

**THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL FESTIVAL OF 1675: AN
ATTEMPT AT HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION**

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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Master of Arts

in

History

by

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1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL FESTIVAL OF 1675: AN ATTEMPT AT HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

In this thesis, it is intended to explore one of the most impressive festivals in Ottoman history, the imperial circumcision festival of 1675 which was held in Edirne for the circumcision of Princes Mustafa (later Mustafa II) and Ahmed (later Ahmed III), the sons of Sultan Mehmed IV. In order to understand the meanings behind its routines and symbols, first the entire agenda of the festival will be evaluated. In addition to its theatrical, artistic and entertaining aspects, this thesis will demonstrate that this occasion was an opportunity for the court to demonstrate its power and wealth, and to reinforce the limited power of the subjects within its strict hierarchical order and protocol rules. Furthermore, the 'carnival elements' of the festival will be investigated with regard to the participants that originated from various social groups and it will be shown that the festival was an occasion for both sides, the court as well as the commoners, to share the same atmosphere, albeit only to a certain extent. This thesis will also attempt to provide a better idea of the material and intellectual culture of this grandiose festival including spatial relations, clothing, equipments as well as the books gifted to the Sultan and of the prominent religious figures in the festival. Since each Ottoman festival shared certain common principles and rituals and moreover had standardized characters, it is possible to compare them. For that reason, the reader will often find the comparisons regarding the different aspects of the festival at hand with the two other greatest festivals in the history of the Ottoman Empire, that of 1582 and of 1720. The former took place during the reign of Murad III to celebrate the circumcision of his prince, Mehmed (later Mehmed III), in the summer of 1582. The latter was held in 1720 by Sultan Ahmed III for his four sons, Süleyman, Mehmed, Mustafa (later Mustafa III) and Bayezid. These comparisons enable us not only to guess the scale of the 1675 festival in comparison to two others but also to capture continuing or changing trends in any rituals. The important thing is to attribute meanings to these differences and then to interpret them accordingly in regards to changing political, social or economic interests of these different eras.

Key words: Imperial festival, circumcision, protocol rules, guild pageantry, banquets, gifts, intellectual culture

KISA ÖZET

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1675 OSMANLI SARAY ŞENLİĞİ: BİR TARİHSEL BAĞLAM DENEMESİ

Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı tarihinin en görkemli saray şenliklerinden biri olan 1675 Edirne Şenliği (IV.Mehmed'in şehzadeleri Mustafa ve Ahmed'in sünnet düğünleri onuruna yapılmış olan şenlik) kendi tarihsel bağlamında incelenmeye çalışılacaktır. Düğünün rutin ve sembollerinin arkasındaki anlamların ortaya konabilmesi için, öncelikle şenliğin bütün programı hikâyemsi bir metotla aktarılacak. Ardından, tiyatral ve sanatsal özelliklerinin yanında, düğünün içeriği başka bir bakış açısı ile tahlil edilecektir. Düğüne, padişahın güç, kuvvet ve azametini bütün tebaasına bir kez daha hatırlatma amacıyla nasıl kullanıldığına bakılacaktır. Yine, düğünün Osmanlı idaresinin önemli bir özelliği olan sıkı hiyerarşik yapı ve protokol kuralları dâhilinde her kesime had ve sınırını hatırlatma fonksiyonunu nasıl yerine getirdiği üzerinde durulacaktır. Daha sonra, değişik sosyal grup ve kesimlerden gelen katılımcıları ile şenliğin karnavalımsı özelliklerine vurgu yapılacak, saray ve sıradan halkın belli bir ölçüde de olsa aynı eğlence atmosferini paylaşma şansını nasıl bulduğuna bakılacaktır. Ayrıca, bu muhteşem düğüne ait yerleşim planı, kıyafet ve kumaşlar, kap kacak çeşitleri gibi maddi kültür özellikleri ile düğünde hediye edilen kitaplar, düğünün din adamı davetlileri ve benzeri başlıklar altında entelektüel hayat özellikleri de incelenecektir. Ayrıca, bu çalışmada da 1675 Osmanlı şenliği incelenirken yüzyıllar arasındaki değişim ve farkları ortaya koyabilmek maksadı ile zaman zaman, Osmanlı tarihinin en bilinen diğer iki saray düğünü ile kıyaslamalar yapılacaktır. Bu düğünler, 1582 yılında III.Murad'ın şehzadesi Mehmed'in ve 1720 yılında III. Ahmed'in şehzadeleri Süleyman, Mehmed, Mustafa ve Bayezid'in sünnet törenleri onuruna yapılan şenliklerdir. Önemli olan göze çarpan benzerlik ve farklılıkları kendi zamanlarının politik, ekonomik ve sosyal gelişmeleri içinde değerlendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Saray düğünleri, sünnet, protokol kuralları, esnaf geçişleri, ziyafetler, pişkeş, fikir hayatı

DEDICATION

To my family, especially my dear mother and also my grandmother who died
just after the day of my thesis defense

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Manifestos calling for a new and broader approach to historical studies emerged starting from the second half of the 20th century; these efforts appeared to alter the perception of history which was restricted to 'past politics'. 'Culture' has attracted attention as a system of symbols and meanings; and scholars have realized the necessity and inevitability of the study of people's cultures or in other words, their 'individual and collective ideas'.¹ Since then, cultural history has been enjoying a revival. It is possible to find out the outcomes of this increased tendency in writing Ottoman history, as well. Some studies have already begun to emerge dealing with various social and cultural aspects of Ottoman history that had been previously ignored. In this regard, the Ottoman court festivals stand out as the perfect subject for investigation in order to reveal the reflections of the values and traditions of the Ottoman culture. It is because they were undoubtedly the distinct products of the diverse characteristics of the Ottoman civilization.

While the first research on Ottoman court festivals had been started either by the dramatic professions which concerned themselves much more with theatrical aspects of Ottoman festivals and their role on the development of the performing arts or by linguists who focused more on the literary style and organization of the festival books, recent historians have been inclined to change the scope and offered to cope with the content of festivals in

¹ Although cultural history emerged as an academic discipline more than two hundred years ago, it was regarded as the Cinderella of the disciplines and neglected in favour of its more successful sisters until the 1970s when it was rediscovered. Since then, cultural history has been enjoying a revival. For more detailed information about the cultural history with its different phases: Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, Cambridge, U.K.: Malden: Polity Press, 2004; Lynn Hunt and Victoria Bonnell, *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999; Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* / Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998.

order to further understand their political, social, economic and cultural meanings and the influences on the period in which they occurred. Rather than following a descriptive way of narrating the events of a festival, the efforts start to increase in order to contextualize and to interpret its occasions within the conjuncture of the period.

This thesis intends to explore one of the most impressive court festivals in the Ottoman history, the imperial circumcision festival of 1675 which was held in Edirne for the circumcision of Princes Mustafa (later Mustafa II) and Ahmed (later Ahmed III), the sons of Sultan Mehmed IV. In order to understand the meanings behind its routines and symbols, first the entire agenda of the festival will be evaluated. In addition to its theatrical, artistic and entertaining aspects, this thesis will demonstrate that this occasion was an opportunity for the court to demonstrate its power and wealth, and to reinforce the limited power of the subjects within its strict hierarchical order and protocol rules. Furthermore, the 'carnival elements' of the festival will be investigated with regard to the participants that originated from various social groups and it will be shown that the festival was an occasion for both sides, the court as well as the commoners, to share the same atmosphere, albeit only to a certain extent. This thesis will also attempt to provide a better idea of the material and intellectual culture of this grandiose festival including spatial relations, clothing, equipments as well as the books gifted to the Sultan and the prominent religious figures in the festival. Since each Ottoman festival shared certain common principles and rituals and moreover had standardised characters, it is possible to compare them. For that reason, the reader will often find the comparisons regarding the different aspects of the festival at hand with the two other greatest festivals in the history of the Ottoman Empire, that of 1582 and of 1720. The former took place during the reign of Murad III to celebrate the circumcision of his prince, Mehmed (later Mehmed III), in the summer of 1582. The latter was held in 1720 by Sultan Ahmed III for his four sons, Süleyman, Mehmed, Mustafa (later Mustafa III) and Bayezid. These comparisons enable us not only to guess the scale of the

1675 festival in comparison to two others but also to capture continuing or changing trends in any rituals. The important thing is to attribute meaning to these differences and then to interpret them accordingly in regards to changing political, social or economic interests of these different eras. An important point to consider is the relative scarcity of the primary sources on the festival of 1675 compare to the festivals of 1582 and 1720. The rich miniature drawings of other two festivals (unfortunately the festival at hand does not have any illustrated festival book) present us much more and detailed information about each stage of these festive events. This is an advantage for them to be more familiarized.

1.1. A Literature Review

In order to reveal the place of court festivals in the Ottoman tradition and civilization with their many facets, a considerable number of academic scholars have concentrated on this topic at various points in different enquiries over the years.

In the beginning, scholars generally had a tendency to approach to this topic from an artistic point of view and concentrated on the theatrical and artistic components of these festivals and looked for their roles in the development of this field. The 1959 publication *40 Gün 40 Gece* which was written by Metin And, an eminent Turkish theatre critic and scholar, became a reference book on Ottoman festivals with an interest and emphasis on their theatrical aspects. This pioneering work in the study of Ottoman festivals as theatrical phenomena was the only work that approached a comprehensive survey of the subject.² Metin And treats Ottoman festivals as something designed for the entertainment of the audience and focuses on their dramatic activities such as the artistic performances, popular comedy, puppet shows and

² Metin And, *40 Gün 40 Gece Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları*, İstanbul: Toprakbank Yayınları, 2000 (1st published in 1959).

pageantries. The book is also valuable for its abundant pictorial evidence from illustrated festival books and other albums.³

Besides crucial contributions of numerous historical articles in various Turkish periodicals to this field⁴, Özdemir Nutku is another scholar who drew attention to the artistic components of Ottoman festivals. In his book, *IV.Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği*, Nutku concentrates on the magnificent imperial festival of 1675, the same festival this thesis surveys.⁵ The work is based primarily on the observations and memoirs of the European travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 17th century like Ogier Busbecq, Daniel Harvey, and mostly John Covell. Additionally, it takes into account manuscripts written by Ottoman chroniclers and the *surname* authors of that period such as Abdi Pasha, Nabi and Hüseyin Hezarfen, as well as a variety of secondary sources either in Turkish or in other foreign languages. Because Özdemir Nutku is interested in theatrical arts professionally, he highlights the dramatic arts and performances in the festival instead of commenting on their meanings and symbols and their significance in its historical conjuncture.

Turkish language and literature is a different field that can be studied comprehensively within the domain of Ottoman festivals. In contrast to the theatrical perspective, many scholars from the departments of Turkish language and literature have dealt with the festival books (*surnames*) written in prose or in verse and investigated their literary features. University students have written numerous master theses or doctoral dissertations on the *surname* books. After a general introduction to the topic, they usually tended to make textual analyses together with a critical edition and then

³ One of the earliest scholars, who followed the approach of Metin And, was a historian of theatre, Eliot Stout. He deals with the dramatic arts in the festival of 1852 in his doctoral dissertation. Eliot Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun of Murad III: A Study of Ottoman Pageantry and

Entertainment." PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1966.

⁴ Mehmet Arslan gives a long list of the articles published in various periodicals in "Kültür Tarihimiz Açısından Zengin Bir Kaynak: Surnameler" *TALİD, Eski Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, v.5, 230-243.

