aded 1 hareme verildi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır

an canib-i dâr-ül-harb hedaye-i şehbender Ömer ağa fî 12 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
(boyalı?) filinta tüfenk aded 1 şişhanedir
_____ piştovu çift 1

hedaye-i mutasarrıf-ı Alacahisar der menzil-i _____ paşa fî 12 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
kutnu top aded 1 beyaz +1 kırmızı ____ =2 –1 Ömer efendinin karındaşına fî 5 zilhicce sene 144 =1
dibâ top aded 1 hareme verildi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144

berây-ı hedaye-i Ömer ağa mütesellim-i Niş fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
gümüş kakma taşlıca tüfengi aded 1 sim (bilezik?) _____

berây-ı hedaye-i cizyedâr-ı Dubniçe fî [boşluk] sene 1144
~~kalkandelen~~ tüfengi aded 1 (usta receb işi?) şişhanedir be-dest-i hacı Ömer çukadar teslim-i hazîne fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene

an sakinan-ı Tiran Şabanağazâde hedayesi fî 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
çuka donluk aded 1

hedaye-i Ahmed ağa fi 12 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
mevâhib-ül-hallâk kitabı aded 1

hedaye-i cizyedâr-ı İnebahtı fi 16 minh sene 1144
bendî sarık aded 1 Ömer ağaya
sarı kemer-bend kuşak aded 1
şal top aded 1 hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize dade fi 7 receb sene 1144

an sakinan-ı Leskofça hedaye-i Süleyman zaim fi 16 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1 vaiz seyyid efendiye in'am fi 17 cemâziyelâhır
atlaz donluk aded 1

an sakinan-ı kal'a-yı Niş hedaye-i miralay-ı Semendire Ahmed beğ fi 17 minhu sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 3 –2 köse Müsli ağaya in'am kontoş 1 (dolama?) aded 1 çakşır aded 1 _____ 2 fi 20 cemâziyelâhır sene der niş =1 –0,5 =0,5

berây-ı hedaye-i elçi beğ fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144

ma’den rikab çift 1 raht-vâna teslim
altun kakma piştov sarı takım çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i patrik sakin-i Niş fi 19 cemâziyelâhır sene
çuka donluk aded 1
kumaş donluk aded 1 mektub kesesine sarf fi 5 receb sene
kahve kıyye [boşluk]

hedaye-i köse Müsli ağa fi 19 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Hüseyin beğ sakin-i kasaba-yı Ürgüb fi 20 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1
atlaz donluk aded 1

berây-ı defterdar-ı kal’a-yı Niş fi 20 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
sarı (kanaviz?) top 1harem-i muhterem dade fi 12 şa'bân sene 1144

elçi beğ kethüdasından tahsil olunan tüfenk ve piştovlardan resm olmak üzere fî 21 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
tüfenk filinta aded 1
piştov çift 11 –2 kethüda beğe in’am fî 22 cemâziyelâhır sene 144 =9 –1 çukadar-ı sadr-ı âli hacı Mehmed ağaya in’am fi 22 cemâziyelâhır sene 144 =8 –2 köse Ahmed efendiye in’am =6 –1 baltacı ağa-yı dâr-üs-saâde Menlik voyvodası

[p. 6]

berây-ı hedaye-i el-hac Mehmed ağa sakin-i Şehirköy fi 23 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
al germsud donluk aded 2 –0,5 harem-i muhtereme kürk (kabı?) şüde fî 18 =1,5 –1 ibrikdar Müsli ağaya in’am fî =0,5
beyaz kutnu donluk aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i köse Ahmed efendi sakin-i Manastır fi 24 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
tüfenk namlusu şişhane aded 2 (âmil?) Ahmed

Mustafa beğ efendimizin âsitâne-i saâdetten getirdi mevadd fi 27 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
düğme sırımlı kırmızı çuka kesme aded 2 +1 kesme-i Şam 3–2 çuka raht-vâna teslim =1 raht-vâna teslim
sûf bendî sarık aded 2
kırmızı ____ top 1
divan peşkiri aded 1 (divan?)dara teslim
Şam kesmesinin (saçağı?) aded 1 yapıldı ve raht-vâna teslim şüde

berây-ı hedaye-i Hamza zaim sakin-i Leskofça fi selh-i cemâziyelâhır sene 144
çuka donluk aded 1
çuka top aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i zahireci seyyid Müsli ağa fi selh-i cemâziyelâhır sene 1144

çamaşır kat aded 1 hazret-i sadr-ı âli kethüda-yı bevvabîn Hüseyin ağaya in'am fi 6 receb sene 1144

berây-ı hedaye-i Mahmud paşa ____ fi 3 receb sene 1144
Taşlıca altun kakma tüfenk aded 1 sim (bilezik?) aded 3 sim toka aded 2

hedaye-i gül suyu fi 4 receb sene 144
kumkuma aded 4

berây-ı hedaye-i ağayan-ı sadr-ı âli fi 4 receb sene 1144
mest pabuç çift 2
çizme çift 2

berây-ı hedaye-i kethüda-yı bevvabîn-i sadr-ı âli Hüseyin ağa fi 5 receb sene 1144
_____ kırmızı beyazlı alaca top aded 1 efendimize ve _____
mest pabuç çift 1
çizme çift 1

hedaye-i voyvoda-yı _____ karaman kethüda-yı _____ el-hac Hüseyin ağa fi 8 receb sene 144
çizme çift 1
kırmızı (fes?) aded 1 efendimize dade fi 7 şevval sene 144

bera-yı hedaye-i es-seyyid Kadri ago sakin-i Grebene fi 10 receb sene 144
altunbaş saruk aded 1 köse Ahmed efendiye in'am fi 19 receb sene 1144

hedaye-i valide kethüdası çukadar fi 10 receb
yaldız Bosna tası aded 1

tüfenkçibaşı yediyle tahsil olan akçenin resmi fi 17 receb sene 144
çuka donluk aded 2,5 ____ 10

serracbaşı marifetiyle tahsil olan akçe resmi fi 17 receb
çuka donluk aded 10 _____ 4 _____ 40

berây-ı hedaye-i miralay-ı Dukakin fi 17 receb
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

[p. 7]

bedest-i silahdar Abdullah ağa âsitâne-i saâdetden gelen mevadd defteridir fi gurre-i cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
yaka kürkü tahta aded 2
(boğazî?) çift 12
hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimiz sarf fi 4 şa'bân sene 1144
mardin perdesi aded 2 –1 harem-i muhtereme teslim fi 13 cemâziyelâhır sene 144 =1
sûf kerrake aded 8
sûf ferace aded 8 çukadar-ı enderuna teslim
sırımlı kırmızı ağır çuka kesme aded 1
raht şeritleri ma' _____ aded 2 raht-vâna teslimdir

Şam kesmesi aded 1 beyaz 1yeşilli =2
germsud top aded 2 –1 iki def'ada biçildi =1 efendimiz kürke (kabı kesüb?) _____ 4 beğefendilerimize sarf
som sırma yasdık çift 10 +1_____ =11 harem-i muhtereme fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
semur (dane?) çift 10 –5 _____ yeşil çuka kablu kürke sarf =5 efendimize sarf
karsak boğazı kürk tahta 2 efendimize sarf ____ kürk oldu fi 19 receb sene 1144
kutnu-yu Hindî top 1 sarı Hindî +1 alaca =2 efendimiz sarf biri kaftan ve biri _____ fi 18 şa'bân sene 144
hatir ihramı aded 2 efendimizdedir
destar aded 1 bendî 1 süd _____ =2
kırmızı çuka aded 1 ____ 4,5 efendimize çakşır içün sarf fi 24 ramazân sene 144
Bağdadî (kelâm-ı kebîr?) aded 1
tüfenk (at?) kolanlı aded 4
dizgin aded 2
zahme aded 5
_____ aded 10
_____ aded 2
boru lülesi aded 2
zil çift 2 –1=1
(nakkare?) çift 2 –1=1
boru aded 2
kaba zurna aded 7
cura zurna aded 4
kamış aded 20 mehterbaşına teslim
zurna lülesi aded 30 cura 10 kaba =40
boru ağırlığı aded 2
zurna (sırık?) aded 20

berây-ı hedaye-i miralay-ı Köstendil Zeynel beğ fi 18 receb sene 144
kırmızı çuka donluk aded 1
(yeşil?) atlaz aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i (Müsli?) beğ sakin-i İvranya fi 22 receb sene 1144
çuka donluk aded 1
atlaz top aded 1

müteveffa İbrahim beğin Görice'den tahsil çuka beyan şüde fi 24 receb sene 1144
(sâye?) çuka _____ 72 _____ 600 yekûn 43420 73
çuka _____ 48 ____360 +60 ____300 =108 yekûn 35280
çuka-yı Macar _____ 7 _____ 185 yekûn 1456 77

cem'an yekûn _____ 80161 _____ 668
bu mahalle gelince hazret-i veliyyü'n-niami efendimize çuka hesabı virildi fi gurre-i şa'bân sene 1144

[p. 8]
berây-ı hedaye-i (n[â]zır-ı?) Üsküb fi 2 şa'bân sene 1144
kutnu top aded 1 beyaz +1 _____ =2 –1 ibrikdar Müsli ağaya kaftan fi 16 ramazân sene 144 =1 kürdzade Ömer ağaya fi 10 zilka'de sene

berây-ı hedaye-i Abdülfettah ağa sakin-i Priştine fi 13 şa'bân sene 1144
kutnu alaca aded 1ibrikdar Müsli ağaya _____ fi 16 ramazân sene

berây-ı hedaye-i elhac Ali (çavuş?) fi 18 şa'bân
çamaşır kat aded 1

İlbasanî Hasan _____ zade fi 21 şa'bân sene 1144
İlbasan dizgini aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Yusuf efendi fi 25 şa'bân sene 1144
yaldızlı _____ aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i sermehteran-ı enderun-u sadr-ı âli fi 26 şa'bân sene 44
mest pabuç çift 1
çizme çift 1
hoşab kaşığı deste 1
hilal ___ 2 kara 2

berây-ı hediyye-i başağa-yı kal'a-yı Bar fi selh-i şa'bân sene 1144
sim kakma (arnabud?) tüfengi aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i çorbacı Hasan ağa sakin-i Niş fi 12
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-yi yahudi (İzaz?)zade sakin-i Üsküb fi 13 ramazân sene 1144
altunbaş destar aded 1 defterdar-ı Rumeli Ömer efendiye in'am

berây-ı hedaye-i ibrikdar-ı sadr-ı âli Müsli ağa fi 15 ramazân sene 1144
kakum kürk tahta 2 efendimiz sarf fi 20 şevvâl sene 1144

berây-ı hedaye-i mütesellim-i Sofya Ömer ağa be-dest-i çamaşırcı Yusuf ağa fi 23 ramazân sene 1144
beyaz tilki boğazı çift 6 harem-i mahreme dade fi 7 şevvâl sene 1144

berây-ı hedaye-i timar defterdar-ı sabık der Bosna fi 3 şevvâl sene 1144
yaldızlı leğen ma' ibrik aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i zaim Mehmed ağa sakin-i Şehirköy fi 6 şevvâl sene
kırmızı sûf donluk aded 1 kürdzade Ömer ağaya

berây-ı hedaye-i şeker Ali ağa fi 10 şevvâl sene 1144
kakum kürk tahta 2 efendimize sarf fi 29 şevvâl sene
sûf donluk aded 1 mevcli +1 ham çakşırlık =2 –1 ham çakşır efendimize =1 Ömer efendiye kerrake

berây-ı hedaye-i miralay ____ elhac Süleyman fi 13 şevvâl sene 1144
fağfuri _____ ma'den fincan aded 1
fağfuri tabak aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i silahur-u şehriyârî ____ bâ-hatt-ı hümayun fi 21 şevvâl sene 144
sûf donluk 1 Niğboluda ferace şüde
çamaşır kat 1 (yağlık?) 2
iki üç telli (sâdelik?) bez top 1 efendimize (sâde?) fi 2 Zilka'de sene 144
kakum kürk tahta 2 –0,5 efendimize sarf 1,5-0,5 efendimize sarf =1
beğefendilerimize kürk Yenişehir'e irsal
_____ aded 1
tabkur aded 1
dizgin aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i ivladika-yı Köstendil ve Samakov fi 24 şevvâl sene 1144
sûf donluk aded 1 Niğbolu'da ferace şüde
çuka donluk aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i defterdar-ı Rumeli Ömer efendi fi 6 Zilka'de sene 1144
beyaz kutnu top aded 1 kaftan şüde fî (11?) Zilka'de

berây-ı hedaye-i resul zaim sakin-i Sarıgöl fi 11 Zilka'de
hamam rahtı aded 1 harem-i muhtereme fi 11 Zilka'de sene 144

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı yeniçeriyân-ı kal'a-yı niş sabık ocak ağası fi 11 Zilka'de sene
kakum tahta 2 efendimize sarf
sûf donluk aded 1
mest pabuç çift 1
çizme çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i İskenderiyeli çavuşzade
çuka donluk aded 1 _____ çuka

[p. 9]
berây-ı hedaye-i kadızade Mehmed ağa ağa-yı sadr-ı âli fi 16 Zilka'de sene
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1
(berber peşkiri?) ma' makrame aded 1

an canib-i şehbender Ömer ağadan fi 16 Zilka'de sene 144
çakmak taşı aded 15
_____ bıçak kabzası aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i kethuda-yı eyalet-i Rumeli Hüseyin ağa fi 25 Zilka'de sene
beyaz kutnu donluk aded 1
ham sûf donluk aded 1 efendimize çakşır aded 2
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i kadı-yı İzenbol fi 24 Zilka'de sene 1144
kapu kulu (helâlisi?) donluk aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i kadı-yı Üzice fi 25 Zilka'de sene 1144

işleme matara aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Köstendilli Hasan efendi fi 25 Zilka'de sene 1144
çamaşır kat aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i muhassıl-ı Üsküb Ali ağa fi 29 Zilka'de sene 1144
(çeşm-i bülbül?) kutnu-yu Hindî alaca top 1 efendimiz harem dade fi 29 Zilka'de sene
sarılı Hind alacası top 1
kırmızı mehterhane germsud top 1
beyaz güllü car kuşak aded 1 efendimize dade
kırmızı şâlî sûf top 1 efendimize kerrake
kakum kürk tahta 2 efendimize ve beğlere sarf fi 25 safer sene 1145
destar bendî aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Bakiefendizâde Mehmed ağa sakin-i Üsküb fi 29 Zilka'de sene 144
çamaşır kat 1

berây-ı hedaye-i sarraf-ı muhassıl-ı mezbur Yako yahudi fi 29 Zilka'de sene 1144
çamaşır kat 1
sarık örtüsü _____ aded 1
sırımlı _____ 1
devletlü hazret-i veliyyü'n-niami efendimiz harem-i muhtereme dade fi 29 Zilka'de sene

berây-ı hedaye-i (Feyyaz?)ağazade sakin-i Yanya fi 3 zilhicce sene 1144
çamaşır ____ kat 1 harem-i muhterem dade _____
kumkuma aded 1 gül suyu +1 çiçek suyu =2

berây-ı hedaye-i Ömerbeğzâde sakin-i [Yanya] fi selh-i Zilka'de sene 1144
telli hatâyî ____ 8
donluk aded 1
damad efendiye in'am fi 3 zilhicce sene 144

berây-ı hedaye-i Karacalarlı İsmail ağa fi 2 zilhicce sene 144
Sarıgöl kilimi alaca aded 8

berây-ı hedaye-i damad efendi monla-yı Sofya fi 2 zilhicce sene 144
patlıcanî kutnu top 1 _____ ağaya _____
ham sûf donluk aded 1 şâlî +1 ham =2 –1 Ömer efendinin (karındaşına?) çakşır =1
~~Ahmed ağaya in'am aded 2~~ efendimize biniş
çizme çift 2
mevcli sûf donluk 1 Edirne cizyedârına
mest pabuç çift 2

berây-ı hedaye-i kapucu Zaimzâde fi 7 zilhicce sene 1144
çamaşır kat aded 1 harem-i muhterem dade fi 7 zilhicce sene 144

berây-ı hedaye-i Sarıgöllü Çavuşzâde fi 9 zilhicce sene 1144
kilim aded 2

berây-ı hedaye-i kadı-yı Niş fi 13 zilhicce sene 1144
bakır yaldızlı leğen ma' ibrik aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i muhzır ağa fi 15 zilhicce sene 144
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Aziz efendi fi 18 zilhicce sene 1144
şâlî sûf donluk aded 1 Niş kadısına in'am fi 21 zilhicce sene
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı Hacı Ömer çukadar yediyle İstanbul'dan gelen
hoşab kaşığı deste 2 –1 =1
taam kaşığı deste 1 yeni dünya +1 (billur?) =2 –1 harem-i muhtereme dade
hoşab ____ kaşık aded 2
_____ tob 4 baha gruş 17 _____ 3 bâkî _____ ihsan
(kadife?) deste 5 baha gruş 10 (kaftanlara?) deste 5 –3 =2

berây-ı hedaye-i şehbender Ömer ağa fi 22 zilhicce sene 1144
şerbet fincanı aded 4
_____ fincan aded 9
tabak aded 2 kilarîye teslim

berây-ı hedaye-i an ağavat-ı sadr-ı âli sağır Ali ağa fi 24 zilhicce sene 144
sûf donluk aded 1
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

[p. 10]

berây-ı hedaye-i temürcüzade elhac Mehmed sakin-i Niş fi 25 zilhicce sene 144
sırımlı matara aded 1 çukadarına teslim

berây-ı hedaye-i (Halil?) ağa fi 5 muharrem sene 145
çamaşır kat 1
çizme çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i ivladika-yı İpek fi 8 muharrem sene 1145
işleme çorab çift 4

berây-ı hedaye-i Karaferyeli İbrahim çukadar fi 12 muharrem sene 1145
havlu makrame çift 1 makrameci emir ağaya teslim

berây-ı hedaye-i (şehrî?) Hüseyin ağa an ağavat-ı Osman paşa efendimiz fi 13
muharrem sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1
_____ aded 1 Abdülaziz efendiye in'am fi 14 muharrem sene 1145

berây-ı hedaye-i baltacı ağa-yı darüssaade fi 21 muharrem sene 1145

çakşırlık ham sûf donluk aded 1 harem-i muhtereme dade

berây-ı hedaye-i _____ alaybeği fi 22 muharrem sene 1145
kutnu top 1 alaca

berây-ı hedaye-i kethüda beğ Selanik'den geldikde fi gurre-i safer sene 1145
çakmaklı destar aded 2 –1 Aziz efendiye in'am =1 efendimize gurre-i şevvâl sene
telli hatâyî donluk aded 1 al 1 laciverdî =2
Hindî fitilli (sâdelik?) bez donluk aded 1
çakşırlık ham sûf donluk aded 1 çakşır 2 efendimize çakşır ve beğlere biniş
Hindî kutnu top 1 beyaz 1 patlıcanî =2 –1 efendimize kaftan fi 29 receb sene 145
şam germsudî donluk aded 1 beyaz 1 kırmızı =2
mevcli sûf donluk aded 1 mor 1 kırmızı =2 Niğboluda ferace
kakum kürk tahta 2 –0,5 Hüseyin paşaya =1,5 efendimize (kürk?)
(eslah peştemal?) aded 1 beyaz +1=2
hünkarî kılabdanlı hammam rahtı takımı aded 1 han hazretlerine irsal şüde
fânûs aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i _____ zaimi Hüseyin ağa fi 2 safer sene 1145
sırımlı _____ aded 1
çamaşır kat aded 1
abdest makramesi aded 1 işleme

berây-ı hedaye-i dizdar-ı kal'a-yı Niş fi 3 safer sene 1145
çizme çift 1 kadıya in'am
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i Receb efendi fi 6 safer sene 1145
çakşırlık sûf aded 1 efendimize çakşır fi 9 zilhicce sene

berây-ı hedaye-i zahireci seyyid Müsli ağa fi 11 safer sene 1145
çamaşır kat 1

berây-ı hedaye-i silahşor-u şehr-yârî fi 21 safer sene
çamaşır kat aded 1
abdest makramesi aded 1
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1
beyaz (fes?)2
kaşık ____ deste 1 +1 =2

berây-ı hedaye-i ermeniyan-ı varoş-u Bender fi 14 cemâziyelevvel sene 1145
destar bendi aded 1 İsmail paşanın çukadarına

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı yeniçeriyan-ı kal'a-yı Bender fi 16 cemâziyelevvel sene 1145
kutnu aded 1
car beyaz şal aded 1 Yenişehir'e irsal be-dest-i çukadar-ı enderun
altun kakma piştov çift 1 fi 9 cemâziyelâhır sene 145

berây-ı hedaye-i Boğdan beği fi 21 cemâziyelevvel sene 145

altun kakma filinta aded 1
altun kakma piştov çift 1 Rumeli valisi İsmail paşa hazretlerine irsal fi 5 şevvâl sene 1145

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı _____ fi 5 cemâziyelâhır sene 1145
çizme çift 1

(hutun/hotin?) enderun hacı Hasan yediyle
berây-ı hedaye-i kelleci İsmail ağa ağa-yı yeniçeriyan fi 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1145
çamaşır kat 1 efendimize fi gurre-i şevvâl sene
_____ aded 1
abdest makramesi aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı sadr-ı âli (câbi?) bâ emr-i yoklama-yı yerlüyan fi 25 cemâziyelâhır sene 1145
çamaşır kat 1
_____ aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i çukadar-ı başbakı kulu Hüseyin fi 13 receb sene 145
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı yeniçeriyan fi 15 receb sene 1145
(Leh?) basma pasdav top 5
_____ mak'ad top aded 1

[p. 11]
berây-ı hedaye-i Numan paşa hazretleri fi 20 receb sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1 ma' _____
car şal aded 1 efendimize dade
sâde kutnu 1 hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize kaftan fi 29 receb sene 145
şâlî alaca aded 1 hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize _____ aded 2 fi 29 receb sene 145
sakal tarağı aded 1
sandal taam kaşığı aded 1
(balık dişi?) hoşab kaşığı aded 1
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

berây-ı hedaye-i kürekçibaşı der Bender
eski zaman işi leğen ma' ibrik aded 1 Yenişehir'e irsal

berây-ı hedaye-i (Boğdan?) beği fi 10 şa'bân sene 1145
diba donluk aded 1 ___ 10
telli hatâyî donluk aded 4 –1 Yenişehir'e irsal =3 –1 (pasdav?) şüde =2 _____ aded 1
(lahor?) ____ aded 1
(kanaviz?) top aded 1 yeşil +1 turuncu =2

berây-ı hedaye-i muhafız-ı Hotin Kolçak paşa fi 20 şa'bân sene
altun kakma piştov çift 1

beyaz üzerine kırmızılı sarılı şayak top 2 _____ 46
vasatî kırmızı ve beyaz üzerine sarılı morlu şayak yasdık çift 10 Yenişehir'e irsal şüde
beyaz üzerine siyah ve kırmızı çiçekli çapıt top 2 ____ 50,5 İsmail paşa hazretlerine irsal fi 5 şevvâl sene 1145

berây-ı hedaye-i ağa-yı yeniçeriyan-ı Hotin fî 21 şa'bân sene 1145
çamaşır kat 1
(berber peşkiri?) ma' _____ aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i İsmail paşa hazretleri vali-yi Rumeli fi 28 ramazân sene 1145
beyaz kemer-bend şal kuşak aded 1
sarı urfa şalı aded 1
sâde turuncu car şal aded 1 efendimiz kürk kabı yapdırdı fi 7 şevvâl sene 1145
beyaz _____ top aded 1 bâkî (sâde?) _____ efendimize _____ 9
alaca kutnu top 1

harem-i muhteremden geldi be-dest-i Ömer çukadar fi 18 şevvâl sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1
_____ aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i çukadar-ı kethüda-yı (bab?) fi 18 şevvâl sene 1145

berây-ı hedaye-i (Boğdan?) beği fi 18 şevvâl sene 1145
telli hatâyî top 1 turuncu 1 yeşil 1 beyaz 1 laciverdî =4 ___ 10 ____ 40
(kanaviz?) top 1 yeşil 1 turuncu =2 (aded-i fî?) 10 ____ 20

der ___ hedaye-i Rumeli fi 19 zilka'de sene 1145

kaftanî Osman ağanın âsitâne-i saâdetten mübâyaası fî 19 zilka'de sene 1145
kakum tahta 4 –2 Pazarcık'da Hüseyin paşaya =2
sûf kerrake aded 3 –3 =0
sûf ferace aded 5 –4 çukadar-ı enderuna teslim =1 bu dahi teslim
kaftan _____ aded 2
harac kerrake (eslah?) takım 2 –1 efendimizin kerrakesine =1 efendimizin kerrakesine
(eslah?) _____ donluk aded 5 –1 efendimize kerrake =4 –1 Ahmedpaşazade Ali beğe =3
haracî sûf donluk aded 6 –1 Hüseyin paşaya kürk kabı =5 –1 ferace geldi fi 8 zilhicce sene 145 =4 –1 _____ kerrake =3 –2 sarf şüde =1 Şehirköy kadısına ferace

berây-ı hedaye-i (n[â]zır-ı?) Filibe fi 21 zilka'de sene
_____ şal aded 1
_____ sâde kutnu aded 1 Edirne cizyedârı Müsli ağaya in'am
destar aded 1
çakşırlık ma'hûd çuka ____ 4

hedaye-i enderun emini Mehmed ağa fi 25 zilka'de sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i Hasan efendi sakin-i Köstendil fi 23 zilka'de sene
_____ tüfenk aded 1
sim bilezik aded 1 sim _____ ma' toka aded 9

hedaye-i (karabaş?) şeyh sakin-i Üsküb fi 25 zilka'de sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1
_____ kaşık deste 1 ta'am

hedaye-i Hüseyin paşa sakin-i Pazarcık fi 23 zilka'de sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i ağa-yı sadr-ı âli Hasan ağa fi 23 zilka'de sene
arabî kitab kıt'a aded 1

an canib-i _____ fi 25 zilka'de sene
türkman kilimi aded 4

hedaye-i İbrahim çukadar (Karaferyevî?) fi 24 zilka'de sene 1145
hünkârî havlı makrame aded 1