⁵ Özdemir Nutku, *IV.Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Y., 1972.

provided a full translated text of the original manuscripts. Hatice Aynur and her study on the wedding ceremony of Saliha Sultan in 1834 can be given as a good example. After her master degree thesis on the three *surnames*, covering the wedding of Princess Saliha, daughter of Sultan Mahmud II, to Halil Rifat Pasha, was completed in 1988 at the Turkish Language Literature Department at Boğaziçi University, she continued her career with a Ph. D. dissertation called "*The Wedding Ceremony of Saliha Sultan: 1834*" at Harvard University in 1995.⁶

As a professor in the field of Turkish Language and Literature, Mehmet Arslan has the most detailed and comprehensive search on the *surname* literature. Following some articles on the same topic in several Turkish periodicals, he wrote a book entitled *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnameler* in 1999.⁷ After he examined the genre of the *surname*, together with its function, content, composition, style and rhythm, he centered upon the festival books first written in verse like the *surnames* of Ali, Nabi, Es'ad, Rif'at and so forth and then those written in prose like the *surnames* of Intizami, Abdi, Vehbi, Hazin, and then the *suriyye kasides* and *suriyye tarihs*. Following a part on a general overview of the festivals and their formats and contents in the light of the gathered information from *surnames*, he presented the samples of these festival books in their full transcript texts. Later on, Mehmet Arslan has enlarged the scope of his work and begun to publish his studies on the festival books as a series of eight volumes. Three of them have been already published: the first issued in 2008 as *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri I: Manzum Surnameler*, the second one is in 2009 as *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri II: İntizami Surnamesi*, and the third one is in 2009 *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri III: Vehbi Surnamesi*; the other five

⁶ Hatice Aynur, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Kızı Saliha Sultan ile Tophane Müşiri Halil Rifat Paşa'nın Düğün Törenini Anlatan Surnameler", Master Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 1988.
Hatice Aynur, *The Wedding Ceremony of Saliha Sultan: 1834, Textual Analysis, Critical Edition and Facsimile*, 2 vols., Cambridge MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1995.

⁷ Mehmet Arslan, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnameler (Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999.

are forthcoming.⁸ He intends to present his previous and on-going studies in a wider scope and this time he received help from various historical works and gave references to a variety of Ottoman chronicles in order to expose the historical context of the periods although it is still a linguistic study to a certain extent. Thanks to Arslan, a reasonable number of still unpublished festival book manuscripts will be available for use in researching Ottoman history.

Art historians such as Sezer Tansuğ, Nurhan Atasoy and Esin Atıl compose another group interested in the Ottoman festive occasions. Given their focus on arts of the past, these historians have concentrated on the illustrated festival books, attempting to give meaning to a wide range of miniature drawings for diverse royal festivals. Subsequent to Sezer Tansuğ (1930-1998) who took an interest in miniatures as sources for Ottoman celebrations in a quiet earlier period (his decisive work came out in 1961)⁹, Nurhan Atasoy and Esin Atıl both wrote monographs on individual festivities. As one of the leading Turkish art historians, Nurhan Atasoy analyses 1582 *Surname-i Hümayun* depicted by Nakkash Osman in her magnificent large format and colourful book.¹⁰ After offering brief information about the festival book with its author (Intizami) and miniature painter (Nakkash Osman), and then about the political events during the reign of Murad III, the main part of the book is left to explore and comment the miniature paintings which portray the festival events in chronological order. The last part which concerns descriptions and pictorials of all artisans and craftsmen of 16th century Istanbul undoubtedly increases the value of the book. Similar to this work, a different art historian and expert on miniatures Esin Atıl, wrote another large format and colourful book, *Levni and the Surname*, about another illustrated

⁸ Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri I Manzum Surnameler*, İstanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2008.

Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri II Intizami Surnamesi*, İstanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2009.

Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri III Vehbi Surnamesi*, İstanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2009.

⁹ Sezer Tansuğ, *Şenlikname Düzeni*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992 (1st published in 1961).

¹⁰ Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Imperial Celebration*, İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997.

festival book but this time written by Vehbi and depicted by Levni for the circumcision festival of the princes of Sultan Ahmed III in 1720.¹¹ After touching briefly the cultural and historical atmosphere of Tulip Age, in which the festival took place, as well as the artistic works of the period, she made an attempt to reconstruct a pictorial narrative on the basis of the occasions in the magnificent miniatures. Thanks to giving information about the cast of the festival including wide explanations of all participants, officers and employees, we become familiar with the terminology of Ottoman festivals.

Recently, historians like Derin Terzioğlu, Suraiya Faroqhi, Arzu Öztürkmen, and Zeynep Nevin Yelçe have undertaken different attempts to the studies of Ottoman festive culture. They prefer to investigate social, economic and cultural aspects of the matter in its historical context. Instead of giving importance to the artistic, theatrical, linguistic, literary or visual features of festivals and festival books, they regard these festivals and their books (*surnames*) as a tool to capture the atmosphere, conditions, politics, social structure, culture and the problems of the period at hand. They produced a variety of interpretations and theories on the topic and gathered different perspectives. For instance, the article of Derin Terzioğlu, "*The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation*" created a considerable impression amongst Ottoman historians.¹² Although she wrote on a rather famous and often studied festival by the scholarship of Ottoman festivals, she did so with a new and different perspective and as such her article has become a pioneering work and is often used as a point of reference. Terzioğlu tried to reveal a different function of the Ottoman festival and emphasized its urban dimension with its carnival elements. She is interested in the festivals on the street level and draws a parallel between Ottoman festivals and the 'carnival' in which the public can actively and freely participate.

¹¹ Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999.

¹² Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation", *Muqarnas: An Annual Islamic Art and Architecture*, Leiden, 1995, c. XII, 84-100.

Suraiya Faroqhi, one of the most prominent social and economic historians of the Ottoman Empire, has made substantial contributions to this field owing to her wide-ranging works on Ottoman material culture. In addition to sections concerning the features of the Ottoman ceremonies in her books *Subjects of the Sultans: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*¹³ and *Animals and the People in Ottoman Empire*¹⁴, a new forthcoming book which was edited by Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen called *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*¹⁵ seems to offer new viewpoints for studies on Ottoman festivals and will fill a gap in the literature. This complete work, which is divided into three sections 'Celebration and Entertainment', 'Ottoman Theater and Theatricality' and 'European Encounters', and consists of twenty valuable articles of different experts about various periods and styles of entertainments in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, Suraiya Faroqhi, apart from her preface in the introduction part of the work which is reviewing the existing researches on the Ottoman festivities and performances, with a quiet different concern, deals with how the Sultans mobilize empire-wide sources to finance their magnificent festivals. Rather than highlighting impressive and grandiose aspects of festivals, she draws attention the burden upon the subjects of the Sultans to contribute to the festival expenditures.¹⁶ Likewise, Zeynep Nevin Yelçe's study analyses three imperial festivals of 1524, 1530, and 1539 during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566).¹⁷ Again as a rather new phenomenon, she seeks information on the use of these festivals as a symbol of power by the

¹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ceremonies, Festivals and the Decorative Arts" in *Subjects of the Sultans: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, I.B. Tauris, 2007, 162-185.

¹⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Animals and the People in the Ottoman Empire*, Eren Yayınları, 2010.

¹⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen (ed.), *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, Seagull Publications, Enactment Series (Forthcoming).

¹⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, was Everybody in a Festive Mood?" in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, Seagull Publications, Enactment Series, (Forthcoming), Page numbers will be determined; See also Suraiya Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them: The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests at the Festival of 1720" in *Europa und die Turke im 18. Jahrhundert/ Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, ed. Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011, Page numbers to be determined (Forthcoming).

¹⁷ Zeynep Nevin Yelçe. "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals: 1524, 1530, 1539" in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, Seagull Publications, Enactment Series (Forthcoming), Page numbers to be determined.

state. This work is also significant given its references to foreign literature on power and the ways to apply it.¹⁸

Finally, it is necessary to talk about the precious works of Hedda Reindl-Kiel regarding the gift giving culture in Ottoman festivals regarding its the political, social and economic meanings and functions within the Ottoman society. Investigating the festival books (*surnames*), Ottoman chronicles and especially the archival documents like the gift registers (*hediye defterleri*) of three best-known Ottoman imperial festivals of 1582, 1675 and 1720, she investigates the alterations and continuations in quality and quantity of the gifts offered to the Sultan by Ottoman officials or foreign envoys of different ranks.¹⁹

The study of the contents, symbols, rituals, ceremonies and processions of Ottoman festivals so as to place them in a historical context is quite a new and recent experience and a departure from the studies and contributions focused on the theatrical, linguistic, artistic and visual features of the Ottoman court festivals. As such, there is little doubt that further research on Ottoman court festivals is necessary, especially will be done from a more conceptual point of view. Following in the footsteps of the previous historians, my thesis will be an attempt at a historical contextualization and investigation of the 1675 imperial circumcision festival by implying some different approaches towards it.

¹⁸ I am indebted to Suraiya Faroqi, Zeynep Nevin Yelge for sharing with me their parts in this book before it is published yet.

¹⁹ Hedda Reind-Kiel, "Osmanlı'da Hediye (16.ve 17. Yüzyıllar) in *Hediye Kitabı*, edited by Emine Gürsoy Naskalı, Aylin Koç, İstanbul: Kitapevi Yayınları, 2007, 102- 111. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman European Cultural Exchange" in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province and the West*, edit. by Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyot, London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005, 113-121.

Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th -18th Centuries)", *Turcica*, 2009, v.1, 37-88.

1.2. Sources of Inquiry

The variety of original sources which have been assembled as evidence for this study will allow for a reconstruction and analysis of significant events and aspects of *sur-i humayuns*.

The festival books (*surnames*) are the first resources to be mentioned. These are special books written in verse or in prose in order to honour and describe an imperial wedding, circumcision or royal birth ceremony in a literary manner. These textual accounts and comprehensive agendas of the festivals act as elusive types of chronicles with detailed information on each and every stage of the festive occasions.

Surnames, which were illustrated with the miniature paintings by the court painters, have greater importance with their vivid pictorial records of the most significant aspects of the festival. Unfortunately, every Ottoman court festival could not be commemorated in a festival book. Mehmet Arslan reports that only eleven Ottoman court festivals from over a hundred ones throughout the centuries became the subject of separate festival books.²⁰ Furthermore, just two of them have independent illustrated books: the first one was depicted by Nakkash Osman for the grand imperial festival in 1582.²¹ The second one is about the imperial festival in 1720 which was illustrated by Levni.²²

²⁰ Mehmet Arslan gives the entire list of the Ottoman court festivals which were issued in a separate festival book together with the data on their authors and manuscripts in "Kültür Tarihimiz Açısından Zengin Bir Kaynak: Surnameler" *TALİD, Eski Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, v.5, 230-243.

²¹ Lokman was employed as the narrator of the events he witnessed during this fascinating festival and later on Nakkash Osman, the chief miniaturist of that time, was assigned to portray them in a visual and pictorial way.

²² Vehbi wrote the text of another grand circumcision and wedding festival of 1720. Then, it was illustrated by a famous artist of this period, Levni, with the help of some other members of his studio. Apart from these two separate independent festival books, in some manuscripts we come across a number of illustrations of other circumcision festivals that occurred in the late- sixteenth century (such as the 1530 festival for the Sultan Süleyman's three sons in the second volume of *Hünername*; and the 1582 festival repeated in volume two of the *Şehinşahname*); however these are so far from being regarded as an

Detailed and literary narrations of festive occasions make *surnames* undeniably valuable as resources; however, the reason of writing as to why these books were composed, is questioning their credibility. Either the authors were employed by the court itself to create an account of the festivals for further generations or the authors commemorated the festivals with the ultimate goal of presenting their works to the Sultan, expecting a promotion or financial gain. As such, it is important to keep in mind that these events might have been covered in an adulatory way that highlighted only the most splendid moments so as to record the festivals for history in the most favourable light possible.

Among the greatest three imperial festivals of the Ottoman Empire, the 1675 festival was also commemorated in two different *surnames*. The first one is *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun* which was written in prose by Abdi Pasha who was one of the scribes of Sultan Mehmed IV. The other is *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan-ı Hazret-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gazi* written in verse by the renowned poet Nabi. Both were comprehensive narrations of the entire festival on a day-by-day basis. Two different copies of Abdi's *Surname* were used for this research, the first one is the full transcript text prepared for a master thesis²³; the second one is a simplified version translated and edited by Salih Zorlutuna.²⁴ Although I have evaluated Nabi's *surname*²⁵, I did not give so much reference it because it is formed in verse with an elaborate language and as such, fails to give as many details as Abdi's account.