[p. 12]
der Sofya (Menes?) yahudinin karındaşı fi 27 zilka'de sene
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i _____ fi 28 zilka'de sene 1145
_____ kuşak aded 1
bendî destar aded 1

hedaye-i Receb ağa sakin-i _____ fi 28 zilka'de sene
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i _____ ağa sakin-i Ohri fi 4 zilhicce sene 1145
kakum kürk tahta 2
sûf donluk aded 1 efendimize kerrake
ham sûf çakşırlık aded 1 harem-i muhtereme dade fi 15 zilhicce sene
yaldızlı _____ rahtı ma' başlık aded 1

hedaye-i mirliva-yı Tırhala fi 5 zilhicce sene 1145
sim buhurdan ma' gülabdan aded 1 ma' gülab

hedaye-i mirliva-yı Avlonya fi 5 zilhicce sene 1145
kutnu aded 1

hedaye-i ivladika-yı Niş fi 6 zilhicce sene 1145
endam ayinesi aded 1
(yelpaze?) aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i ivladika-yı İpek fi 8 zilhicce sene 1145
_____ (işi?) sim buhurdan ma' gülabdan aded 1
kahve kıyye 4 ____ ağaya

şeker kıyye 2
mum kıyye 1,5

hedaye-i Serfiçeli ago fi 8 zilhicce sene 1145
sofra peşkiri aded 1

hedaye-i ağa-yı taife-i (Hûnî?) fi 8 zilhicce sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i köse Müsli ağa fi 12 zilhicce sene 1145
işleme ___ aded 2
beyaz (fes?) aded 4
(terlik?) çift 2

hedaye-i köse Ahmed Efendi
kırmızı (fes?)1
mest pabuç çift 1

hedaye-i İbrahim beğ sakin-i Selanik fi 13 zilhicce sene
hamam rahtı aded 1

sâbıka mirliva-yı Tırhala hediyyesi fi 13 zilhicce sene 1145
sim su tası aded 1
sim kahve ibriği aded 1

sâbıka miralay sakin-i siroz hediyyesi fi 15 zilhicce sene 1145
gömleklik bürümcük bez aded 1

Serfiçeli emir (çelebi?) hediyyesi fi 15 zilhicce sene
çamaşır kat 1

hedaye-i Karacalarlı İsmailağazade salih fi 15 zilhicce sene 1145
kilim aded 2

hedaye-i [boşluk] fi 17 zilhicce sene 1145
havlı makrame çift 1

kadızadenin oğlu hedayesi fi 21 zilhicce sene
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i Sarıgöllü İsmail ağa fi 21 zilhicce sene
mest pabuç çift 1
çizme çift 1

an sükkan-ı Tırhala kuşçu Ali ağa hediyyesi
çamaşır kat 1
(hazine?) mişmaası aded [boşluk]

hedaye-i (şiroz?) Ahmed ağa sakin-i Alasonya fi 23 zilhicce sene 1145
sim kahve ibriği aded 1 defterdar efendiye in'am fi 19 safer 1146

hedaye-i muhassıl-ı Niğbolu seyyid Mehmed ağa fi 28 zilhicce sene
işli gömlek aded 1

hedaye-i [boşluk]
su peşkiri aded 3

hedaye-i müfti-yi Sofya fi 4 muharrem sene 1145
çamaşır kat aded 1

hedaye-i Karaferyevî Mahmudefendizadenin kız karındaşı oğlu Müsli ağa fi 5 muharrem sene
hamam rahtı aded 1

hedaye-i kutucu Ahmed beğ fi 8 muharrem sene 1146
çamaşır kat aded 1
çarşaflık bez aded 5

hediyye-i dizdar-ı Sokol fi 8 muharrem sene 1146
çizme çift 1
mest pabuç çift 1

hediyye-i (Vasili?) beğ sakin-i Yakova fi 14 muharrem sene 1146
pirinc leğen ma' ibrik aded 1

hedaye-i Yenişehirli ____ Müsli ağa fi 21 muharrem sene 1146
mevcli sûf donluk aded 1
şâlî sûf donluk aded 1 sarı 1 kırmızı =2

âsitâneden silahdar ağa irsal fi 21 muharrem sene 146
(top?) 1,5 efendimize _____

hediyye-i _____
hamam rahtı aded 1

Serfiçevî agonun karındaşından hediyye
gülabdan ma' buhurdan aded 1 yeniçeri ağasına in'am fi 6 safer sene
gömleklik bez aded 1
sofra peşkiri aded 1

hediyye-i Ahmed efendi sakin-i Sofya fi 9 safer sene 1146
çamaşır kat 1

Bosna monlasının hediyyesi
yaldızlı bakır kahve tabağı aded 1
bakır yaldız su tası aded 1

hediyye-i (haseki ağa?)
mest pabuç çift 1
çizme çift 1

hediyye-i islam beğ fi 26 safer sene 1146
kutnu donluk aded 1

hediyye-i müjdebaşı Ahmedpaşazade Ali beğ fi 3 rebîülâhır sene 1146
kakum kürk tahta 2
sûf donluk aded 1 mevcli 1 şâlî 0,5 çakşırlık =2,5
(yelpaze?) aded 1
mest pabuç çift 2
çizme çift 1
islambol (kılıç?) aded 1

hediyye-i İslam beğ fi 4 rebîülâhır sene 1146
Şişhane kabareli tüfenk aded 1
sim (bilezik?) 2

kethüda-yı sabık Ahmed ağanın hediyyesi fi 7 rebîülâhır sene 146
destar-ı Hindî aded 2
kutnu-yu Hindî aded 1 sarı 1 beyaz =2
germsud (şâhî?) aded 1 yeşil 1 sarı =2
telli hatâyî aded 1 al 1 mor =2 ____ 18
hare aded 1 kırmızı 1 mai = 2 _____
semur çukası _____ 4,5
çakşırlık kırmızı çuka ___ 4

hediyye-i Yenişehir monlası fi 8 rebîülâhır sene 146
mevcli sûf donluk aded 1

[p. 13]
hedaye-i (bî-zeban?) Hasan ağa fi 14 rebîülâhır sene 1146
çamaşır kat 1
sim ____ aded 1

hedaye-i Sarıcazadenin oğlu Ali ağa fi 18 rebîülâhır sene 146
hamam rahtı aded 1

hediyye-i Şahin beğ sakin-i Koniçe fi 18 rebîülâhır sene 1146
telli hatâyî donluk aded 2 ____ 9 ____ 18

hediyye-i ivladika-yı Sofya
telli hatâyî donluk aded 1 ___ 9

berây-ı mübâyaa-yı mevadd be-dest-i Yanbolu (sarraf?)
_____ fi 15 cemâziyelevvel sene 1146
semur (dane?) aded 15
(nafe boğazı?) çift 10 (biniş?) kürke sarf
_____ top 5
car şal aded 3 (kölelere?) dade
Tokat basması aded 5 pencere perdesi yapıldı
semur tulum aded 1 kuburî sûfa

vaşak tahta 2 germsud
şal aded 2 –1 kürk efendimize =1
germsud 2 –1 kaftan efendimize =1 kürk efendimize

berây-ı hediyye-i mültezim hacı ____ fi 9 cemâziyelâhır sene 1146
yaldızlı leğen ma' ibrik aded 1

berây-ı hediyye-i muhassıl-ı Üsküb Ali ağa fi 24 cemâziyelâhır sene 1146
donluk şal aded 1
şal kuşak aded 1
(sâdelik?) beyaz _____ top 1
(suzeni?) alaca aded 1
mehterhane beyaz germsud aded 1
destar bendi aded 1

berây-ı hedaye-i cizyedâr-ı Sofya fi 27 cemâziyelâhır sene
kakum tahta aded 2
destar bendi aded 2 –1 İslam beğe in'am =1
çakşırlık sûf top 1
kemer-bend şal aded 1 İslam beğe in'am fi 27 cemâziyelâhır sene 146
kırmızı şâlî sûf aded 1

hediyye-i elhac Mehmed sakin-i Eğridere fi 5 receb sene 1146
destar aded 1

hediyye-i muhassıl-ı Niğbolu irsal şüde fi 7 şa'bân sene 146
çamaşır kat aded 1
sırımlı abdest makramesi aded 1
_____ aded 1
(zifir?) makramesi aded 1
sırımlı mor kese-i duhan aded 1

hediyye-i monla-yı Yenişehir fi 3 şevvâl sene 1146
kakum tahta 2
(dürbün?) aded 1
sûf donluk aded 2,5 mevcli aded 1 şâlî aded 1 çakşırlık 0,5
raht şeridi ma' ___ sırımlı aded 1
_____ siyah _____ (kıt'a?) aded 1
_____ (kıt'a?) aded 1

hediyye-i yahudiyan-ı Yenişehir fi 4 şevvâl sene
sim kahve tebsisi ma' ibrik aded 1

hediyye-i Sarıcazade sakin-i Karaferye fi 27 ramazân sene
sarı şal donluk aded 1
hünkarî hamam rahtı aded 2
su peşkiri aded 1
hünkarî makrame top 2
(duhâvî?) makrame aded 2
orta boy havlı ____ makramesi top 10

hediyye-i Eminzade sakin-i Selanik fi 27 ramazân sene 1146
işleme hünkarî hamam rahtı aded 1
su peşkiri aded 1

hediyye-i ayan-ı Karlıeli fi 23 şevvâl sene 1146
sûf donluk aded 2
çamaşır kat 1

[p. 31]