Second, I have been able to find detailed mentions of this occasion in a few priceless chronicle works covering the period under investigation. *Telhisü'l-*

independent book focused on a festival because they were just historical books which had one or some parts depicted with pictures of the festival during the period covered.

²³ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, edited by Aslı Göksel, "The Surname of Abdi As a Sample of Old Turkish Prose" Master Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul: 1983.

²⁴ Salih Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne'nin Sahne Olduğu Şahane Sünnet ve Evlenme Düğünleri" in *Edirne: Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi VII. Seri, 1965, 265-296.

²⁵ Nabi, *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan-ı Hazret-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gazi*, edited by Agah Sırrı Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, İstanbul: Burhanettin Matbaası, 1944.

Beyan fi Kavanin-i Ali Osman by Hüseyin Hezarfen²⁶ has the most comprehensive survey of the event compare to the other chronicles will be mentioned below. It describes the festival agenda in depth and presents lists of the incoming gift items and their quantities in a daily base. *Zübde-i Vekayiat* by Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa²⁷, *Silahdar Tarihi* by Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa²⁸, *Tarih-i Raşid* by Mehmed Raşid²⁹, and *Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi* by Abdi Paşa³⁰ are the other chronicles in which the programmes, arrangements, events and invitees were reported gradually by their writers who either witnessed or heard about the occasion. However, because their works seem to me as a repetitive and summarized version of the *Surname-i Abdi*, and *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, I prefer to refer them in the case of discrepancies.

Third, the rich collection of documents in the central state archives (*Osmanlı Arşivi*) also provides an opportunity to reveal the reality of the Ottoman imperial festivals. Records provide us with an understanding of the importance of these festive occasions for the Imperial Court. They include the festival invitation letters sent to various provincial officers throughout the Empire, to the foreign ambassadors and Emperors, the lists of the gifts that were presented to the Ottoman Sultan and the invitees interchangeably, the account books (*masraf defterleri*) of the court kitchen and the imperial orders (*fermans*) for the organization, the lists of the circumcised poor boys and so on. Since the festival under inquiry was held in a quiet earlier period, we are not fortunate enough to find satisfactory archival records compared to the ones in later centuries. Nevertheless, we still come across some crucial documents about the accounts of the festival

²⁶ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l- Beyan fi Kavanin-i Ali Osman*, edited by Sevim İlgürel, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi, 1998.

²⁷ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiat Tahlil ve Metin (1066—1116 / 1656-1704)*, edited by Abdülkadir Özcan, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995, 58-68.

²⁸ Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, in Master Thesis of Aslı Göksel, "The Surname of Abdi As a Sample of Old Turkish Prose", Master Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 155-159.

²⁹ Mehmed Raşid. *Tarih-i Raşid* in Master Thesis of Aslı Göksel, "The Surname of Abdi As a Sample of Old Turkish Prose" Master Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 161- 170.

³⁰ Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekayi-Name (Osmanlı Tarihi (1648-1682)) Tahlil ve Metin*, edited by Fahri Çetin Derin, İstanbul: Çamlıca Basın Yayın, 2008.

expenditures and equipments, the gifts presented to the Sultan by the leading figures of the Ottoman state and foreign countries, and agents of various artisan guilds.³¹ This information not only allowed me to verify the information from my other primary sources but also contributed to filling in some gaps during my research.

Fourth, the memoirs of various European travellers who wrote down their detailed descriptions about the festive occasion are another useful source for my inquiry. As Metin And listed in his book³², we have a considerable number of European diaries narrating some of the splendid and famous Ottoman imperial festivals. These sources are particularly noteworthy in part due to the personal observations and experiences of the author but also because it was written by someone outside of the Ottoman court. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that special attention must be paid to these sources given the possible unfamiliarity with Ottoman culture on the part of the author as well as potential prejudices of these writers in regards to life in the Ottoman Empire and the possible attempts to simply uncover the hidden exotic life within the Empire. For the festival under consideration, the diary of John Covell presents us the most detailed information.³³ The account John Covell who had been in the Ottoman Empire from 1670 to 1677 as a monk of English embassy is so precious for the study of 1675 festival thanks to its

³¹ D. BŞM.D.295, "Sur-i Hümayunda sarf olunan fişenklere ait defter".

T SMA, D. 1118, "Enderun-ı Hümayun hazinesi masraf defteri: Sur-ı Hümayun masrafı".

T SMA, D.154, "Hazine-i Hümayun Defteri: Şehzade Sultan Mustafa ve Sultan Ahmet'in Edirne'deki sünnet düğünlerinde vüzera, diğer devlet ricali ile memleket ileri gelenleri tarafından hediye edilen eşyalar listesi".

D.BŞM.SRH, D.20605, "Sur-ı Hümayun esnasında esnaf tarafından verilen hediyeleri beyan eden defter".

D.BŞM.SRH, D.20606, "Sur-i Hümayun esnasında gılmanan-ı hitan için lazım olan bazı eşyaların çeşit, miktar ve bakayalarını beyan eden defter".

T SMA, D.7857, "Müfredat Defteri: Şehzade Mustafa'nın Sünnet Düğününde Rikab-ı Hümayun'a takdim olunan eşyadan irade-i seniyye üzerine ihsan edilen mevaddın cins ve miktarı".

³² Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Yay., 1982, 259-260.

³³ John Covell, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, edited, with an introduction and notes, by J.Theodore Bent, London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1893; See also, John Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü: Saray, Merasimler, Gündelik Hayat*, translated by Nurten Öz, Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2009.

valuable observations about the Ottoman festival culture. The detailed descriptions of entertainments, performances and displays of the circumcision and wedding festival enable us to understand how the festive occasions were perceived outside from the Ottoman society.

Besides whole primary sources cited above, I have utilized a comprehensive second hand literature dealing with on-going Ottoman imperial festive occasions in general and with the 1675 imperial circumcision festival in particular. These are derived from the firsthand original manuscripts, historical chronicles, memoirs, festival books, miniatures and so forth. The majority of the works I already covered above in the literature review section constitute a substantial amount of my sources. Additionally, many other sources that will be cited due course of time became priceless materials to my study.

In accordance with all these primary and secondary sources, this study, which is entitled "The Imperial Festival of 1675: An Attempt at Historical Contextualization", will first attempt to take a closer look at the entire agenda of the festive occasions, together with symbols, rituals, ceremonies and processions of an Ottoman festival. Then as a historian, this festival will be explored in an attempt to reveal both its distinct functions as well as facets.

1.3. The Nature of Ottoman Festivals

Throughout the centuries in the Ottoman Empire, *sur-i humayuns* were among the most common and important tools and occasions for popular merriment. These imperial wedding and circumcision festivals or the festivities for royal births (*viladet-i humayun*) were occasions sponsored by the court. The feasts accompanying these events were called *sur*, the wedding of a royal princess being celebrated as a *sur-i cihaz* and the circumcision of a royal prince with a *sur-i hitan*. The wedding feast was in honour of the bride, as the husband had already celebrated his feast at the

time of his circumcision, which was performed around the age of puberty.³⁴ By means of these special days of the very young members of Ottoman Household, Ottoman capital cities and their inhabitants witnessed grandiose celebrations, parades and entertainments.

Additionally, there were other court festivities which were also celebrated with parades like the ones which were invariably connected with major Ottoman military campaigns; often welcoming back victorious troops and fleets, or celebrating the departure of the army from the city for a battle. Moreover, there were other solemn processions (*alay*) with official ceremonies and celebrations in a semi-sacramental character such as the *Cuma Selamlığı* and the *Surre Alayları*. While in *Cuma Selamlığı*, the procession was organized for the Sultan's attendance of the religious services at the mosque; *Surre Alayı* was formed before the departure of the pilgrimage (hajj) and *surre* caravans which were carrying donations from the Sultan and others to the residents of Mecca and Medina.³⁵

It's important to know that these official festivities of the Ottoman court were by no means the only option for popular rejoicing. In addition to these festivities, there were a number of religious feasts and holy days such as *Mevlûds*, the birthday of the prophet, and the two *Bayram* festivities as well as minor festivities and holidays of various kinds, some which applied to the general populace and others which were only celebrated by certain sects, dervish orders or non-Muslim communities. Nevertheless, the imperial festivals were still the greatest occasions for public rejoicing on a grand scale.

³⁴ Eliot Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun of Murad III: A Study of Ottoman Pageantry and Entertainment." PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1966, 28.

³⁵ Mehmet İpşirli, "Cuma Selamlığı" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth: *DİA*). VIII, *Istanbul, 1993, 90-92*; Hakan Karateke, *Padışahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, İstanbul: Kitap Kitapevi, 2004; Şefik Peksevgen, "Ottoman Court Ceremonies and the Multiple Ceremonial Center", Master Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 1996; Münir Atalar, *Surre-i Hümayun ve Surre Alayları*, Ankara:Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1991.

From the first wedding festival in 1298 for the marriage of Sultan Orhan to Nilüfer Hatun who was the daughter of a Byzantine *tekmur* to the first circumcision festival in 1365 for princes of Sultan Murad I -Bayezid (later Bayezid I) and Yakup Çelebi- until the last festival in the 19th century, the circumcision festival of a prince of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1899, Ottoman history witnessed hundreds of festive occasions, both on large and small scales. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to know the precise number of Ottoman festivals due to the lack of enquiry on the subject. Most of the studies done rely on And's work and claim that 79 imperial festivals could be found in the resources.³⁶ However, it is thought that many more imperial festivals must have taken place which might be brought to light with a more comprehensive investigation of all primary sources.

While the festivals were rather small in scale and generally held in Bursa or Edirne during the foundation period of the Ottoman state, their content and size got bigger after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and they started to be organized mostly in Istanbul (and rarely in Edirne). During the reign of Mehmed II, in 1457, the circumcision festival of Princes Bayezid (later Sultan Bayezid II) and Mustafa, which lasted for 30 days in Edirne, was the first real big scale festival and it was regarded as a sample for the next festivals with its banquets, gifts, displays and performances.³⁷ From the 16th to 18th centuries, these festivals gradually improved and came into their own unique blend of disparate influences from different traditions.³⁸ In time, these festivals were able to flourish with their own distinguished features thereby maintaining some basic elements such as gifts, feasts, guild parades, performances, and a circumcision or wedding procession.³⁹

³⁶ Özdemir Nutku, "Eski Şenlikler" *İstanbul Armağanı 2, Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Bel.Kül.İş.Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1997, 97.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 103.

³⁸ About the influences of different cultures on the Ottoman festivals see; Nutku, *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne Şenliği*, 1-22.

³⁹ Stephane Yerasimos, "The Imperial Procession: Recreating a World's Order", in *Surname-i Vehbi: A Miniature Illustrated Manuscript of An Eighteenth Century Festival in Ottoman Istanbul* by Seyyid Vehbi, Bern: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık Publications, 2001, <http://www.kanyak.com/surname-i-vehbi/yeramos.html>.

Even though the apparent reason behind each Ottoman imperial festival was to celebrate the circumcision or wedding of a royal household member, there were many other significant aspects and functions of such grandeur celebrations. While Metin And emphasizes political, religious, psychological, economic and social functions of Ottoman festivals⁴⁰, Stephane Yerasimos cites their two different aspects:

“The first is the divine aspect which is to say the aspect of a society that lives within an established order and is, so far as that society is concerned, immutable and for which any change is considered tantamount to degeneration. The second is imperial aspect - the aspect of polity that claims to be a world power.”⁴¹

Politically, an imperial festival (*sur-i hümayun*) was an occasion for the Sultan to feast and to entertain his subjects and to receive the respect and goodwill of all his people. Furthermore, these festivals gave the court an opportunity to display their magnificent wealth, power and generosity and to prove the might of the Ottoman state to its own subjects and everyone else. The gift-giving phase in itself, for instance, was a renewal of commitment to the Sultan’s sovereignty. Foreign envoys, government officials, the heads of guilds, and all others marched before the Sultan and presented him with their gifts in a ceremony. Additionally, the circumcision of thousands of ordinary and poor children along with dressing them, banqueting for general public and Janissaries can be cited among the other ways the court demonstrated its wealth and generosity.