berây-ı kürk ve kerrake ve ferace be-teslim-i çukadar-ı enderun fi 25 rebîülâhır sene 1144
kontoş süd mai çukaya kablu semur (kafası?) kürk aded 1
_____ ser-â-sere kablu semur kürk aded 1 der-hazîne semuru serasker beğ emriyle
____ silahşora
_____ meneviş çukaya kablu semür kürk aded 1
_____ çimânî çukaya kablu semur kürk aded 1 Osmanpaşazade Ahmed paşaya dade
kontoş _____ kablu semur paçası kürk aded 1 çemânî çukaya kablandı
_____ neftî çukaya kablu semur kürk aded 1 Aziz efendiye puşide
(çuka _____ in'am meneviş çukaya kablandı) kontoş süd mai çukaya kablu
~~semur kafası~~ karsak kürk aded 1 çukadar-ı enderuna çukası mevcud der-hazîne
_____ (kanavize?) kablu vaşak kürk aded 1
kontoş meneviş çukaya kablu karsak kürk aded 1 Sofya'da kethüda beğe puşide
kontoş _____ çukaya kablu ~~(boğaz?)~~ kürk aded 1 başçukadara nafe kaplandı puşide
cedid kontoş siyah çuka kablu kakum kürk aded 1 kal'a-yı cedid muhafızı ___ Mehmed paşaya puşide
kontoş yeşil çukaya kablu _____ kürk aded 1 Aziz efendiye in'am _____ divan ali efendi tekrar âmed
_____ mor sûfa kablu kakum kürk aded 1 (kalgâ?) sultana (azağa?) geldikde kürk dade sufî ferace bakî
_____ kırmızı sûf kablu kakum kürk aded 1 Selanik monlasına puşide
_____ (zeytunî sûfa?) kablu kakum kürk aded 1 Niş'de Sofya monlasına in'am
cedid ____ kırmızı sûf kablu kakum kürk aded 1 ____ emriyle gelen silahşora in'am
(kubur?) _____ siyah sûfa kablu kakum kürk aded 1 Selanik mutasarrıfına fi 11 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
(kubur?) _____ kırmızı sûfa kablu kakum kürk aded 1 Selanik'de damad efendiye in'am
(kubur?) _____ süd mai şâlî sûfa kablu kakum kürk aded 1 mezbur sultanın kürküne kabı kablandı
biniş kürkü ~~vaşak~~ karsak aded 1 İslam beğe in'am
cedid ___ germsude kablu karsak kürk aded 1 kethüda beğe in'am Müsli beğ
abdest kürkü aded 1 sarı 1 gül __ 1yeşil =3 –1 sarı köse Müsli ağaya in'am şüde fi 4 cemâziyelâhır =2 –1 hareme dade =1 ____
şâlî yeşil sûfa biniş aded 1 ağa-yı sadr-ı âli
şâlî süd mai sûf biniş aded 1 çukadar-ı enderun Ali ağaya in'am
çuka kırmızı biniş aded 1 Sofya vekilharca in'am
cedid abdest kürkü aded 1 ~~kırmızı (şala?)~~ kablu kakum 1 ~~(germsuda kablu kakum~~ =2 kırmızı (şala?) kablu kakum kabı der-hazîne
çuka çimanî yeşil biniş aded 1 silahşora in'am hacı Süleyman

siyah sûf kerrake aded 1 Kasım paşaya in'am
al sûf kerrake aded 1 Tırhala mütesellimine in'am
(gevherî?) sûf ferace aded 1 Abdülaziz efendiye in'am
sûf yeşil cedid kerrake aded 1 + 1 mor 1 kırmızı =3 –1 (Niğbolu?) mütesellimine =2
_____
çimânî sûf ferace aded 1 yeniçeri ağasına puşide fi 11 zilka'de sene 144
Ahmed ağa yediyle gelen kırmızı sûfa kablu kakum kürk aded 3 –1 Yenişehir'den damad efendiye in'am =2 –1 Yenişehir monlasına puşide –1 Selanikli Ali efendiye =0
süd mai kerrake sûf aded 2 –1 Yenişehir serdarına in'am –1 Sarıcazade Mehmed ağaya in'am
cedid al sûf kerrake aded 1 inebahtıya gelen Ahmed ağaya
al sûfa kablu kontoş kakum kürk aded 1 numan paşanın oğluna in'am
sûf ferace aded 1 fıstıkî yeşil 1 mor =2 –1 mütesellim-i Üzice ağaya =1 Alacahisar mutasarrıfı Numan paşaya puşide
kakum abdest kürkü aded ~~1 kırmızı~~ şal ~~1 sarı şal~~ _____ (puşide?) ~~1 kırmızı germsud~~ der-hazîne şâlî turuncu cedid =3 kabları der-hazîne
sûf şâlî cedid kırmızı kerrake aded 1 İsmail (mütevellisine?) in'am 1 def'aten =2 biri Aziz efendiye
cedid kırmızı şâlî sûf biniş aded 1 Edirne cizyedârı Müsli ağaya in'am
yeşil sûf ferace aded 1 Bender'de yeniçeri ağasına

[p. 32]
kırmızı sûf kerrake aded 1 hala ____ karındaşı İsmail ağaya puşide fi 11 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
(gevherî?) sûf ferace aded 1 _____ in'am
çimânî çuka ferace aded 2 –1 Üsküb'de karabaş (şeyhe?) in'am –1 Sofya'da ____ efendiye =0
_____ aded 6 +1 kılabdanlı atlaz fi 8 cemâziyelevvel sene 144 =7
Niş'de yapılan çimâni çuka ferace aded 1 seyyid vaiz efendiye in'am şüde

silahdar ağanın âsitâne getirdiği eşyadan çukadar-ı enderuna teslim fi 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
sûf kerrake aded 5 –1 Selanikde yeniçeri ağasına in'am =4 –1 _____ beği Hüseyin efendiye in'am =3 +2 def'aten teslim be-dest-i Süleyman ___ fi 8 cemâziyelâhır sene +1 def'aten teslim-i (bende?) fi 15 minh =6 –1 Üsküb mütesellimine in'am =5 –1 Köstendil mütesellimine in'am =4 –1 Sofya mütesellimine in'am =3 –1 mütesellim Ömer ağaya =2 der-hazîne –1 Ömer efendinin karındaşı Hüseyin ağaya fî 10 zilhicce sene 144 –1 Sarıgöllü İsmail ağa fi 10 zilhicce sene
sûf ferace aded 4 –1 Selanikde (paşa?) efendiye in'am =3 +2 def'aten teslim fi 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144 +2 def'aten teslim-i (bende?) fi 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 144 =7 –1 İştib kadısına in'am =6 –1 Ustrofça kadısına in'am =5 –1 Ali efendiye in'am =4 –1 kadı-yı Köstendil'e in'am =3 –1 şehirköy kadısına in'am =2 –1 Niş yeniçeri ağasına in'am =1 –1 Niş kadısına in'am =0

Sofyada müceddeden yapdırılan fi 6 cemâziyelâhır mor çuka ferace aded 1 Nişde müfti efendiye
hala Nişde müceddeden yapdırılan fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene kırmızı sûf kakum kürk aded 1
elçi beğe kürk tahta 2 sûf donluk aded 1 in'am

der-hazîne
cedid neftî _____ kontoş aded 1 semura kablanub (silahura?) puşide fi 24 şevvâl sene ____ ba-ferman (arnabut?)
_____ semur kürkden _____ yeşil ferace aded 1 der-hazîne _____ verdi

Ali efendinin metrukatından alınan kırmızı çukaya kablu semur paçası kontoş kürk aded 1 silahşor-u şehr-yârîye puşide kürk çuka mevcuddur

merhum mataracının metrukatından alınan kırmızı çukaya kablu nafe kürk aded 1 Ahmed efendiye in'am der-hazine _____

silahdar ağanın âsitâneden irsal eylediği cedid kırmızı sûf ferace aded 1 Özi yeniçeri ağasına puşide

Niğboluda yapılan sûf ferace aded 2 –1 Silistre mütesellimine =1 konak sahibine

çuka ferace aded 6 –1 Bender müftisine =5 –1 nâibine =4 –1 Niş müftisine =3 –1 Benderde imam efendiye =2 –1 müfti-yi sabık _____ =1 puşide

kontoş meneviş çukaya kablu ~~şal~~ (nafe?)_____ kürk tamam aded 1

Niş'den yola çıkdığımızda mevcud haracî kerrake 3 –1 _____ beğine =2 –1 Niğbolu'da ulah boyarına =1 (Şiştovi?) voyvodasına

kaftanî Osman ağanın getirdiği
ferace sûf aded 5 +1 =6 –1 =5 –1 hünkar _____ ağasına =4 –1 Niş kadısına =3 –1 yeniçeri ağasına =2 –1 ulah boyarına =1 Hüseyin efendiye
kerrake aded 3 +0 Niş'de yapıldı =3 +0 Filibe nâibine =3 –1 Filibe'de konak sahibine =2 –1 (Yenihan'da?) agoya in'am =1 Sofya mütesellimine

kırmızı şâlî sûf biniş aded 1 kalfa sultanın bölükbaşısına

[p. 33]
cedid turuncu şâlîye kablu kakum abdest kürkü aded 1 bozuldu

_____ kerrake aded 1 Numan paşa _____

_____ kerrake aded 1 _____ Ahmed ağaya

_____ ağanın âsitâneden alub irsal fi 21 muharrem sene 1146
kerrake aded 1 sarı Özi paşasına puşide 1 kırmızı ____ =2

~~yeşil~~ _____ çukaya kablu nafe kontoş kürk aded 1 kilarî-yi enderuna in'am der (izenbol?)

kırmızı _____ sûfa kablu kuburî semur kürk aded 1

mor çukaya kablu karsak kontoş kürk aded 1 harem dade

kırmızı germsude kablu _____ kerrake aded 1 karsak kablandı

(sarı şala kablandı) ~~kırmızı germsude~~ kablu _____ nafesi kürk aded 1

kırmızı (kaba?) beyaz tilki ___ kürk ___ 1 (kabını?) çukadar-ı enderun Osman ağaya in'am

sarı şala kablu kakum abdest kürkü aded 1 ____ Babadağılı İbrahim efendiye in'am

hediyye-i cizyedâr-ı İnebahtı fi 27 şevvâl sene 146
kemer-bend kuşak aded 2
çiçekli _____ aded 1
kutnu aded 1
bendî destar aded 2
siyah _____ (peştemal?) aded 2
çakşırlık sûf donluk aded 1 iki çakşırlık
hamam rahtı aded 1
su peşkiri aded 1

yeşil çukaya kablu _____ (şerit?) semur kürk aded 1

atîk yeşil çukaya kablu beyaz tilki kontoş kürk aded 1

_____ çukaya kablu kontoş boğaz kürk aded 1

(burgazî?) çukadar getirdiği mübâyaa ____ Mehmed ağa
sûf kerrake aded 5 –1 Silistre mütesellimi (mürteza?) ağaya =4 –1 ulah beği boyarına =3 –1 baş bölükbaşı han =2 –1 debrevî Hüseyin ağaya =1 han hazretlerinin haznedarına
sûf ferace aded 5 –1 Boğdan beyi boyarına =4 –1 İsmail (mütevellisine?) =3 –1 han hazretlerinin vaizine kürk kablandı =2 –1 kazaskerine =1 İsmail (mütevellisine?)

turuncu şala kablu abdest kakum kürk 1 cedid +1 yeşil şala kablu +1 _____ şal kablu =3 –1 _____ bozuldu =2

(kakum kürke kablandı) turuncu şala ~~kablu tilki sırtı~~ abdest kürkü aded 1 bozuldu kürk der-hazîne

[boşluk] çuka kablu [boşluk] kakum kürk aded 1 _____

edirne mübâyaa olan yeşil sûfa kablu _____ kakum kürk aded 1 der menzil-i _____ Özi eyaleti mutasarrıfına ____ getiren ağaya puşide

numan paşanın verdiği
sûf _____ ferace aded 1 Azak'da yeniçeri ağasına
sarı sûf kerrake aded 1 Karayılanoğlu'nun oğluna

kırmızı sûf ferace aded 1 +1 def'aten kırmızı =2 –1 Süleyman paşaya ____ =1 cebeciler kethüdasına der Kefe

sûfa mor ferace aded 1 Özi paşasına puşide

yeşil sûf ferace aded 1 Osman efendiye

_____ hatâyî sûfa kablu (kablık?) kakum kürk aded 1 der Kefe kul kethüdasına

âsitâneden yahudinin irsal şâlî çimânî sûf biniş aded 1 kethüda-yı bevvabîn ali ağaya der kal'a-yı cedid

sarı şâlî kerrake aded 1 akkirmanlı hacı İbrahim puşide

___ kontoş sarı çukaya kablu boğaz boğaz [sic] kürkü aded 1

der Bender siyah sûfa kablu ferace kakum kürk aded 1 (Karinâbâd'dan Kırım canibine?) emr getiren ağaya in'am

sûf Bender'de cedid kerrake aded 3 –1 _____ ağaya =2 –1 İbrahim ağanın oğluna in'am der (karinâbâd?) =1

sûf Bender'de ferace aded 3 –1 babadağı kadısına puşide =2 –1 Hüseyin almadı =1

der Bender kırmızı şal kuburî kakum kürk aded 1

Babadağında şal kerrake aded 1 İbrail nâzırına puşide

Babadağında al ham sûf kerrake aded 2 –1 Kolçak paşanın selam ağası hediyye getirdikde puşide =1 serasker-i sultan âsitâneden mururunda puşide

Babadağı sakinlerinden Mehmed ağa yediyle teslim
çuka ferace aded 6 –1 Babadağı müftisine puşide =5 –1 der _____ puşide =4 –1 kal'a-yı cedid yeniçeri ağasına = 3 mısırlılara

siyah sûfa kablu kuburî kakum kürk aded 1 kalfa-yı sultan İstanbuldan gelüb Babadağı'ndan mururunda puşide

ham şal zeytunî sûf kerrake aded 1 ham çukanın kethüda-yı bevvabîne puşide der-Kefe

Bender'de yapılan (zümrütî?) yeşil çuka kablu _____ kontoş kürk aded 1

seraskerlik hil'atı ser-â-sere kablu semur kürk aded 1

(Karinâbâd?) menzilinde yapılan gevherî kerrake aded 1

Kefe'de yapılan beyaz şâlî kerrake aded 1

mevcli mor kerrake aded 1

mevcli mor ferace aded 1

kal'a-yı cedidde yeşil şâlî sûf kerrake aded 1 Timur paşanın karındaşına puşide fi 25 cemâziyelâhır 150

(zümrütî?) sûfa kablu (kubur?) _____ kakum kürk aded 1

Tulca'da şâlî _____ biniş aded 1

turuncu şala kablu abdest kakum kürk aded 1

al şala kablu abdest kakum kürk aded 1

(Karinâbâdda?) ser-â-sere kablu semur kürk aded 1

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berây-ı irad-ı çuka ve hare ve kumaş an hedâyâ ve saire fi 20 rebîülâhır sene 1144

	kumaş donluk	hare donluk	çuka	donluk aded
Abram yahudinin damadı ve İsak'ın kaynı fi 25 rebîülâhır sene	0	2	4	1
Yenişehir reayasından hedaye fi 26 rebîülâhır sene 144	0	4	16	4
Serfiçelilerden hedaye fi 26 rebîülâhır sene 144	2	0	8	2
Tırnova kocabaşılarından fi 26 rebîülâhır sene	1	0	8	2
	3	6	36	9
Tırnova keşişlerinden fi 27 rebîülâhır sene 1144	0	1	8	2
Tırhala kocabaşılarından fi 28 rebîülâhır sene	0	4	16	4
Alasonyalı Nişlü (?) zaimi Ahmed beğden fi 28 rebîülâhır sene	2	0	16	4
Leskovikli Abdi ağadan hedaye fi 28 rebîülâhır sene	0	1	4	1
	5	12	80	20
İlbasan sükkanlarından karakulakzâdeden fi 29	0	0	4	1
İlbasanlı İbrahim beğden fi 5 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144	0	0	8	2
Doyranlı Seyfullahefendizade'den fi 7 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	2	0	8	2
Debrevî Hasan beğden hedaye fi 8 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	0	0	4	1
	7	12	104	26
Yenice-i Vardar'dan Mehmed beğden hedaye fi 10 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	0	0	8	2
Köprülü ahalisinden hedaye fi fi 21 cemâziyelevvel sene	0	1	12	3
hedaye-i miralay-ı Köstendil fi 3 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	0	0	4	1
Dubniçe ivladikasından fi 4 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	0	1	4	1
	7	14	132	33
Sofya yahudilerinden fi 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i reaya-yı varoş-ı Sofya fi 8 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	0	0	4	1
an canib-i İlbasan hedaye [boşluk] fi 11 cemâziyelâhır sene	0	0	8	2
an sükkân-ı Tiran Şabanağazade fi 15 cemâziyelâhır sene	0	0	4	1

	7	14	152	38
an sakinan-ı Leskofça hedaye-i Süleyman zaim fi 16 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i alay-ı Semendire Ahmed beğ fi 17 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	0	0	12	3
hedaye-i ivladika-yı reaya-yı Niş fi 19 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	1	0	4	1
Ürgüblü Hüseyin zaim hedaye fi 20 cemâziyelâhır sene	1	0	4	1
	10	14	176	44
Leskofçalı Hamza zaimden hedaye fi selh-i cemâziyelâhır sene 144	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i miralay-ı Köstendil fi 18 receb sene 144	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i Musli beğ sakin-i İvranya fi 22 receb sene	1	0	4	1
	13	14	188	47

efendimize çuka hesabı bu mahalde dade fi gurre-i şa'bân sene 144
~~hedaye-i Mehmed beğ ve ali zaim sakin-i radomir fi 2 şa'bân sene~~
~~hedaye-i n[â]zır-ı (?) Üsküb sakin-i priştine fi 2 şa'bân sene~~

hala mevcud olan saye çuka defteridir

al saya çuka pasdav aded 1 valide kethüdasına irsal be-dest-i Ömer efendi fi 29 rebîülâhır sene
kırmızı saya çuka pasdav aded 3 –2 han hazretlerine irsal fî 9 cemâziyelâhır sene 1145 =1 _____ der draç 27,5
_____ pasdav aded 1 der mahall-ı Draç
Avlonyalı Mahmud paşa hazretlerinden hediyye gelen kırmızı saya çuka aded 1 Yenişehir monlasına in'am fi 3 şevvâl sene 1146

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berây-ı irad-ı akçe-i çuka ve hare ve kumaş ve hedâyâ fi gurre-i şa'bân sene 1144

	kumaş donluk	Hare donluk	Çuka	çuka donluk
hedâyâ-yı İnebahtı ve Rumeli der gaye-i receb sene 1144	10	20	96	24
turuncu kadim	0	0	4	1
sarracbaşı mübâşeretiyle alınan resim	0	0	40	10
tüfenkçibaşı Halil mübâşeretiyle resim _____	0	0	10	2,5
devletlü hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize hesabı verildiği fî gurre-i şa'bân sene 144	10	20	150	37,5
hedaye-i Radomirî Mehmed beğ ve Ali zaim fi 2 şa'bân sene 144	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i n[â]zır-ı (?) Üsküb sakin-i Priştine fi 2 şa'bân sene	0	0	4	1
hedaye-i (El-aman?)zâde sakin-i Mat fi 6 şa'bân sene	0	0	8	2
hedaye-i kocabaşı-yı Grebene fi 8 şa'bân sene	0	0	4	1
	11	20	170	42,5

hedaye-i Abdülfettah ağa sakin-i Priştine fi 13 şa'bân sene 144	0	0	4	1
Timur beğin karındaşından hedaye fi 23 şa'bân sene 144	0	0	4	1
Köstendil ivladikasından fi 24 şevvâl sene 144	0	0	4	1
Debrevî miralay-ı sabık Hüseyin ağadan fi 4 zilka'de sene 144	0	0	4	1
	11	20	186	46,5
hedaye-i miralay-ı Ohri İslam beğ fi 8 zilka'de sene	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i İskenderiyeli Çavuşzade fi 11 zilka'de sene	0	0	4	1
hedaye-i Hasan ağa sakin-i Ba'nyaluk (Banyaluka ?) fi 15 zilka'de sene	0	0	4	1
hedaye-i Köstendilli Hasan efendi fi 28 zilka'de sene	0	2	8	2
	12	22	206	51,5
hedaye-i Ömerbeğzâde sakin-i Yanya fi selh-i zilka'de sene 144	0	1	8	2
Karacalarlı İsmail ağadan fi gurre-i zilhicce sene 1144	1	0	4	1
Grebene züemalarından hedaye fi 4 zilhicce sene 1144	0	0	4	1
Grebeneli Azizağazadeden fi 4 zilhicce sene	0	0	4	1
	13	23	226	56,5
Grebene kocabaşılarından fi 4 zilhicce sene 144	1	0	4	1
enderun (yobaz?) Mustafa ağa yediyle fi 5 zilhicce sene	0	0	20	5
Ohrili Zeynel beyden fi 9 zilhicce sene 1144	1	0	4	1
İstarovalı Mehmed ağadan fi 10 zilhicce sene 1144	0	0	8	2
	15	23	262	65,5
sabıka vezir kethüdasının karındaşı oğlu fi 25 zilhicce sene 144	1	0	4	1
Gostivarlı Bekirbeğzâdeden fi 8 muharrem sene 1145	0	2	8	2
hedaye-i ivladika-yı ipek fi 8 muharrem sene 1145	1	0	4	1
hedaye-i ____ alaybeği Priştinevî fi 22 muharrem sene 1145	0	0	4	1
	17	25	282	70,5
Manastır voyvodası Serfiçevî agodan fi 6 safer sene 1145	2	0	8	2
Radomirî Ali ağadan der Köstendil fi 21 rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	1	4	1
Bender varoşu ermenileri hediyyesi fi 14 cemâziyelevvel	0	0	4	1
Samakov ivladikası fi 24 zilka'de sene 1145	1	0	0	0
	20	26	298	74,5
Sofya reayasından hediyye fi 29 zilka'de sene 1145	1	0	4	1
Sofya yahudilerinden hediyye fi 29 zilka'de sene	2	0	8	2

hedaye-i ayan-ı Köstendil fi 29 zilka'de sene	0	1	12	3
hediyye-i _____ ma'hûd fi 4 zilhicce sene	0	0	4	1
	23	27	326	81,5
hediyye-i Göricevî Ali beğ fi 5 zilhicce sene 145	0	0	4	1
Nasliçli Müsli beğ hediyye fi 5 zilhicce sene	0	1	4	1
hediyye-i sağ kol kaba Ahmed beğ fi 5 zilhicce sene	3	3	12	3
hediyye-i sol kol Ali beğ fi 5 zilhicce sene	2	0	12	3
	28	31	358	89,5
hediyye-i mirliva-yı Avlonya fi 5 zilhicce sene 1145	0	1	8	2
hedaye-i mirliva-yı Selanik fi 5 zilhicce sene	0	1	4	1
hediyye-i Ağaçkozoğlu sakin-i Tiran fi 5 zilhicce sene 145	0	0	4	1
hediyye-i Nasliçli küçük zaim fi 7 zilhicce sene	0	0	4	1
	28	33	378	94,5
hediyye-i Üzice mütesellimi Ahmed beğ fi 8 zilhicce sene 1145	2	0	12	3
hediyye-i dizdar-ı gosina fi 15 zilhicce sene 1145	0	0	4	1
hediyye-i Üskübî Bakizade çelebi fi 25 zilhicce sene	0	1	0	0
hediyye-i Priştinevî Hüseyin ağa _____ Hasan ağa fi 5 muharrem sene 146	1	0	4	1
	31	34	398	99,5
hediyye-i ahali-yi Köprülü fi 22 muharrem sene 1146	0	2	8	2
Müsli alaybeğin oğlu Priştineli fi 27 muharrem sene 1146	0	1	4	1
hediyye-i n[â]zır-ı (?) Üsküb fi 5 safer sene	5	0	20	5
hediyye-i İvranyalı Feyzullah ağa fi 8 safer sene	1	0	8	2
	37	37	438	109,5
hediyye-i Göricevi Ali beğ fi 22 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1146	0	0	4	1
hediyye-i kocabaşı-yı Görice fi 24 rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	0	4	1
def'aten Görice kocabaşısından fi 3 rebîülâhır sene 146	0	0	4	1
hediyye-i kethüda-yı sabık Ahmed ağa fi 8 rebîülâhır sene 146	0	2	0	0
hediyye-i ivladika-yı Sofya fi 12 rebîülâhır sene	0	0	8	2
	37	39	458	114,5
hediyye-i Şahin beğ sakin-i Koniçe fi 18 rebîülâhır sene	0	1	8	2
hediyye-i Mehmed beğ sakin-i Koniçe fi 21 rebîülâhır sene	0	0	8	2
hediyye-i kocabaşı-yı Görice be-dest-i _____ minh fi 4 cemâziyelevvel sene 146	0	0	4	1
hediyye-i Sarıgöl sükkanından minh fi 19 cemâziyelevvel sene	0	1	8	2
hediyye-i yeğen Mahmud paşa fi 3 cemâziyelâhır	1	0	0	0
	38	41	486	121,5
hediyye-i Pirlepevî Yusuf ağa fi 6 cemâziyelâhır sene	1	0	4	1