Furthermore, the strict protocol rules prevailing in each stage of festival were the golden opportunity to demonstrate and remind the people of the symbolized relationship of all the diverse elements of the Ottoman administrative system. The highly hierarchical nature of Ottoman state was reflected in each stage of the festive occasion, even from the settlement of

⁴⁰ And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 16-27.

⁴¹ Yerasimos, *The Imperial Procession: Recreating a World’s Order*, <http://www.kanyak.com/surname-i-vehbi/yeramos.html>.

the tents of Ottoman officials in the festival site to the daily order of the banquets which were given to invitees following their presentation of gifts, and from the order in the hand kissing ceremony to the one in the circumcision parade. These were all designed to remind the position and hierarchical degree of each Ottoman officer amongst the others.

Religious dimensions originated in the nature of celebrations. The circumcision was attached to the 'The Tradition of Prophet' and similarly, the wedding was attached to the Islamic tradition of '*Nikah Akdi*' and lastly, the celebrations of royal births can be seen as a continuation of another Islamic tradition '*Mevlūd*'- celebrating the birth of the Prophet Mohammed. Apart from their religious origins, the imperial festivals were cases in which the importance and privileges of the religious institutions and religious men of the Empire were displayed and reinforced once more. *Seyyids* –the descendents of the Prophet, leaders of various religious orders, dervishes and state religious officials were always invited to the festivals in which they enjoyed some priority over other officials during the banquets, gifting and the processions. The common festival customs, reciting the Quran and exegesis books and discussing on religious issues by religious authorities in the presence of the Sultan were also indications of the religious character of Ottoman festivals.

Socially, Ottoman festivals obviously had a psychological function for the public. They broke the monotony of daily life. A wide range of the festival's popular and spectacular entertainment facilities such as dramatic displays, artistic performances or sportive activities provided its participants with a merry atmosphere to enjoy. The festive spirit allowed for a more relaxed atmosphere and a relaxation of certain rules as well.

Likewise, these festivals gave opportunities for the court and the populace to engage in the mutual sharing of a festive atmosphere. The Ottoman elite and ordinary people took part in the domain of merriment in the same way to a certain extent. Many people from different social strata including women,

children and non-Muslims had a chance to participate in the entertaining events or parades whether actively or passively. These dynamics of the crowds which participated in the festival, whether as the members of parades, actors, or spectators, also helped to determine the carnival elements of Ottoman festivals.

Moreover, it is generally argued that after a chaotic situation like a failure in a battle, a political or economic crisis or a natural disaster such as earthquakes or fires, the Ottoman Sultans tended to arrange a festival in order to lessen the social tension and raise motivation. For instance, the three-month wedding ceremony of Prince Mehmed (later Mehmed II) with Sitti Hatun held in 1449 or 1450 just followed unsuccessful Siege of Akhisar and the festival of 1530 which was in honour of the circumcision of the princes of Sultan Süleyman I -Selim (later Selim II), Mustafa and Mehmed-were immediately after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529.⁴² On the other hand, owing to the fear of the perpetuation of the Ottoman house, whose members ascended to the throne, there is an observed increase in the celebration of the royal births throughout the 18th century. Thus, the birth of the first child-Princess Hibetullah - of Sultan Mustafa III, was celebrated on a large scale in 1758 because the earlier Sultans Mahmud I and Osman III had failed to produce any children and as such, this was the first royal birth in approximately thirty years.⁴³

The idea that the festivals served to bring vitality to the country's economy is often repeated by the experts on Ottoman festivals. The extravagance as characteristic of the festivals is readily obvious. However, for Metin And, these extravagant expenditures by the state for the festival preparations apparently energized the local economy of the festival city and its hinterland. For example, a large amount of sugar was needed for sugar based decorations, in addition there was an abundance of fireworks, foods, drinks, kitchen equipments, tents and clothes that had to be bought from guildsmen

⁴² Nutku, "Eski Şenlikler", 101,105.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 103.

or borrowed from pious foundations. As such, related occupational groups benefited and made money in this procedure. Certainly the excessive shopping by the state undoubtedly contributed to the city's economy albeit temporarily, however whether the state paid the real values for the products is a question that is difficult to answer due to the lack of research on such a matter. Quite recently, Suraiya Faroqhi, worked on the documents of the 1720 festival to find an answer as to whether all the subjects of the Sultan were in a festive mood when a sultanic festival took place, and called attention to the usage of the word '*mübaya'a*' as describing the transaction between the state and product suppliers and infers that the payment must be under the market price or perhaps even more or less symbolic.⁴⁴

Financing these magnificent and expensive occasions is another subject to be questioned. Again it is impossible to find comprehensive explanations regarding all Ottoman festivals. When a sultanic festival was in the making, various resources could have been and must have been mobilized on an empire-wide basis. There are still many questions are waiting answers as to whether the Sultans financed such projects with the regular revenue of the state treasury (*Birun Hazinesi*) or with the Privy Purse (*Enderun Hazinesi*) or maybe whether they were inclined to demand special taxes from its subjects. If so, how much tax were the subjects required to pay? Perhaps the determining factor to this question is the financial circumstances of the time. A broader and more comprehensive picture of the finances available for the festivals might be possible after further research on this topic. For now, thanks to the Faroqhi's work, we do know about the concern of Sultan Ahmed III in financing the festival of 1720 by ad hoc contributions rather than from regular revenues. After long and costly wars in Europe which resulted in losses of manpower and territory in 1718, the Sultan tended to contribute to the festival expenditures with special taxes from the capital's

⁴⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them", 2 and 9; For *mübaya'a* procedure, Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları, Zahire Ticareti*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001, 12-13.

inhabitants, guildsmen and certain categories of provincials.⁴⁵ However it is too early to make such generalizations and to decide whether each Sultan applied the same practice regarding the given information we have on hand. The same thing is seen in the obligatory nature of the gift giving (*pişkes*) by Ottoman high ranking dignitaries, and guildsmen to their sovereign at these kinds of dynastic celebrations. For the dispatchers of so many kinds of precious gifts, the festivals bring some burdens together, while for the state their *pişkes* provide a considerable amount of revenue for the treasury to substitute the festival expenditures. Therefore, determining the economic effects of the festivals as positive or negative is complicated and altered by perspective.

Still, their positive function as a place of exhibition for the arts and craftsmen of the Empire can not be neglected. Various guildsmen found opportunity in these festivals to present and introduce their best products. As in contemporary fairs, the economic sectors exhibit their new manufactured goods and techniques in front of numerous official and unofficial, local and foreign guests.

In short, the Ottoman court festivals were on-going organizations over five hundred years together with their different reasons and functions which were shaped according to the circumstances. As such, they stand out as priceless research materials for different scholars of social disciplines. Cultural historians of material culture, for instance, may exploit the festivals and the festival accounts to reveal so many different characteristics of the Ottoman material culture from textile industry (clothing, description and portray of kinds of clothes and fabrics) to household goods and kitchen equipments; from food habits (meals, food, drinks, spices, herbal plants) to music (musical instruments, musicians, dancers); from theatrical and artistic performances and performers to the sportive activities; from decorative arts

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 2 and 9; As Faroqhi exemplifies, according to the document from the registers of one of the major Istanbul court known as the *Istanbul Bab mahkemesi*, dated to *Zilhicce* 1132/October 1720, the greengrocers' guild was expected to contribute 800 *guruş*.

to the arts and craftsmen of the time with their so various types of products and so on. That is to say, besides the comprehensive studies done to the present, Ottoman festivals over five hundred years compose an area open and need meticulous researches by historians with different regards.

CHAPTER 2

The Preparations Before the Upcoming Festival

In this chapter, my goal is to investigate the fascinating imperial festival of 1675 which was held in honour of the circumcision of the princes of Sultan Mehmed IV. Following a very short glance at the driving force behind organizing such a festival, there will be an attempt to explore this occasion from the points of its formation, preparation, timing and duration of events.

Just at the age of seven, Mehmed IV rose to the throne and became the youngest Ottoman Sultan following a coup to depose his father Ibrahim (r.1640-1648). In the first eight years of his reign, Mehmed IV witnessed severe and turbulence crises.⁴⁶ Given his young age, he was unable to govern a state and as such, for many years, was represented by two regents, his grandmother, the old *valide sultan*, Mahpeyker Kösem, and his mother, young *valide sultan*, Turhan who was in her just twenties.⁴⁷ Apart from the power struggles between these women and their partisans, the early years of Mehmed IV's reign was characterized by a continual factionalism and rivalry in the capital along with the direct involvement of the military corps in practical politics. In addition, prices of goods fluctuated and extraordinary taxes were levied to balance the budget deficit due to the ongoing war with Venice over Crete (1645-1669).⁴⁸

During this same period, Empire was troubled by plagues as well as poor harvests. These factors altogether gave way to a highly unstable environment which precipitated major rebellions and disorders in Istanbul and throughout the country. In that period, at least four major rebellions

⁴⁶ Günhan Börekçi, "Mehmed IV", in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters, New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009, 370.

⁴⁷ Abdülkadir Özcan, "IV. Mehmed", in *DİA XXVIII*, Istanbul, 2003, 414-418.

⁴⁸ Börekçi, "Mehmed IV", 370.

emerged in the capital, and at least thirteen different grand viziers were appointed subsequently.⁴⁹

Until the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (r.1656- 1661) as a grand vizier, this period of turmoil continued. During the last major rebellion in 1656, the Sultan had been forced to sacrifice several of his favourite officials including Süleyman Agha, the chief eunuch of the palace and some others in order to overcome a military rebellion held against debased coins.⁵⁰ However, from this point on, with the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and the occupation of the Köprülü Family and their acquaintances at vital offices of the state, the reign of Mehmed IV became stabilized and comparatively successful. Firstly, the rebellious groups were suppressed, the Venetian danger in Dardanelles was over, the economic and social stability was tried to be set back in Constantinople. Especially during the time of Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (r.1661-1676), the son of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, the Cretan War was effectively ended in 1669 and various European lands were successfully conquered and acquired.⁵¹

Leaving the state affairs to the trusted Köprülü household, Mehmed IV moved his court and household to Edirne. Because his childhood memories of Istanbul were full of troubles and uprisings, the Sultan rarely returned to Istanbul after this point. From this time to 1703 when Mustafa II (r.1695-1703) was dethroned, Edirne returned to its glorious days of the 15th century and for all practical purposes functioned as the capital of the Empire.

As a person who spent most of his time for hunting and who enjoyed arts and artists as well as musicians, Mehmed IV often organized individual and

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 371; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi III/1*, Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1995, 308-325;

⁵⁰ For this revolt which is called *Vak'a-i Vakvakiye* or *Çınar Vak'ası*, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi III/1*, 290-293.

⁵¹ Fazıl Ahmed Pasha succeeded to prove the Ottoman power in front of Venice, France, Poland and Austria. The conquest of Uyvar in 1664 concluded a treaty with Austria (Vasvar Treaty) which would be prevailed for next 20 years. Conquering Kandiye in 1669 resolved the question of Crete which had been started 25 years ago. Robert Martran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, trans.by Server Tanilli, Istanbul: Adam Yayınları, 2000, 297-98.

domestic pleasures in Edirne. The festival of 1675 which is the scope of this thesis was one of those activities.

The driving forces behind the organization of the festivals of 1582 and 1720 were not drastically different. Sultan Murad III was considered to be a weak and ineffective monarch who was easily dominated by his courtiers and the women of his harem (such as the *valide* Nurbanu Sultan and his *haseki* Safiye Sultan). He was accused of having many amorous tendencies as well as an affinity for the luxurious things in his life. After the assassination of famous and influential grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha in 1579 as well as the death of his two sons in 1580, words concerning the growing corruption and weakness of the court spread. Due to the fact that he only had one son left who was old enough to succeed him, he wanted to arrange a *sur-i hümayun* to reassert his power and authority and to show off his prestige.⁵²

The circumcision and wedding festival of 1720 was organized in a manner to demonstrate the strength of the monarchy. Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) was a Sultan who dealt with the restoration of the order in Istanbul after "the incident of Edirne (*Edirne Vak'ası*)" which resulted in the dethronement of Sultan Mustafa II (r. 1695 – 1703) in 1703. Moreover, due to the long and unsuccessful wars with the Ottomans' western counterparts, Russia, Venice and Habsburg, the prestige of the Sultan was in danger in the eyes of his subjects after the Treaty of Passarowitz (*Pasarofça*) in 1718, which had quiet disadvantageous clauses for the Empire, Sultan Ahmed III planned to organize a great feast in 1720 to legitimize his regime. Likely, the Sultan and his advisors intended to have the populace forget about their lack of military success in order to emphasize the monarchy's continuing power and influence.⁵³

⁵² About the reasons behind the organization of 1582 festival see; Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun of Murad III", 42-44.