	39	41	490	122,5

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_____ an-cânib-i diğer

	kumaş donluk	hare donluk	çuka
	39	41	490
hediyye-i ahali-yi Velesin fi 4 şevvâl sene 1146	0	0	8
hediyye-i ahali-yi Ermiye fi 5 şevvâl sene	0	0	12
hediyye-i ahali-yi Kastel [ve] İnebahtı fi 20 şevvâl sene 1146	0	0	4
hediyye-i mütesellim-i Karlıeli fi 21 şevvâl sene	0	0	8
	39	41	522
hediyye-i ayan-ı Karlıeli fi 23 şevvâl sene	0	0	12
hediyye-i konsolos fi 25 şevvâl sene 146	0	1	4
hediyye-i voyvoda-yı Olendorik Bekir ağa fi 29 şevvâl sene 1146	0	0	4
Balyabadralı (hutman/hartman?)oğlundan âmed fi 3 zilka'de sene 1146	2	0	8
_____ kocabaşıları âmed fi 10 zilka'de sene 1146	0	3	12
Siroz ağalarından geldi efendimizin mîrîye (?) teşriflerinde fi muharrem sene 1147	41	45	562
			16

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berây-ı masarifat-ı çuka fi 27 rebîülâhır sene 1144 ve hare ve atlaz

	atlaz donluk	hare donluk	çuka	donluk
Yenişehirli şerif haşimi çelebiye in'am fi 27 rebîülâhır sene 1144	0	0	4	1
be-dest-i çukadar-ı enderun Yenişehir'de Ahmed efendiye in'am fi 29 rebîülâhır sene 144	0	0	4	1
yine be-dest-i mezbur Yenişehir'de _____ emire in'am fi 29 rebîülâhır sene	0	0	4	1
	0	0	12	3
Yenişehirde harem-i muhtereme ferace müfredat defterinde mukayyeddir	3	0	16	4
Abdülaziz efendinin uşaklarından alınan kaftan içün dâde	0	0	16	4
ibrikdar-ı sadr-ı âli Müsli ağanın uşaklarına balık (???) fi 3 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	0	0	12	3
	3	0	56	14

Selanik'de Kule şeyhi İbrahim efendiye in'am fi 7 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	1	0	4	1
Selanik'de mektub kesesiçün sarf fi 10 cemâziyelevvel sene _____	2	0	0	0
Yenice-i vardar müftisine in'am fi 10 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144	0	0	4	1
	6	0	64	16
çukadar-ı sadr-ı âli arnabud Osman ağaya in'am fi 19 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144	0	0	4	1
İştib kadısı İkbali (?) efendiye in'am fi 3 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144	0	0	4	1
Kumanova kadısının oğluna in'am der kariye-i Çavuş	0	0	4	1
	6	0	76	19
Şehirköylü Müsli efendiye in'am fi 11 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144	0	0	4	1
Harem-i muhtereme dade fi 15 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144 (şüde?)	0	2	0	0
vaiz seyyid efendiye in'am fi 17 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144	0	0	4	1
şeyh efendiye ferace yapılub in'am fi 17 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	0	0	4	1
	6	2	88	22
köse Müsli ağaya in'am fi 20 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144	0	0	10	2
mektub kesesine sarf fi 5 receb sene _____	0	0	0	0
Sofya monlasına in'am fi 6 receb sene	0	0	4	1
yek-çeşm Halil ağaya in'am fi 25 receb sene	1	0	8	2
	7	2	110	27
Ferace yapılub der-hazîne kılındı	0	0	4	1
bu masarifin hesabı hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize dade fi gurre-i şa'bân	7	2	114	28

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berây-ı masarifat-ı çuka ve hare ve atlaz fi 9 şa'bân sene 1144

	atlaz donluk	hare donluk	çuka		çuka donluk
mektub kesesine sarf fi 9 şa'bân sene 1144	1	0	0		0
Ferecikli Süleyman beğin kızına irsal fi 24 şa'bân sene 144	0	1	0		0
Kölelere (yıllık?) (balık ?) içün masraf fi 15 ramazân sene 144	0	0	15		0
ibrikdar Mustafa ağa çakşır sarf fi 16 ramazân sene	0	0	2		0
	1	1	17	1	0
Şam kesmesine masraf şüde fi 19 ramazân sene	1	0	0		0

ibrikdar Müsli ağaya kontoş fi 19 ramazân sene	0	0	4,5		0
imam efendiye çakşır şüde fi 19 ramazân sene	0	0	2		0
	2	1	23,5	1	0
beğefendimize bahş şüde fi 25 ramazân sene 144	0	0	1		0
feracelere sarf fi 25 ramazân sene 1144	1	0	0		0
müfti efendiye çakşır fi 25 ramazân sene 144	0	0	2		0
mektub kesesine fi 26 ramazân sene 144	1	0	0		0
	4	1	26,5	1	0
be-dest-i Müsli beğ Hersek mutasarrıfı Mehmed paşanın çukadarına in'am fi 27 ramazân sene 144	0	0	4		0
mektub kesesine sarf fi 22 şevvâl sene 144	1	0	0		0
İslambol'da harem kethüdası Hasan beğe irsal Ahmed efendiyle	0	0	4		0
mektub kesesine masraf şüde fi 9 zilka'de sene	1	0	0		0
	6	1	34,5	1	0
muhzır ağanın bayrakdarına in'am fi 12 zilka'de sene 144	0	0	4		0
kadızade Mehmed ağaya in'am fi 18 zilka'de sene	0	0	4		0
Numan paşa hazretlerinin çukadarına in'am ___ fi 21 zilka'de	0	0	6		0
kerrake ve feracelere masraf fi 27 zilka'de sene	1	0	0		0
	7	1	48,5	1	0
berây-ı (yıllık?) _____ hazret-i veliyyü'n-niami zilka'de sene 1144	0	0	754	2	0
harem-i muhtereme dade fi gurre-i zilhicce sene 1144	0	1	0		0
damad efendiye in'am fi 3 zilhicce sene 144	0	2	0		0
hâdim araba ve kölelelere biniş şüde aded 4 fi 3 zilhicce sene	0	0	8		0
	7	4	810,5	3	
Ömer efendinin karındaşı Hüseyin ağaya in'am fi 5 zilhicce sene	0	0	4		
Bosna monlasına in'am fi 15 zilhicce sene 1144	1	0	4		
Ürgüblü müslimâdan olan kıza ferace ____ zilhicce sene	0	0	4		

~~Üzice mütesellimi Ahmed ağaya in'am fi 24 _____~~ müslim efendinin ademisine _____	0	0	4		
	8	4	826,5	3	
defterdar çukadarı miri mal tahsiline geldikde _____ fi 29 zilhicce sene	0	0	4		
şehbender _____ gelen ____ ağaya in'am fi _____	0	1	4		
ferace ve kerrake ve saire _____ sarf fi 14 muharrem sene 145	1	0	0		
emin-i şaîr-i kadim İbrahim ağaya in'am fi 15 muharrem sene	0	0	4		
	9	5	838,5	3	
Dukakin mutasarrıf Mehmed paşanın başçukadarına fi 21 muharrem sene	0	0	4		
peşkir ağasına _____ fi 27 muharrem sene 145	0	0	4		
_____ hususiçün gelen (hasekiye?) in'am fi 13 safer sene	0	1	4		
harem-i muhterem içün ferace aded 3 fi 16 safer sene 1145	0	0	12		
	9	6	862,5	3	
mezbur üç feraceye sarf fi 17 safer sene 145	1	0	0		
_____ in'am fi 21 safer sene 145	0	0	4		
kerrakelere sarf aded 3 _____ 3 fi 21 safer sene	1	0	0		
çeşme binasına tayin olan Ahmed efendiye fi gurre-i rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	0	4		
	11	6	870,5	3	
[Ab]dülaziz efendiye in'am fi 6 rebî-ül-evvel sene 145	0	0	4		
Harem-i muhtereme dade fi 10 rebî-ül-evvel sene 145	0	0	20		
Manastırlı çukadar Mehmed sipahiye fi 11 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1145	0	0	4		
mektub kesesine sarf şüde fi 13 rebî-ül-evvel sene	1	0	0		
	12	6	898,5	3	
Bender'de yapdırılan feracelere aded 5 sarf fi 10 cemâziyelevvel sene	1	0	23		
hâdim araba (dolama?) ve biniş fi 12 cemâziyelevvel sene 145	0	0	6		
serasker-i sultanın konakçısına in'am fi 13 cemâziyelevvel sene 145	0	0	8		

~~ferace biçildi fi 14 cemâziyelevvel sene 1145 _____~~ fi 13 cemâziyelevvel sene 145	0	0	0		
boyara in'am (kalatina ve piştov?) getürdükde fi 21 cemâziyelevvel sene	0	0	8		
	13	6	943,5	3	
efendimize çakşır ve beğefendimize kürk fi 3 receb sene 145	0	0	4		
tüfenk kılıfı yapıldı fi 6 receb sene	0	0	2		
be-dest-i uzun halil edirnede kara____oğluna irsal	0	0	4		
çaşnigir Ahmed ağaya in'am fi 29 receb sene	0	0	4		
	13	6	957,5	3	
fıçı getiren ulah beği boyarına in'am fi 3 şa'bân sene 1145	0	0	4		
han hazretlerinden gelen (dolama?) _____ fi 13 şa'bân sene	0	0	6	7	
mezbur kölelere biniş fi 14 şa'bân sene	0	0	7	7	
karabaş (şeyhe?) ferace in'am şüde fi 14 şa'bân sene 145	0	0	4	7	
(raht-vân elhac İbrahim?) ağaya in'am fi 15 şa'bân sene	0	0	4		
	13	6	985,5		
kolçak paşa hazretlerinin müezzini hedaye ile geldikde in'am fi 22 şa'bân sene 1145	0	0	4		
(hutun/hotin?) yeniçeri ağası kelleci İsmail ağanın ademine in'am	0	0	4		
İsmail gulama (dolama?) _____ biniş _____	0	0	3		
Ali gulama (dolama?) _____ biniş _____	0	0	5		
	13	6	1001,5		
Rumeli valisi İsmail paşa hazretlerinin çukadarına kontoş	0	0	4	2,5	
çukadar-ı mezbura (dolama?) fi 5 şevvâl sene 1145	0	0	4	___	
taht-ı revan (kesâna?) mintan şüde fî 13 şevvâl sene	0	0	3		
hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize çakşır şüde fi 17 şevvâl sene	0	0	2		
hayvancı ____ mintan nefer 3 _____ fi 17 şevvâl sene	0	0	4	___	
	13	6	1021		
_____ kılıfında tamam şüde fi 20 şevvâl sene 1145	1				

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_____ masarifat ber-cânib-i diğer

	kumaş donluk	hare donluk	çuka
	14	6	1021
İsakça'dan geçende sultan (imirzalarına?) in'am fi 28 şevvâl sene 1145	0	0	8
Sofya monlasına in'am fî gurre-i zilhicce sene 1145	1	0	4
Sofya menzilinde mektub kesesine sarf	1	0	0
Edirne dizdarı ile gelen nefere in'am	0	0	8
Bekir ağanın pederine ve gayriye (dolama?) fi 4 zilhicce sene 145	0	0	8
	16	6	1049
hâdim (arab ibşir?) ağaya kaftan fi 9 zilhicce sene 1145	0	1	0
Bekir ağanın pederi ve gayriye biniş fi 10 zilhicce sene	0	0	8
Göriceli Osman beğe kaftan şüde fi 12 zilhicce sene	0	1	0
Leskofça kadısına çuka atlaz mektub kesesine fi 12 zilhicce sene 1145	1	0	4
kerrake ve feracelere sarf _____ şüde fi 13 zilhicce sene	1	0	0
	18	8	1061
köse Müsli ağaya (dolama?) aded 1 çakşır aded 1 biniş aded 1 fi 14 zilhicce sene 1145	0	0	10
Ahmed efendiye (dolama?)aded 1 çakşır aded 1 fi 14 zilhicce sene	0	0	6
kadızade Aziz ağanın oğluna in'am fi 23 zilhicce sene	0	1	6
mektub kesesine sarf fi 3 muharrem sene	1	0	0
	19	9	1083
Eflak beği boyarına in'am fi 4 muharrem sene	0	0	4
Alacahisar kadısı efendiye fi 5 muharrem sene	0	0	4
	19	9	1091
Köstendil mutasarrıfından at getiren ademine fi 18 muharrem sene 1146	1	0	4
mezburun (at çeken?) çukadarına in'am	0	0	4
Ferecik'de bina olunacak çeşme içün gelan ademe in'am fi	0	0	4
küçük beğefendilerimize kaftan fi 18 safer sene	0	1	0
mektub kesesine masraf fi 18 safer sene	1	0	0
	21	10	1103