⁵³ Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them", 19-22; See also *Münir Aktepe*, "Ahmed III", in *DİA II, Istanbul, 1991*, 36.

The first Sunday of the *Rebiülevvel* in the 1086 *Hicri* calendar (or the 14th of May in 1675 in *Miladi*)⁵⁴ was an important and memorable date for everybody living in the centre of the Ottoman Empire at that time. It was the starting time for the celebrations in honour of the circumcision of two sons of Sultan Mehmed IV. This spectacular event was scheduled to take place from the 14th of May to the 29th of May 1675.⁵⁵ It would be the most splendid and magnificent festive occasion after the circumcision festival of 1582. English envoy Sir John Finch talks about this occasion in a letter written to his friend in January 1674:

“(....) According to Palace records, there had not been such a great festival held in Edirne for 60 years. (.....) I will participate, too. It will be a good experience for me to see the glory of the state. I suppose to see a huge army, well-trained horses, precious things and bright, bejewelled decorations.”⁵⁶

Since 1582, it had become necessary to pass another 93 years before the Ottoman Empire would host such a grand scale of festival which occurred this time not in the capital city of the Empire, Istanbul, but rather in its second most important city, Edirne. After 1675, neither Edirne nor Istanbul would witness another festive occasion as grand as the festival of 1675 for another forty-five years until 1720. The extent of the preparations, the invitation of various talents and artistic performers as well as the variety of the demonstrations and the size of the banquets and gifts are proofs of the grand scale on which this occasion took place. Nevertheless, it still failed to reach the extent and glory of the festivals of 1582 and 1720. This fifteen-day festival, in terms of duration, was not as long as the two others: the festival

⁵⁴ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 42-v.7b

⁵⁵ Actually there is an uncertainty about the duration of festival. While Özdemir Nutku, Nabi in his *Surname* and all chroniclers cited before narrate the fifteenth day of festival as the concluding time; in both versions of *Surname* of Abdi, it is reported as a sixteen-day festival. Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği*, 42; Nabi, *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan*, 68-69; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 75-v.32a; Zorlutuna, “XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında”, 283; Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 158; Mehmed Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 165.

⁵⁶ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği*, 42-43. Sir John Fisher came to Istanbul in 1674 as an English ambassador and had been in the Ottoman Empire at the time of this festival. However, he had not been invited to the festival.

of 1582 lasted for fifty-two days while the one in 1720 concluded after twenty-three days of celebrations.

The French ambassador Marquis de Nointel reported after the festival in a letter to Pomponne:

“(....) All these created an enormous excitement all over the Empire. 6000 young boys (*genç oğlan*) brought from provinces and 2000 *iç oğlan* themselves with the Prince have been being circumcised. Governors are going to contribute this festival with their wealth. Dancers, magicians, talented performers and technical stuff were ordered to participate. Since it is a big feast as enough to feed whole Partagrue, Greeks around Edirne have been brought to the festival. (....) As a symbol of old customs and traditions of warriors, the Palace members and the common public followed the occasions from the tents during the festival. This atmosphere reminds us a campsite, even a city composed of tents.”⁵⁷

Mehmed IV would circumcise his two *şehzades*, Mustafa (the older one, later Sultan Mustafa II) when he was approximately twelve years old and Ahmed (the younger one, later Sultan Ahmed III) when he was just two years old. Ten days after this fifteen-day magnificent festival, he would arrange another grand festival of eighteen days, though it was not as grand, in order to celebrate the marriage of his seventeen years old daughter Hatice Sultan to his beloved second vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha.⁵⁸ The imperial edicts (*ferman*) had already been issued at the end of 1674 ordering to give a start to the organization of the festival.⁵⁹

The preparations for the festival began months in advance. A tremendous amount of coordination was required for housing and feeding thousands of people, to ensure adequate security, to maintain the programme, schedule, and above all to produce a spectacular and memorable festival. The statistics concerning the preparation process given below are important in order to

⁵⁷ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 43.

⁵⁸ In the scope of this master thesis, the wedding festival will not be covered.

⁵⁹ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 35 –v.2/b.

give us an idea about the scale of the organization which targeted to indicate and confirm imperial prosperity.

2.1. The Process of Invitation

First of all, it must have been necessary to proclaim the festival organization to the whole Ottoman realms and neighbour states. The dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire and its vassal states were delivered the imperial edicts informing of the festival time in which they had to attend as an indication of their fealty to their Sultan. The list of invitations was quiet long: the governors of provinces (*beylerbeyleri*), governors of *sancaks* (*sancakbeyleri*), viziers, *Voyvodas*, who were the princes of Walachia (*Eflak*), Moldovia (*Boğdan*) and Transylvania (*Erde*), representatives of guilds (*esnaf kethüdarları*), members of high ranking *ulema* classes (*mevali-i izam*)⁶⁰ and high ranking *qadis*, who were the judges administering both religious and secular law, heads of the finance office (*defterdarlar*) and other leading officials in different parts of the Empire. They were all summoned to the festival and ordered to bring their gifts (*pişkeş*) in accordance with their proximity level to the Empire.⁶¹

“Fermân-ı padişâhî üzere mübârek Ramazan-ı Şerîf’de sûr-ı mezkûrın mühimmâtı tedariküne mübâşeret ve cümle erkân-ı devlet ve a’yân-ı saltanat ve hükkâm-ı memleket da’vet buyurulup Rikâb-ı Hümayân’a pîşkêşleri, arz olundu.”⁶² “Rikâb-ı Hümayûn-ı şevket-makrûna vüs’atleri mertebesince pîşkêşlerin îsâl ve merâsim-i ubidiyetlerin ikmâl eylemek üzere fermân-ı hümayûn-ı cihân-met’a sâdır oldu.”⁶³

In regards to the existence of foreign delegates on the invitee list, unlike the festivals of 1582 and 1720, this time the Ottoman Empire seemingly tended to invite mostly guests from within the Ottoman territories such as the Ottoman dignitaries or the representatives of vassal states. At least, from the

⁶⁰ *Mevali-i izam* were the scholars in the religious- judicial hierarchy such as *şeyhülislam*, *kadiaskers*, *müftis*, *qadis* and so on. They were the doctors of Muslim canon law, tradition and the theology.

⁶¹ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 36 -v.3/a.

⁶² Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekayi-Name (Osmanlı Tarihi (1648-1682))*, 439.

⁶³ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 36 -v.3/a.

primary sources on the festival at hand, we cannot discover any information concerning foreign invitees to the festival except the one from Dubravnik (Ragusa). Conversely, the participation of foreign representatives of great European powers in both other two festivals is clearly deduced from the sources. The delegations from France, the Holy Roman Empire, Ragusa and Poland as well as the Sultan of Fez and Morocco, the Khan of Tatars and even to the representative of the Persian Şah were invited in the case of the 1582 festival⁶⁴, on the other hand, the ambassadors of Muscovy (Russia), France, Venice, Holland, Habsburg and Ragusa received invitations to the festival in 1720.⁶⁵ And apart from the French representatives, all others had attended to the festival of 1582 while western delegates were at present in the festival of 1720 without any exception.

2.2. The Distribution of Tasks and the Provision of Festival Materials

Managing such a great ceremonial, ensuring the entire agenda, provisioning all kinds of equipments and materials needlessly to say require a well-planned programme, a perfect division of task among the officials and an adequate employment with an ideal coordination of diverse units. All officials and employees charged with the planning, arranging and financing of the festivities were responsible to produce an organization which could guarantee to entertain and feed thousands of people for fifteen days while keeping the order and preventing mess and formlessness at the same time. Durmuş Mehmed Efendi, who had previously worked as *Defterdar Kaimmakamı*, was appointed as the supervisor of the festival (*sur Emini*) in charge of planning, organizing and financing the entire *sur-i hümayun*.⁶⁶ He was firstly ordered to construct a small additional building next to *Alay Köşkü* in order to enable the ladies of the imperial harem to watch the festival displays

⁶⁴ Eliot, "The Surname-i Hümayun", 48.

⁶⁵ Faroqi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them", 5; see also, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 18.

⁶⁶ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 36- v.3/a.

without being seen.⁶⁷ Furthermore, another *ferman* was issued in regards to designated kiosks in Edirne for the residence of the Sultan's princesses (*selatin* and *hanuman*) from Istanbul who had been invited to the festival.⁶⁸ Moreover, following an imperial edict, it had been already started to restore the *Saray-i Atik* (*Eski Saray* in Edirne) in which Prince Mustafa would be prepared for the circumcision procession.⁶⁹

A large commercial building, "*Oda-i Hümayun-i Kebir*", one of the foundation properties of Selim I, was rented by the imperial court in order to produce *nahıls*⁷⁰ and to make sugar gardens in which trees, kiosks and other decorative subjects were modelled in sugar and also various kinds of candies.⁷¹ 150 *nahılcıyan*, 200 *şekerciyan* (experts in designing *nahıl* and sugar-made items) and 50 *hezarfens* from Istanbul, Edirne and other provinces were settled here to work.⁷²

Another commercial building, *Ayşehatun Hanı*, was dedicated to *fişekçiyan*, *ateşbazan*, *şu'bedebazan*, where 300 people were placed to work to create fireworks, strange figures and shapes such as castles, galleys (*çektiris* and *kalyons*) with fireworks.⁷³ From Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Istanbul and so on, actors, performers, and workers of different professions such as shadow-players (*hayalbazan*), puppeteers (*kuklacıyan*), singers (*hanendegan*), musicians (*sazendegan*), mimic actors or clowns (*mukallidan*), players (*lu'bedebazan*), the *Ramazan işarecis* and water keepers (*sakkayan/sakkaman*) were invited to Edirne so as to put in their performances during the whole festival.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 44.

⁶⁸ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 38- v.4/b.

⁶⁹ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 267; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 39- v.5/a.

⁷⁰ *Nahıls* were gigantic tree-shaped wooden poles or pyramids decorated with real or artificial flowers and fruits.

⁷¹ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 266.

⁷² Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 37- v.3/a.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 37- v.4/a.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 38- v.4/a, 4/b.

For the festival feasts and banquets, Merzifonlu Hüseyin Agha from Istanbul was appointed as a chief chef in charge of 450 other chefs as well as many food tasters (*çaşnigirs*). Apart from these, Abdi mentions 150 Egyptian water keepers (*sakkayan*) and 100 *baltacıs*⁷⁵ to serve coffee, sherbet (*şerbet*) and incense (*buhur*), 200 camel drivers, more than 1000 torchbearers (*meşalecis*), 200 *tablekeşan* for service, 300 slave dock workers to help fire workers; lastly the chief executive officers of each unit to provide coordination.⁷⁶

While 37000 chickens, 5000 geoses and 6000 ducks were gathered in *Şaz-ı Revan Ahuru* to be used for feasts and banquets as well as 4000 cattles and sheep were bought from surrounding villages. Thousands of dishes, bowls, Iznik pottery plates, jars, wooden trays, huge kettles were either brought from Istanbul or bought or borrowed from the craftsmen of Edirne.⁷⁷ *Baltacıs* were sent to Istanbul to buy precious clothes, jewels and other supplies for the wedding festival.⁷⁸ Besides carpets, rugs and different goods, which were delivered and registered by the *Sur Emini* and stored in a tent; coffee, various drink jars, and a variety of perfumery were also reserved in another tent.⁷⁹

Many *tulumcus* were employed to keep the order.⁸⁰ They would control the great crowds and keep the spectators at a distance from the displays. In addition to their responsibility as security guards, they would also amuse the spectators with buffoonery and clowning with their inflated *tulums* and

⁷⁵ *Baltacıs* were normally palace guards but they were appointed to fulfil different tasks during this festival.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 39-40- v.5/a, 5/b; Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 267.

⁷⁷ For detailed number of all these equipments; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 40-41 - v.5/b-6/a-6/b; Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 268.

⁷⁸ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 36-v. 3/b.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 41-v.6/b.

⁸⁰ The number of *tulumcus* is changing in the sources. Abdi gives the number as 55; Hezarfen, 60-70; Nabi, 200-300; Coşkun, 200. In the case of 1582, yet 500 *tulumcus* had difficulties to control the crowd. It is a perfect example for the greatness and extent of the festival of 1582. See, Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun", 87. In the festival of 1720, 100 *tulumcus* together with 20 apprentices were employed. See, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü: Sûr-ı Hümayûn*, edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008, 17.

strange clothes for the entire fifteen days. 2000 Janissaries were also settled in order to keep the order and punish the offenders.⁸¹

Since it is a common tradition to circumcise ordinary children both rich and poor during the imperial circumcision festivals, the names of 3500 boys from Edirne and Istanbul who had applied for the operation were registered in the *defter-i emin-i sur*. 300 surgeons (*cerrahlar*) from Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne were appointed for this purpose.⁸²

It was obviously very expensive to finance or find pecuniary resources for the organization of such a costly festival. The Palace had to pay for the hundreds of men of talents as well as provide tens of thousands of materials and equipments; it needed to feed thousands of people for whole fifteen days and prepare the precious and expensive gifts of money or clothes for guests (like robes of honour for high ranking invitees, the *atiyyes* for the guilds parading, the clothes for the circumcised ordinary boys and ... etc.)

It is difficult to determine the final cost for all provisions and costs of the entire festival. However, the register of the *Enderun Hazinesi masraf defteri* of 1675 can still give us some idea. According this document, following an imperial edict, the amount below was delivered to Defterdar Ahmed Pasha for the *levazım* and the *mesarif* of the festival from the Inner Treasury of the Empire (*Enderun Hazinesi*):⁸³

100 *kese* -each *kese* had 500 *riyal kuruş*: 5000 *riyal kuruş*

150 *kese* -each *kese* had 545,5 *esedi kuruş*: 81,825 *esedi kuruş*

⁸¹ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 44- v.8/b, 49- v.12/a. Covell depicts the *tulumcus* and their deterrent forces in detail in *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 127; about the functions of *tulumcus* see also Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun", 87-88.

⁸² Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 42-v.7/a; 51- v. 13b, 54- v. 15/b; Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 268.

⁸³ TSM, D. 1118, fol. 1: "Mah-ı mezbûr fi 13 de vârid olan hatt-ı hümayûn mûcibince sûr-i hümayûn levâzımı ve mesârifi için Defterdar Ahmed Paşa'ya ber vech-i karz teslim olunması fermân buyurılan beher kesesi beşer yüz olmak üzere yüz kese Riyâl kuruş ve beher kesesi beşer yüz kırk beşer buçuk olmak üzere yüz elli kese Esedî kuruş ve beher kesesi yirmişişer bin para olmak üzere iki yüz elli kese para zikr olunduğu üzere Ruznamçe-i evvel Hüseyin Efendi yediyle ber-mûceb-i hatt-ı hümayûn teslim olunmuştur.

250 *kese* -each *kese* had 20000 *para*: 5000000 *para*

Additionally, it is also understood from the same document that a considerable amount of money was delivered to some members of the imperial harem –the *valide Sultan*, the *Haseki Sultan* and the *kadın*- for the expenditures of the festival preparations; in total, 11000 *altun* and 190 1*kese para-yı Mısırî* and 2 *kese cedidi akçe*.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, because there is no separate account book for the 1675 festival to explore, it is impossible to know the total sum of expenditures. We are not sure what percentage of the total sum these aforementioned costs were. Moreover, we do not know if the *Enderun Hazinesi* was the only source or if any money was received from the Outer Treasury (*Bîrun Hazinesi*) or whether taxes were levied on the public.

A European traveller, Covell, narrates that it had been talking among the commoners that approximately 12000 *kese para* spent by the Palace for this festival. However, because the author was not able to obtain the official figures, it is necessary to be cautious towards regarding this amount and to keep in mind that it might be an estimated or possibly imagined number. The author also adds that all of the gifts that had been presented to the Sultan were priced no less than 32000 *kese para*. Therefore, according to the author Covell, even just these gifts were enough to compensate the treasury's festival expenditure.⁸⁵ We have archival documents about the gifts offered by each invitee and the guild of artisans. However, because this texts do not include the information about their worth, it is not so easy to confirm

⁸⁴ TSMA, D. 1118 fol.2: "Sene-i mezbûrun şehr-i Rebîülevvel gurrasinde vârid olan Hatt-ı Hümâyûn mücebince berây-ı sûr-ı sünnet-i hümâyûn devletlü Vâlide Sultân hazretlerine beş bin altun ve beher kesesi altmışar bin olmak üzere yüz kese para-yı Mısırî Haseki Sultan hazretlerine beş bin altun ve beher kesesi altmışar bin olmak üzere seksen kese para-yı Mısırî ve Kadın Hazretlerine bin aded altun ve altmışar bin olmak üzere on kese para-yı Mısırî ile kırkar bin olmak üzere iki kese cedîdî akçe zikr olunduğu üzere mecmuî yalnız onbir bin altun ve yüz doksan kese para-yı Mısırî ile iki kese cedîdî akçe ber-mûceb-i hatt-ı hümâyûn Hazinedar Ali Ağa yediyle harem-i şerîfe teslim olunmuştur."

⁸⁵ Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 130. Covell gives the worth of a *kese* as 500 dollar and 1 dollar was 4 sterlin 6 penny. Apart from the Covell's work, in any other primary sources of the festival, it did not been come across with any mentioning about the financing of the festival.

Covel's data. It may be possible after a particular study about the prices of the gifted items in the world of second half of the 17th century Ottoman market.

It might be still said that thanks to the important conquests and successful wars during the grand vizierate period of Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (r.1661-1676), the state might be capable of bearing the expenses.

2.3. The Festival Site

In emphasizing the role of venue in such occasions as well as the spatial relations reflecting various symbolic and hierarchical aspects of the ceremony, Zeynep Nevin Yelçe quoted from Juliusz Chroscicki:

"Ceremonial space is an area in which a ruler presents himself to his people; the hierarchy of his court is revealed; and the power of the state is demonstrated. In such a space the people's love for the ruler must be visibly manifested, and his military triumphs celebrated and gratitude for all privileges received by towns, families, and individual dignitaries should be expressed."⁸⁶

In the festival of 1675, *Sırik Meydan*⁸⁷ was dedicated as the festival site. It was a large square in front of *Yeni Saray*, the imperial palace of the Ottoman Empire in Edirne and the residence of the Sultan with his entourage. It had long been used for *cirit* competitions and following with the construction of a kiosk (*kasr*) opposite this square by Sultan Ahmed I (r.1603-1617) in 1612, it started to serve as an area of different festivities (it is known that it hosted some *Bayram* festivities during the time of Sultan Ahmed I).

In *Telhisü'l-Beyan*, Hazerfan Hüseyin narrated:

"Sene-yi mezbûre Safer'inin yirmisinde Edirne'de vâki saray-ı Âmire önünde olan meydânın bir tarafına yirmi iki gemi sereni dikilüp ve envâ-ı sînâ'ât ile herbirine bin miktâr kandiller dizilüp,

⁸⁶ Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals", 193.

⁸⁷ This wide area was located in the western side of *Yeni Saray* and later was used as an exercising field (*talimhane*) of cavalry and artillery units.

Sûr'un ibtidâsından âhirine varınca her gece çırâğân olsun deyü fermân olundu."⁸⁸

Thanks to its perfect location (closeness to the imperial palace and kitchen), size and extent, it became a candidate for the ideal venue of the celebrations in Edirne like the favourite festival square of the capital city, Hippodrome – *Atmeydanı*- which was also used for the 1582 festival.⁸⁹ Functioning as the principal recreational and ceremonial centre of Constantinople from the time of the Byzantine Empire, *Atmeydanı* continued to be a natural midpoint of the Ottoman festive occasions at least until the 18th century in which recreational spots such as *Kağıthane* and *Okmeydanı* started to come to the forefront. The Sultan of Tulip Age, Ahmed III, was also attracted by this new inclination and chose *Okmeydanı* as the location of his great festival in 1720.

In the festival site, various decorations and seating arrangements were made before the festival. *Otağ-ı Hümayun* (the pavilion of the Sultan) was erected near *Kasr-ı Cedid* (the new kiosk) in *Sırık Meydanı* three days before the festival's start. The Sultan's pavilion consisted of 4 large tents with various functions including that of welcoming the guests, meeting the Imperial Council and resting. They were all decorated with bright and priceless carpets, cushions, and flowers in addition to fabrics with precious stones and metals. Everything was perfect to impress the guests of the Sultan in favour of his majesty and magnificence.⁹⁰ Other pavilions or tents of the important guests surrounded the Sultan's one on a curved line and in accordance with a strict protocol order (*alâ-merâtibihim*).

The right side of the Sultan's pavilion was reserved for the most prominent state officers: the tents of the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, the second

⁸⁸ Hezarfen, *Telhisü'l-Beyan*, 208.

⁸⁹ Hippodrome was first built in the time of Byzantium Emperor Septimus Severus in 203 A.D. and was widened by Constantine I in the fourth century. It served for centuries as the main place for horse and chariot races, various festivals, games, competitions. After the conquest of Istanbul, it was renamed as *Atmeydanı* and continued its vitality and used for the same festive and ceremonial purposes. For more detailed information on *Atmeydanı* see; Seza Sinanlar, *Atmeydanı: Bizans Araba Yarışlarından Osmanlı Şenliklerine*, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005.

⁹⁰ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 50-51.

vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha, the third vizier Kaimmakam Mustafa Pasha⁹¹, the fourth vizier Defterdar Ahmed Pasha, and then other viziers of *Kubbealti* followed it respectively. The circumcision pavilion for the ordinary children was established at the end of this part across the *hasfırın*. On the left side, the Sultan's pavilion was followed by the tents of the chief black eunuch of the Imperial Harem (*darü's- saade ağası* or *Harem ağası*), Ali Agha the treasurer (*hazinedar*) and Feyzullah Efendi the mentorship of Prince Mustafa (*şehzade hocası*). Then, the tents of the Sultan's coffee makers, *baltacı*s of *Eski Saray*, and at the end, the feast tents for the guests were located. Here, there were also places for the imperial military band (*mehter*). In front of these pavilions and tents, wooden seats (*tahtabends*) were set for the Sultan and important guests to watch the performances. Last of all, the centre of square was dedicated to the players and performers.⁹²

In terms of seating arrangements, nothing of surprise was noted for the festival of 1582. The Sultan and his son sat in a kiosk which had been built into the Palace of Ibrahim Pasha. The high ranking dignitaries were settled accordingly to the protocol rules in a three-tiered gallery next to the Ibrahim Pasha Palace and after the pavilion for the women of imperial harem. However unlike the 1675 one, in the conjectural sketch of the 1582 festival site, the pavilions that were reserved for the foreign representatives stood out as crucial elements.⁹³ As for the festival of 1720, again the pavilion of the Sultan was followed with one of the grand vizier and then the tents of other high ranking officials lined up. Because the festival site is quiet far from the permanent residences of the Ottoman Sultan and his officials, it became necessary to put up so many tents for various purposes like tents for soldiers, workers, servers as well as tents as kitchen, praying place

⁹¹ *Kaimmakam* was the deputy who stayed in Istanbul to administer the capital while the grand vizier was away on a campaign.

⁹² Özdemir Nutku, giving reference to Abdi's *Surname* and drawings of the festival site by a European traveller, Covel, depicts this order of the tents. Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 47-48; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 43- 44 - v.8/a, 8/b.