kapu kethüdasının (mecde?) ile gelen çukadara in'am fi 4 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1146	0	0	6
muhzır ağanın bayrakdarına ve başeskiye in'am fi 5 rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	0	10
mektub kesesine sarf fi 8 rebî-ül-evvel sene	1	0	0
	22	10	1120
ferace ve kerrakelerden tamam şüde fi 3 rebîülâhır sene 1146	2	0	0
(bî-zeban?) Hasan ağaya in'am fi 14 rebîülâhır sene	0	2	8
mektub kesesine sarf fi 14 rebîülâhır sene	1	0	0
kölelere çakşır şüde fi 21 rebîülâhır sene	0	0	4
	25	12	1132
_____ Ahmed ağaya (dolama?) aded 1 biniş aded 1 çakşır aded 1 fi 23 rebîülâhır sene	0	0	10
_____ (araba dolama?) fi 4 cemâziyelâhır sene	0	0	4
mektub keselerine sarf fi 6 cemâziyelevvel sene 146	1	0	0
Üsküb mutasarrıfının ademisi bargir getirdikde in'am fi 7 cemâziyelevvel sene 146	0	0	4
	26	12	1150
Köprülü kadısına in'am be-dest-i Hacızade fi 9 cemâziyelevvel sene	0	0	4
koyu renkli ve yeşil nafe kürkde _____ fi 19 cemâziyelevvel sene	1	0	0
Ülgün dizdarı Veli ağaya in'am fi 21 cemâziyelevvel sene 1146	0	0	4
mektub keselerine sarf şüde fi 21 cemâziyelevvel sene	1	0	0
Selanik mutasarrıfı Mehmed paşanın çukadarına in'am fi 2 cemâziyelâhır sene 1146	0	1	4
Köstendil sükkanından _____ ağaya in'am fi 3 cemâziyelâhır sene	0	0	4
	28	13	1166
harem-i muhtereme efendimiz götürdü fi 9 cemâziyelâhır sene 1146	0	0	4
kerrakelere bir mikdar ve baki mektub kesesine sarf fi 9 cemâziyelâhır sene 1146	1	0	0
şatır (dolamalarına?) sarf fi 22 cemâziyelâhır sene	2	0	0
Ferecik'e ferace aded 4 irsal be-dest-i (baba?) Yusuf tamam şüde fi 10 receb sene	0	0	16,5
feracelere sarf fi 10 receb sene	1	0	0
	32	13	1186,5
at gömlekleri yapıldı aded 4 fi 19 receb sene 1146	0	0	9

_____ tamam şüde fi 20 receb sene 146	1	0	0
(imam?) efendiye kürk kabı içün fi 20 receb sene	0	0	4
harem-i veliyyü'n-niamiye ferace aded 2 _____ biri ___ dâde fi 10 şa'bân sene	0	0	10
iki feraceye sarf _____ fi 10 şa'bân sene	1	0	0
mektub kesesine sarf fi 10 şa'bân sene	1	0	0
	35	13	1209,5
Çatalca'da harem kethüdası Ahmed ağaya (kanavizden?) _____ dâde fi 7 şevvâl sene 146	0	0	8
Ahmed paşa hazretlerinin sarracbaşısına in'am fi 10 ramazân sene	1	0	4
mektub kesesine sarf çatalcada fi 7 şevvâl sene	1	0	0
harem kethüdasına in'am fi gurre-i ramazân sene	0	0	4
	37	13	1225,5
çiftlik kethüdası dağlı İbrahime fi gurre-i ramazân sene	0	0	4
amir Yusuf'a in'am fi gurre-i ramazân sene	0	0	4
_____ in'am fi gurre-i ramazân sene	0	0	4
köleler içün harem-i muhtereme dade der Niş fi (15?) ramazân sene 1146	0	0	20
cariyelere ferace aded 3 mukkaddem Niş'de fî 5 ramazân sene	0	0	14
	37	13	1271,5
hediyye-i konsolos _____	0	0	4
Margiliç kaleleri keşfi içün gelen vezir (ağası?) Hasan ağaya fi 3 zilka'de sene 1146	1	0	0
Vesteniçe şeyhi Ali efendiye irsal bâ-yed-i Abdülaziz efendi fi 5 zilka'de sene 1146	0	0	4
efendimiz hazretlerinin tüfenklerine kılıf tüfenk kılıfı 8 fi 6 zilka'de sene 1146	0	0	1
miraç başı (yamağı araba?) biniş kesildi fi 17 zilka'de sene 1146	0	0	4
mektub keselerine masraf oldu fi 17 zilka'de sene 1146	1	0	0
	39	13	1284,5
raht-vân (yamağı?) Osman'a virildi hem uşakları _____ fi 17 zilka'de sene 1146	0	0	6
kölelere kaftan yapıldı (arab ve saliha ve _____?) fi 24 zilka'de sene 1146	0	3	0
efendimizin odasına perde yapıldı fi 24 zilka'de sene 1146	0	3	0
kürdzade Osman ağaya in'am fi 28 zilka'de sene 1146	0	1	0

Yenişehir'de zaim ağaya irsal ba-yed-i mühürdar ağa fi gurre-i zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	4
	39	20	1294,5
Niş'de (virila?) (yıllık?) hazine katibi (virmiş?) idi fi gurre-i minhu sene 1146	0	0	759
Serfiçeli (emire?) in'am vilayetine gitdikde fi 6 zilhicce sene 1146	0	2	0
(divandar?) ağanın (kadısına?) in'am fi 8 zilhicce sene 1146	0	1	0
İnebahtı'da verilen (yıllık?) ber-muceb-i defter-i karakullukçudan maada fi 8 zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	868
(cici?) beğe kavuk bez dahi haznedar ağaya fi 8 zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	1
	39	23	2923,5
_____ Mehmed ağaya in'am fi 8 zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	4
makrameci Emin ağaya in'am fi 8 zilhicce sene 1146	0	1	0
Balyabadralı saka Osman çelebiye in'am fi 14 zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	4
Ferecikli babaoğlu molla Aliye in'am	0	1	0
	39	25	2931,5

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_____ el-masarifat-ı diğer fi 14 zilhicce sene 1146

	kumaş donluk	hare donluk	ince çuka	
	39	25	2931,5	
gömlek yapıldı atlar içün inebahtıda aded 2 fi 16 zilhicce sene 1146	0	0	4	
mektub kiseleriçün mübadele olundu (ber-mûceb?) fi 23 zilhicce sene 1146	0	1	0	
Yenişehir'de Ali çavuş _____ ba-tezkere-i mühürdar ağa hareme verildi fi 5 muharrem sene 1147	0	4	0	
mektub kesesiçün mübadele olundu fi 19 muharrem sene 1147	0	1	0	
Bekir ağanın karındaşı Bektaş ağaya der-menzil-i Gümülcine fi 26 muharrem sene 1147	0	0	6	1,0
	39	31	2942,5	
_____ aliye in'am der-menzil-i Gümülcine fi 26 muharrem sene 1147	0	0	1,5	
Bender'e geldiğimizde tatar ve _____ in'am fi 19 rebî-ül-evvel sene 147	0	0	4	
Numan paşa hazretlerinden serracbaşı ve mirahuruna in'am fi 20 rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	0	8	
kethüda-yı ahur ve (seyis?)başısına ikişer arşun fi 20 rebî-ül-evvel sene	0	0	4	

kapu kethüdasının çukadarına in'am azak _____ geldikde fi	0	1	0	
yine mezbura binişlik çuka kaftan bezine fi	0	0	4	
	39	32	2964	
Ferecik'de (akraba-yı?) hazret-i veliyyü'n-niamiye in'am	0	8	0	
mektub kese _____ oldu	0	1	0	
han hazretleri canibinden gelen (Bahadır?) ağaya (Yeni kal'ada?) in'am	0	0	4	
küçük köle Süleyman'a (dolama?) 4 der-azak	0	0	3	
	39	41	2971	

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berây-ı irad-ı ince çuka resm ve sair avaid fi gurre-i şa'bân sene 1144

	çuka-yı (Macar?)	ince çuka
müteveffa İbrahim beğin getirdiği	7	78
bad-el-mesarif kadimden mevcud	0	153
devletlü hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize hesab verildiği mahal _____	7	231
_____ alaybeği marifetiyle Leskofçalı (arnabutlardan?) âmed	0	4
mukaddem harem-i muhtereme badehu der-hazîne fi 10 ramazân sene 144	0	30
Şehirköylü Mehmed ağa yediyle resm fi 26 ramazân sene 1144	0	32
	7	297
_____ yahudi marifetiyle mübâyaa olan çuka sene 144	0	299
def'-i _____ yahudiden be-hesab-ı mezbur	0	23
_____ (Podgorice?) hazariyyesinden fi 8 muharrem sene 145	0	133
_____ hazariyye ruz-ı hızır fi 8 muharrem	0	20
	7	772
ba-mübâşeret-i _____ Kalkandelenli (arnabutlardan?) fi 20 safer sene 45	0	42
	7	814
be-dest-i çukadar-ı enderun Yenişehirde mübâyaa sene 1146	0	600
be-dest-i _____ ağa mübâyaa an-canib-i tiran fi 25 rebîülâhır sene	0	184,5
ba-mübâşeret-i Mehmed sipahi (Podgorice?)_____ hazariyyesinden fi 5 receb sene	0	13
İvranya arnabutları isyan ile habs olur ıtlaklarıçün fi 8 şa'bân	0	8
mübâyaa be-dest-i bazirganan-ı Niş _____ 25 fi 10 ramazân sene	0	570
	7	2189,5
Abram'dan alınan çuka (yıllık?) içün _____ 106 _____ 25 fi 16 safer sene 146	0	106

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berây-ı irad-ı sâye çuka resm ve hediyye ve saire fi gurre-i şa'bân sene 1144

	sâye çuka	_____ çuka
İbrahim beğin getirdiği	66	0
İbrahim beğin hediyyesi	6	0
kadim (kenarsız?) mor çuka	5	0
devletlü hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize hesab virildiği	77	0
hediyye-i (Podgoriçe?) Ahmed ağa ve (Jabçeli?) Yusuf ağa fi 18 şa'bân sene 1144	8	0
be-dest-i İpekli Ali bölükbaşı _____ (ve Podgoriçe?) kazalarından hazariyye içün fi gurre-i ramazân sene 1144	26	41
Zadrima kazasının ruz-u hızır hazariyyesinden fi 8 muharrem sene 1145	5	0
	116	41
hediyye-i Göricevî Ali beğ fi 5 zilhicce sene 1145	4	0
hediyye-i kara ağaçkozoğlu fi 5 zilhicce sene	4	0
hediyye-i ivladika-yı reaya-yı Niş fi 6 zilhicce sene	0	4
hediyye-i Üsküblü bakizade Hüseyin fi 25 zilhicce sene	6	0
	130	45
_____ kazasının hazariyyesiçün ruz-u hızır sene 1145 fi 6 muharrem sene 1146	29	0
Altunili ma' Gora ruz-u hızıriyyesinden fi 7 muharrem sene	21	0
hediyye-i reaya-yı Manastır fi 29 muharrem sene	4	0
hediyye-i İslam beğ fi 26 safer sene	6	0
	190	45
be-dest-i (bici?) ağa mübâyaa an canib-i Tiran _____ 274 _____ 600 ve _____ 193 _____ 480 fi 25 rebîülâhır sene 146	467	27
hediyye-i yeğen Mahmud paşa fi 3 cemâziyelâhır sene	4	0
ba-mübâşeret-i Mehmed sipahi ____ Ömer efendi (Podgoriçe?) _____ hazariyyesinden fi 5 receb sene 1146	38	43
ba-mübâşeret-i Ömer ağa Manastır canibinden (kara maddesiçün?) fi 19 receb sene 146	0	89
isyan ile habs olan İvranya arnabutları ıtlaklariçün fi 8 şa'bân sene _____ 84, 5 _____ 4,5 _____ 9 _____ 5	83,5	0
_____ an canib-i diğer pasdav deyü mukayyed idi	27,5	0
	810	204
_____ an canib-i diğer pasdav deyü mukayyed idi	0	28