⁹³ Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun", 57-59.

(*namazgah*) and toilets. For the Sultan's watch the performances, it was also built a wooden kiosk like the *Adalet Köşkü*.⁹⁴

As a result of six months of hard work, everything was ready for the celebrations, and a *ferman* ordered viziers and other state officials to be ready on the first Sunday of *Rebiülevvel* for *dest-bûs-i padişâhî* (kissing the Sultan's hand) as in all religious feasts. It was the sign of the start of the festival.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 40-43.

⁹⁵ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 269; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 44-v.8/b.

CHAPTER 3

A Scene to Display the Omnipotence of the Sultan and the Protocol Rules

3.1. The Festival Begins

On Sunday morning, all important figures of the state gathered in front of the imperial pavilion (grand vizier, all viziers and deputies, high ranking *qadis* and head- gatekeepers (*kapıcıbaşılar*) in their divan clothes; the head of *ulema* hierarchy (*şeyhülislam*) and other chief teachers in *medreses* (*müdürrisler*) were in their religious clothes). Then the Sultan along with the prince arrived with a flood of applause from the thousands of his subjects gathered in *Sırık Meydanı*. The musical harmony of the imperial military band and kettledrums (*kösler*) were also accompanying them. In front of the *Otağ-i Hümayun*, a silver throne for the Sultan and a place to sit (*nişimen*) for Prince Mustafa had already been arranged. Beginning with Feyzullah Efendi the mentorship of the prince, later *mir-i alem*⁹⁶, *kapıcıbaşı*, *çavuşes*⁹⁷ and the head of the imperial food tasters (*çaşnigirbaşı*) kissed the Sultan's hand and stood on his left side. Later, the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha kissed the Sultan's hand and stood on the right side. According to their official ranks, he was followed by the second vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha, the third vizier Mustafa Pasha, other viziers, chief judges (*kazaskers*), old *beylerbeyis*, deputy of the Sultan (*Sultan kethüdası*), chief of the scribes (*reisülküttab*), members of *divan*, *şeyhülislam*, scholars, commanders of Janissary and Cavalry Corps and finally *kapıcıs*.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Mir-i alem* was the keeper of the imperial standards, tents and the military band.

⁹⁷ *Kapıcıbaşı*, *çavuşes* who served as escorts in official ceremonies in addition to their regular tasks as messengers, diplomatic envoys.

⁹⁸ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 270; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 45-46- v. 9/a, 9/b, 10/a.

After kissing the Sultan's hand, *şeyhülislam*, other *ulema* and state officials went back to their residences, whereas, the prominent members of the imperial council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*), *kazaskers*, Janissary Commander and Janissaries were invited to the initial reception. In the meantime, as a part of the Ottoman festival traditions, various dishes were set out in the middle of the festival site and all the Janissaries were allowed to sack them as part of "the scramble for dishes" (*çanak yağması*).

Following the service of coffee, rose water (*gülab*) and incense (*buhur*), the grand vizier and viziers gave their gifts as *pişkeş* to the Sultan; afterwards they were presented robes of honour (*hil'at*) by the Sultan. In addition to the large numbers of people in the audiences, the members of the Imperial Harem from *Kasr-ı Cedid*, *Harem Aghas* and *Eskisaray Baltacıları* watched the celebrations from their tents. After this ceremony, the Sultan and others went back to their tents to rest. Following the afternoon prayer, they watched various performers, theatrical displays, jugglers and jugdel-masters (*matrakçıyan*) from their wooden seats. In the evening, the torchbearers (*meşaleciler*) and fire players (*ateşbazlar*) displayed their talents. When the games were over at midnight, the guests went back to their tents and slept.⁹⁹

This was the program of activities for the first day and the agenda remained more or less the same for the remaining days of the festival. The daily schedule of the 1675 festival was fixed as follows – first, the arrival of the grand vizier, viziers, and other invitees to the Sultan's pavilion; second, offering feasts and banquets to some of the guests in a hierarchical order; third, the service of coffee, sherbet and incense (*buhur*) by the *baltacı*s; fourth, resting time for the Sultan and others; fifth, together with some guild parades, the presentation of gifts (*pişkeş*) and robes of honour by the invitees and the Sultan respectively; sixth, various performances, dramatic displays, and competitions; seventh, watching skyrockets, illuminations

⁹⁹ Hezarfen, *Telhisü'l-Beyan*, 209; Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 270-72; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 46-49 - v.10/a, 10/b, 11/a, 11/b, 12/a, 12/b.

(*donanma*), and fireworks.¹⁰⁰ Despite the familiarity of this routine, boredom for the participants was kept at bay by continuously changing the cast of the programs such as performers, circus actors, guild paraders and invitees to the banquets and etc. Each day the imperial band and the kettle drums performed a musical feast for the audience; in fact, this band also accompanied many of the performing displays and parades.

3.2. Ceremonial Occasions

Throughout history, ceremonies, celebrations and festivals were always the perfect means for any state to demonstrate its majesty, authority and power to the observers. Often they were used to justify the claims about the existence of sovereignty or to convey certain political propagandas and messages. This function of festivals prevailed in case of Ottoman festivals as Ottoman Sultans perceived organizing a wedding or circumcision festival as "a chance for 'marking the centre as the centre' and a means for the court to justify its claims and existence".¹⁰¹ Together with the symbolic meanings underlying the festive occasions, the Sultans were exercising the necessity of demonstrating their magnificence in front of their subjects from time to time. Therefore, as Yelçe points it out, unsurprisingly, almost each stage of Ottoman festivals was witness to symbolic meanings and representations of various aspects of supremacy as well as 'the process of legitimization'. Through all kind of pompous celebrations and entertainments in festivals, the Sultans also aimed to impress either Ottoman officials or foreign rulers in order to confirm their loyalties.

With regard to the festival of 1675, the same concerns and motives can be observed starting from each step of preparations for this grandiose occasion. Initially, the expenditures and employees hired for the preparations, which started to be done six months prior to the festival, acted as an indicator of

¹⁰⁰ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 54.

¹⁰¹ Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals", 2; See also, Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power", in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, Sean Wilentz (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

the scale to which the state wished to reinforce their identity of power and prosperity. As it was cited previously in “**The Distribution of Tasks and the Provision of Festival Materials**” in Chapter II, hundreds of personnel from so many various skills were charged with the tasks like festival decoration, food preparation, security, artistic or sportive performances, services and so forth. Moreover, large numbers of equipment were either bought or brought from the palace in Istanbul. No expense was spared in the planning of the fifteen-day circumcision festival as well as the eighteen-day wedding one. So as to show the wealth of the Sultan, there was also a show of ‘conspicuous consumption’: for example, despite the high price and rarity of sugar as a commodity until the 19th century, large amount of sugar was used to produce decorations like *nahıls*.¹⁰²

The above-mentioned ceremony that started the festivities reflects the high degree of hierarchy and order involved in the Ottoman administrative system. Both the Sultan’s arrival at the festival site on the first day and the hand kissing ceremony reflect the idea that each occasion of the festival was held in accordance with hierarchical order. The same principle prevailed even in regards to the location of the tents of the different Ottoman state officials on the festival site. The tents were situated on either side of the Sultan’s pavilion in accordance with the ranking order of the officers. This strict sense of protocol would also dominate during the feasts provided to the guests, the seating order around trays during banquets, the presentation of gifts by the invitees and the receiving of their robes, the order in which guests watched displays and performances, the order of marching in the circumcision procession and so forth.

3.3. The Banquets and the Gifts

Banqueting was another way to visually demonstrate the Sultan’s prosperity and generosity. These banquets, consisted of many different delicious meals

¹⁰² Suraiya Faruqi, “Ceremonies, Festivals and the Decorative Arts” in *Subjects of the Sultans: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, I.B. Tauris, 2007, 165.

and drinks, were another way in which the Empire sought to convey the message of the Sultan's capability of feeding his subjects and servants. Zeynep Nevin Yelçe pays particular attention to the political dimension of the banqueting of hundreds of people each day and the ability of the Sultan to act as a father figure to his subjects by feeding them. In the special sense of "eating the sultan's bread (*sultanın ekmeğini yemek*)", this occasion gave the Sultan the opportunity to fulfil his responsibility to provide for the livelihoods and the welfare of his subjects.¹⁰³

As an essential and important part of Ottoman festivals, different feasts and banquets were cited in the resources including feasts for the general public, for the Janissaries, members of different militaries, administrative and religious offices, distinguished members of the palace, various religious orders, foreign envoys and so on. Each day witnessed a magnificent feast which was offered to the invitees in a hierarchical order. With the welcoming of the guests of the day by the grand vizier or Defterdar Pasha in the guest tent (*haymegah-ı dayf*) around noon, the feasts were started. The invitees sat around trays (*sini*) which were equipped with various dishes and drinks.

The variety of dishes and desserts served to various groups seems to reflect the prominence of the group. Abdi talks about 20 different kinds of dishes on the trays which were offered to the prominent members of the imperial court on the first day of festival¹⁰⁴ while the banquet for the people in the quarters of Edirne on the last day of the festival had only *pilav* (rice with meat) and *zerde* (a traditional dessert).¹⁰⁵ On each day, apart from the special feasts for important guests, large scale banquets for hundreds of people (*simat-ı azim*) were set out in which delicious meals such as *börek* and *baklava* (a traditional Turkish dessert) were served for the entourages and servants of high ranking invitees.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, serving coffee, sherbet with ice in it as

¹⁰³ Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals", 19, 31.

¹⁰⁴ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 47- v.10/b

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 75- v.32/a

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 55- v.16/b, 58-v.18/a, 59-v.18/a, 60- v.20/b, 63- v.22/b and so on.

well as candies, incense (*buhur*) before and after every banquet was an essential routine.¹⁰⁷

The order in which the feast was given to the invitees and the order in which they sat around the trays also reflected the highly hierarchical nature of Ottoman ceremonies. As Zelçe quoted from Roy Strong, the main concern of the seating arrangement was “the visual enactment of hierarchy through acts of separation”.¹⁰⁸ In this regard, the first day of the festival was reserved for the prominent members of the imperial council, *kazaskers*, Janissary commander and Janissaries. They were divided into three special tables in which the grand vizier, the second vizier, and the third vizier were at the first table; the fourth vizier Defterdar Ahmed Pasha, the fifth vizier Yusuf Pasha, Abdi Pasha the *nişancı*¹⁰⁹ were at the second table; Ali Efendi the *kazasker* of Rumelia and Ankaravi Mehmed Efendi the *kazasker* of Anatolia were at the third one; Süleyman Efendi the grand vizier’s deputy (*sadrazam kethüdası*), and Aghas of the grand vizier were at the fourth.¹¹⁰

The second day of the festival (15th of May) was reserved for the distinguished members of *ulema* class. Inviting the leading religious figures and men of learning just after the top ranking Ottoman bureaucrats indicates the level of importance and privilege given to them by the state. The day passed on with religious discussions. Ali Efendi the *şeyhülislam* read a passage from an exegesis book of Qur’an, *Tefsîr-i Beyzâvî*,¹¹¹ in the presence of the Sultan and the others. During the banquet, the grand vizier, *şeyhülislam*, Feyzullah Efendi the mentorship of the prince, the chief of surgeons (*hekimbaşı efendi*), the old and the new *qadis* of Edirne sat

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 62- v. 22/a, 64- v. 23/b...etc.

¹⁰⁸ Yelçe, 32; See also Roy Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*, Florida: Harcourt Books, 2003, 95.

¹⁰⁹ *Nişancı* was the secretary of the imperial council and the affixer of the *tuğra* to be attached to official orders or letters. Nişancı Abdi Pasha, here, was also the author of our primary sources *Abdi Surnamesi* and *Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi*.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 47- v.11/a.

¹¹¹ Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 156. In the case of the 1720 festival, the second day was again reserved for the *ulema* class. The tradition of religious discussion was still prevailing. This time *Tefsîr-i Buharî* was chosen to be read by the *şeyhülislam*, Abdullah Efendi. See; Hâfiz Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 54.

together around the first tray and other members of the *ulema* were divided amongst four more trays.¹¹² The guests and the Sultan presented gifts each other.