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berây-ı masarifat-ı sâye çuka der sene 1144

	sâye çuka		_____ çuka
valide kethüdasının mirahuru Kasım ağaya in'am fi 4 ramazân sene 1144	10		0
an ağavat-ı sadr-ı âli (şeker?) Ali ağaya in'am fi 15 şevvâl sene	10		0
cedid bargir kesmesi olmak içün sarf fi 11 zilka'de sene 1144 hisse şüde	2		0

def'-i cedid kesmeye sarf fi 12 zilka'de sene 1144	2		0
	24		0
an ağavat-ı sadr-ı âli kadızade Mehmed ağaya in'am fi 18 zilka'de sene 1144	4		0
yeniçeri ağasının iki nefer adamlarına Ali efendinin metrukatiçün geldiklerinde fi 25 zilka'de	8		0
(yedek örtüler?) yine sarf şüde _____ fi 16 safer sene 1145	0		7,5
emir-i ahur kethüdasına in'am fi 5 safer sene 1145	4		0
	40		7,5
Bender'de muhzır ağaya in'am fi cemâziyelâhır sene 145	4		0
duhanî-yi hazret-i veliyyü'n-niamî Hasan ağaya in'am fi 23 cemâziyelâhır sene 1145	4		0
yoklamağa gelen ağa-yı sadr-ı âliye in'am fi 3 receb sene	5		0
_____ mak'adı yapdırıldı fi 10 şevvâl sene 1145	5		0
Bender'de yeniçeri ağasına in'am fi 10 şevvâl sene	7		0
	65		7,5
(yedek örtülerine?) fi 11 şevvâl sene 1145	0		7,5
müezzin efendiye in'am fi 17 şevvâl sene 145	4		0
efendimize yağmurluk kesesi fi 18 şevvâl sene	1	1,0	0
serasker-i sultana irsal fi 18 şevvâl sene	7		0
	78,0		15
(subaşı?) hacı _____ in'am fi 27 zilhicce sene 1145	5		0
kapu kethüdasının (mecde?) ile gelen çukadara in'am fi 4 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1146	4,5		0
Yeniçeri ağasına in'am fi 6 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1147	6		0
hüccac müjdecisine in'am fi 22 rebî-ül-evvel sene	4		0
bî-zeban Hasan ağaya fi 14 rebîülâhır sene	6		0
	103,5		15
defterdar mektubçusu mustafa efendiye biniş şüde fi 23 rebîülâhır sene 1146	4		0
Abdülaziz efendiye in'am fi 26 rebîülâhır sene pasdav aded 1	28	0,5	0
valide kethüdasına irsal be-dest-i Ömer efendi fi 29 rebîülâhır sene 1146 pasdav aded 1	29		0
Ömer efendinin damadına irsal fi 29 rebîülâhır sene be-dest-i mezbur	7		0
	172,0		15
defterdar efendiye in'am fi 4 cemâziyelevvel sene	4		0
fıçı döşemesine sarf fi 11 cemâziyelevvel sene	4		0
kapu kethüdasına irsal be-dest-i uzun Ali çukadar fi 18 cemâziyelevvel sene	28		0
_____ yeğeni tüfenk getirdikde in'am fi 18 cemâziyelevvel sene	4		0
Bosna canibine (Nemçe?) Mehmed efendiye mübaşir olan ağa-yı sadr-ı âliye in'am fi 3 cemâziyelâhır sene	7		0

	219		15
(apsar?) oğlu Yusuf ağaya in'am beğşehri fi 5 receb sene	4		0
fıçıya örtü yapıldı fi 9 receb sene	13		0
sarı _____ emrin getiren ağa-yı sadr-ı âliye in'am fi 10 receb sene 146	6		0
~~ba-mübaşaret-i Ömer ağa manastır canibinden fi 19 receb sene~~ _____ şüde fi 6 şa'bân sene 146	0		7,5
Numan paşa hazretlerinin mühürbaşısına biniş aded 1 ve Niğbolu muhassılının çukadarına biniş aded 1 fi 10 şa'bân sene	9		0
	251		22,5
hâdim arab ve Yusuf ve _____ gulama (kaput?) yapıldı fi 16 şa'bân sene	9		0
Hüseyin ve (seyfi?) ve şahin gulama (kaput?) yapıldı fi 16 şa'bân sene	0		8,5
(leğen?) sofrasına _____ 3 makrameciye kese ve çukadar-ı enderuna kese ____ 3 fi 21 şa'bân sene	0		5
_____ mehteran-ı tabla ihdâ (iden Nişlüyana?) in'am fi 23 şa'bân sene	4		0
Ürgüblü Hasan paşaya in'am fi	4		0
Yenişehir'de _____zadeye in'am fi 3 şevvâl sene 146	4	1,0	0
	273,0		36
kürdzade Osman ağaya in'am fi 10 ramazân sene 1146	4,5		0
mühürbaşı yediyle yapdırılan üç aded mak'ada sarf fi 18 şevvâl sene	24		0
İbrahim beğefendimize (at?) gömleği şüde fi 10 ramazân sene	1		0
Yenişehirli tiryaki Ömer ağaya in'am fi 6 şevvâl sene	6		0
başlık içün silahdar ağaya ____ 1 kürdzade Ömer ağaya _____ 1	2		0
	310,5		36
Rumeli'nden _____ bâ-ferman-ı hazret-i veliyyü'n-niamî etba'ı kullarına in'am fi 10 ramazân sene 1146	457		56,5
	767,5		92,5
Badracık'da sakin bostancı haseki Mehmed ağaya (kaltaklık/kalpaklık?) ba-marifet-i _____ Hüseyin	1		0
sabıkâ İnebahtı ağası _____ Mehmed ağaya hazînedar ağa irsal fi 12 zilka'de sene 1146	4		0
_____ yapıldı aded 2 fi 16 zilhicce sene 1146	3		0
Bekir ağanın karındaşı Bektaş ağaya biniş kesildi der menzil-i Gümülcine fi 25 muharrem sene 1146	4	1,0	0
	780,5		92,5
Mahmud ağanın karındaşı Yusuf ağaya in'am Ferecik'de fi 29 muharrem sene	4,5		0
der-menzil-i Bender iskeleye yapıldı	2		0
küçük Süleyman gulama biniş şüde azakda	0		3
(yağmurluk?) kese yapıldı efendimize	1,5		0
efendimizin yağmurluğu _____lerine sarf	0	1,0	0
	789,5		95,5

küçük köleye (dolama?) _____ biniş _____ fi 3 şevvâl sene 147	2,5		2,5
_____ için virdi fi ramazân sene	1		0
	793		98
mak'ada eklendi fi gurre-i ramazân sene	0	1,0	0
	794,0		98
efendimizin piştovlarına kılıf fi 22 şevvâl sene	0		0
küçük (kalmuk?) köleye (dolama?) fi 25 şevvâl sene	0		1

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berây-ı irad-ı çuka-yı Londire der sene 1144

	çuka	çuka-yı (Leh?)
_____ yahudi marifetiyle Selanik'de mübâyaa	286,5	0
mübadele ince çuka ile _____ 23	32	0
	254,5	0
be-dest-i mütesellim Hüseyin ağa der mah-ı receb sene 1145 der Bender	0	4
mübâyaa _____ 120	0	176,5

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berây-ı masarifat-ı çuka-yı Londire der sene 1144

	Londire çuka	çuka-yı (leh?)	
berây-ı (yıllık?) karakullukçiyan-ı mevcud der-Niş fi gurre-i şevvâl sene 1144	221	0	
bad-el-defter horbendebaşı ve şüturbanbaşına (yıllık?) fi gurre-i zilhicce sene	12	0	
_____ in'am fi 21 safer sene	4	0	
(at?) gömleğine sarf fi 11 şevvâl sene	0	6,5	
gulam Saliha _____ 6 hâdim araba _____ 4 (yağmurluk?) fi 13 şevvâl sene 145	0	10	
(taht-ı revancılara?) şalvar fi 13 şevvâl sene nefer 2 _____	0	3	
(taht-ı revan şatırlarına?) _____ fi 13 şevvâl	2	0	
	239	19,5	
mehter Müsli'ye biniş biçildi fi 13 şevvâl sene 1145	0	4	
davul örtülerine sarf _____ 5 fi 13 şevvâl sene 1145 Macar çukasından	13	0	
~~(miraç?) başı _____ araba biniş fi 14 şevvâl sene~~	0	0	
mezbur araba şalvar fi 14 şevvâl sene	0	2	1,0
	252	26,5	1
hâdim araba şalvar şüde fi 16 şevvâl sene 1145	0	1	6
hayvancı _____ şalvar nefer 3 _____ fi 17 şevvâl sene 1145	0	5	2
der-menzil-i Babadağı iki nefer cariyeye ferace fi	0	8,5	

Nişde hazîne katibinin virdiği (yıllık?) ber-muceb-i defter fi gurre-i muharrem sene 1146	252	41	
	0	112	

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berây-ı masarifat-ı çuka-yı Macar

	çuka-yı Macar	
sarracbaşı _____ araba biniş şüde fi 14 şevvâl sene 1145	3,5	3,5
(yıllık?) virildikde bu dahi masraf şüde fi muharrem sene 146	3,5	3,5

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makrame kesesine kırmızı çuka _____ aded 6 Yenişehir'de _____

devletlü hazret-i efendimizin İnebahtı'da bazirganlardan aldığı çukadan fi 29 zilhicce sene 144
küçük kölelere Yenişehirde biçilen biniş çuka _____ 6,5

Abram'ın çukasından Londire çukadan _____ virilen fi [boşluk] sene 144
çuka (neftî?) _____ 4
(ba-ferman-ı?) veliyyü'n-niami hareme verildi (neftî?) çuka _____ 3

İnebahtı'dan alınan çukadır abdülaziz efendinin ademlerine on dört (yıllıkdan?) maada üç (yıllık?) dahi in'am fi 29 rebîülâhır sene 144
çuka ___ 12 mütenevviye 6 kırmızı =18 +84 (yıllık?) aded 14 +2 kendine çakşır =104

ibrikdar-ı sadr-ı âli Mustafa ağaya çakşır ve hidmetkarlarına virilen fi 3 cemâziyelevvel sene 144
çuka ____ 14,5
an hedaye-i Yenişehir çakşır çuka İnebahtı çukasından

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_____ aded 1 atlaz mektub kesesine sarf _____ 3
atlas aded 1 efendimiz feracesine _____ 2 fi 10 receb sene 144

berây-ı diğer ihsan mehterân-ı tabl-ı âlem der (hâkipâ-yı?) hazret-i veliyyü'n-niami fi 16 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1143

berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl fî 16 rebî-ül-evvel sene 1143
neferat
17
-3 (manastırda?) _____
14
-1 _____
13
-1 ___ fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
12
_1 bir dahi Yenişehirden inebahtına _____ olundukda ihsan eylemiş
13

berây-ı (nakkarezen?) 20 muharrem sene 144
_____ nefer 1
berây-ı _____ mehteran __ amed inebahtı fî gurre-i rebî-ül-evvel sene 144
neferat 2
berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl amed inebahtı fî 17 rebîülâhır sene 144
neferat
1 (arab kaftanî amed?)
1 zilci
2
-1 _____ fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl amed Yenişehir rebîülâhır 28 sene 144
neferat
5
-4 _____ fi 18 cemâziyelâhır sene 144
1
berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl amed Yenişehir fî gurre-i cemâziyelevvel sene 144
neferat 3
berây-ı boruzan fi 10 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144
neferat
2
1 def'-i mehteran
3
berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl-ı âlem fi 19 cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
neferat 6
berây-ı mehterân-ı tabl-ı âlem fi __ cemâziyelâhır sene 1144
neferat 1

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mehterân-ı tabl-ı âleme ihsanları _____ bu ana gelince teslim olan akçe beyan
şüde
(gruş?)

36	İlbasan'dan	80
100	def'aten İlbasan'da	
180	İnebahtı'nda	
20	hazret-i veliyyü'n-niam efendimize verildi	
150	def'aten İnebahtı'nda	
486	an 16 rebî-ül-evvel sene 143 ila selh-i cemâziyelevvel sene 1143 neferen 13 __	
279		
		80
211,5	Selanik'te mehterân-ı tabla fi 9 cemâziyelevvel sene 144	
10	Selanik'te iki nefer borazana bahşiş fi 9 cemâziyelevvel sene 1144	
708,5		20
13	harc-ı matbah olan altı nefer mehteranın ulufe __18 cemâziyelâhır sene 144	26