The order of the feasts to the invitees for the duration of whole festival was as follows. The feasts were given for *seyyids*¹¹³, *şeyhs* (the heads of religious orders), *imams* and *hatips* (the leaders of public ritual prayers in mosques) on the third day. On the fourth day, it was given for members of cavalry troops and the sword-bears troops (*Sipah* and *Silahdar Ocakları*). For the members of Janissary Corps, their feast was given on the fifth day. On the sixth day, feasts were provided for the Aghas of stirrup (*Rikab-ı Hümayun Ağaları*) and *kethüdas* of *Valide* and *Haseki Sultan*. On the seventh day, the feasts were for the commander of *bostancı* troops (*bostancı başı*) with their all personnel (*bostancılar*) who were in charge of the imperial garden, the first and second *mirahurs* who were the masters of the Imperial Stables with their staff as well as the envoys of Erdel and Dubra- Venedik. For *reis'ülküttab* with his entourage and the *divan hodjas* feasts were given on the eighth day. On the ninth day, the commanders of both artillerymen and armorers (*Topçu ve Cebeci Ağaları*) and *Tersane Kethüdası* received their feasts. Banquets for prominent guests in honour of circumcision parade of Prince Mustafa took place on the tenth day. For *tekke şeyhs* (the religious heads in lodges of dervish orders) in Edirne, attendees of mosques (*mahalle cemaatleri*), *imams* and *hatips* their feasts happened on the eleventh day of the festival. Participants of *mevlüd* program at the Selimiye Mosque with the circumcision of the prince feasted on the twelfth day. Anatolian and Rumelian *qadis* received their feasts on the thirteenth day. On the fourteenth day, feasts for old *beylerbeyis*, *sancakbeyis* and some members of *ümera*

¹¹² Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 272.

¹¹³ *Seyyid* was the title for the descendants of the Prophet, Mohammed, in the line of Hüseyin.

class took place while feasts for the common people in the quarters of Edirne (*mahalle halkı*) took place on the fifteenth day, the last day of the festival.¹¹⁴

As a perfect example of "eating the sultan's bread," the "scramble for dishes" (*çanak yağması*) which means rushing and sacking the food spread must be touched upon.¹¹⁵ This scramble was a common Turkish custom which allowed the participants of the festivals to sack the food served to them. During the 1675 festival, Janissaries enjoyed such a sacking on three different occasions, on the first, fifth and tenth days of festival as Abdi noted.¹¹⁶ On the fifth day, for instance, 10000- 15000 plates were filled with the meals and a few thousands sheep *büryans* were set out on the ground. With the starting sign of the *kapıcılar kethüdası*, the Janissaries rushed at full speed and devoured the food while pushing at one another.¹¹⁷

Gift giving (*pişkeş*) during this kind of celebratory event, moreover, had a very crucial role in the strictly hierarchical structure of Ottoman society as a measure of honour. As Hedda Reindl-Kiel quoted from Bourdieu, the concept of honour was regarded as a 'symbolic capital' and therefore the amount of honour was a vital dynamic determining the person's status.¹¹⁸ While it was seen as an opportunity for the Sultan to reinforce his sovereignty, his subjects and guests regarded it as a way to express their obedience, loyalty or their respect to the Sultan as well as to demonstrate their own wealth and prestige. In the last instance, since the gifts given were also viewed as a sign of the status of the receivers (in this case the Ottoman Sultans), only gifts which were appropriate to the Sultan's prestige, could be accepted.

¹¹⁴ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 55-58. Özdemir Nutku referring to the chroniclers of the period and European traveller accounts gives the list above. However, his schedule differentiate from Abdi's one after the tenth day of festival. With citing no feast on the tenth day, Abdi gives the program of the eleventh day the same as Nutku's tenth day program and the twelfth day the same as Nutku's eleventh day. It continues in the same way for all days left until the concluding ceremonies.

¹¹⁵ Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals", 30.

¹¹⁶ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 47- v.11/a, 57- v. 18/a, 68- v. 26/b.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 57- v.17/b.

¹¹⁸ Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman European Cultural Exchange", 114.

These diplomatic gifts were by nature something obligatory and therefore may be seen as a kind of tribute which was presented to the Sultan by high ranking Ottoman dignitaries. It was a system of exchange in an economic sense and had a reciprocal nature. The Sultan responded to the gift givers by offering them with robes of honour (*hil'at*). A *hil'at* was an institutionalised gift handed over in a downwards fashion in regards to status and hierarchy. In other words, the Sultan passed them out to those who were naturally of a lower hierarchical status than him. It symbolized a kind of vassalage because it represented the protection of the Sultan bestowed upon the receiver which implied loyalty to the Sultan by the receiver of the *hil'at*. As such, it was never found amongst the tributary gifts (*pişkes*) sent by pashas to the Port. Likewise, while receiving *hil'at* from the Sultan was something so prestigious for the Ottoman officials, it was never demanded by the rulers of foreign countries since it would mean a lower status than the giver.¹¹⁹

The gifts presented to the Sultan varied. Luxury textiles which were considered 'the currency of Ottoman honour system' by Michael Rogers¹²⁰ were among the most favourite gifts. Gifts of precious metals such silver vessels were also preferred given that they attained their real worth after being sent to the Ottoman treasury and melted down and made into coins.¹²¹ Fine gifts, religious books, jewelled weapons, and jewellery in general, riding equipments, exotic animals, falcons and slaves were the most common items that were lavishly presented to the Ottoman sultans.

Concerning the festival of 1675, the grandiose feasts for the guests of different hierarchal statuses on each day were followed by this traditional ceremony of gift giving. *Alay Köşkü* was the place in which the Sultan would accept the gifts (*pişkes*) of the prominent guests which included high ranking

¹¹⁹Reind-Kiel, "The Ottoman- European Cultural Exchange", 118; see also, Mehmet Şeker, "Hil'at", in *DİA XVIII*, Istanbul, 1998, 22-25.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 118.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 113; About the practice of processing gifts to the treasury see, Reindl-Kiel "Power and Submission", 39-40. Reindl-Kiel talks about the uncertainty about whether all the gifts for the Sultan were hoarded initially in Royal Privy Purse (*Hazine-i Hassa* or 'inner' treasury) later sent to State Treasury (*Birun Hazinesi* or 'outer' treasury) or remained in the same place.

Ottoman officials or governors and foreign rulers or ambassadors. The amount and the worth of the gifts were generally paralleled to the hierarchical position of invitees.¹²²

In addition to invitees of high ranking Ottoman dignitaries who were mentioned above in a daily base, the various officials and governors of different provinces (*beylerbeyis, sancak beyis, valis, qadis, defterdars mutasarrıfs, mir-mirans, mir-livas*) as well as foreign rulers also paraded in front of the Sultan to offer their *pişkeş*. That is to say, Hüseyin Pasha the governor of Egypt and Ali Pasha the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*kaptan-ı derya*), Hüseyin Pasha the fort commander of Basra (Basra *muhafızı*), Abdurrahman Pasha the governor of Bagdad, Ibrahim Pasha the *muhafız* of Budin, Yamalı Mustafa Pasha the *beylerbeyi* of Uyvar and etc. presented their gifts as the symbol of their loyalty, on the other hand the king of Erdel and the ambassador of Dubra-Venedik, *voynodas* of Eflak and Boğdan came to the Sultan's presence and gave *pişkeş* from their own provinces or countries as a symbol of their homage.¹²³

The gift packages were not fixed and could become larger or smaller up to the giver's status. For instance, the package of the grand vizier consisted of copies of Quran and other religious books, various kinds of furs, many different types of luxury fabrics and golden kitchen equipments¹²⁴, while the one of the *kazasker* of Rumelia comprised the copies of books and various

¹²² In TSMA, D. 154, the *hediye defteri* of the 1675 festival whose whole translated version will be given as an appendix at the end of the thesis, you can find all of the donors with the lists of all their gifts. Nabi's *Surname* and Hezarfen's *Telhisü'l- Beyan* also give some information about gifts and their givers.

¹²³ The entire document of TSMA, D.154; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 53 – v.15/b, 57- v.17/b, 59 v.19/b, 63- v. 22 /b.

¹²⁴ According to the archival document –TSMA, D. 154, fol. 3, the Grand vizier's gifts presented to the Sultan as such: *Ba hatt-ı Şükülla Kelâm-ı Şerîf (1), Kitâbu Mahzenü'l-esrâr* and *Şeyh Nizamî ba- hattı Şah Mahmûd cild (1), Kitâbu Tuhfetü'l- ebrâr Mollâ Câmi cild (1), Murassa' altun kase ma'a kapak ve tabak aded (1), Tahta semmûr kürk aded (1), Tahta vaşak semmûr kürk aded (1), Sade kutnî donluk aded (12), Sade Hatâyî donluk aded (12), Telli Hatâyî donluk aded (12), Sade atlas donluk aded (12), Zencîr-i bâb donluk aded (12), Mukaddem kuşak kit'a (12), İstanbul serâseri top (12), Telli kadife donluk aded (12)*

fabrics¹²⁵, and the gifts of the *vali* of Girit were silver kitchen equipments, and various fabrics.¹²⁶ The package of the *voyvoda* of Eflak distinguishes amongst the gifts of other vassal states and ambassadors of foreign countries. It constitutes larger numbers of silver vessels and very diverse and valuable fabrics compare to the ones of the *voyvoda* of Boğdan, the *hakim* of Erdel and the ambassador of Dubra-Venedik.¹²⁷

Redda Heidnl-Kiel argues that the strict rules regarding the gifting protocol had been relaxed in the festival of 1675 compared to that of 1582. In the festival of 1582, the number of items in the gift packages allowed the Sultan to immediately ascertain the giver's rank while the figures for the festival of 1675 do not reveal the status of the giver so clearly. Kiel notes from the gifts registers of the 1582 festival, the proper amount of *donluk* (lengths of a fabric) seems to have been for viziers 12, for *beylerbeyis* and hereditary governor (*hakim*) of large provinces 9 and for *sancakbeyis* 5. However, in the case of 1675 festival, while some cautious invitees continued to keep to the protocol rules and dispatched the gifts in fixed numbers (like Vezir Hüseyin

Pasha, the *vali* of Basra, Hüseyin Pasha, the *vali* of Mısır, Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, the *vali* of Haleb)¹²⁸; it seems that most of the others gave the items

¹²⁵ TSMA, D. 154, fol. 5: *Mushaf-ı Şerif cild (1), Kitâb-ı Buhârî cild (1), Kitâb-ı Hidâye cild (1), Destâr (6), Keşmirî şâl (6), Zencîr-i bâb (6), Sade kutnî aded (6), Telli putadârî (3), Atlas-ı Hindî (4), Sof top (3).*

¹²⁶ The gifts of *vali* of Girit, Ibrahim Pasha were as such *Sîm sürâhî (5), Sîm maşraba (9), Sîm tebsi (9), Şamî dîbâ donluk (4), Çiçekli kadife donluk (4), Sade Hatâyî donluk (4), Kemhâ donluk (4), Frengî atlas donluk (4), Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk (4), Destâr (5)* in TSMA, D. 154, fol. 14.

¹²⁷ *Pişkeş-i Eflak Voyvodası* (TSMA, D. 154, fol. 21): *Sîm abdest leğeni 1, Sîm ibrik 1, Def'a sîm leğen 1, Sîm ibrik 1, Sîm şamdan 3, Sîm hoşab tası ma'a kapak 4, Sîm kebir ve sagîr maşraba 6, Sîm sagîr ve kebir kahve ibriği 5, Sîm kebir tebsi 2, İstanbul serâseri 10, Şamî dîbâ donluk 10, Telli Hatâyî donluk 10, Telli hâre donluk 10, Sade çiçekli Hatâyî donluk 10, Telli atlas donluk 10, Beyaz atlas donluk 10, Sirmaî atlas donluk 10, Sarı atlas donluk 10, Kırmızı atlas donluk 10, Yeşil atlas donluk 10, Destâr 10, Hindî kutnî donluk 10.*

Pişkeş Boğdan Voyvodasının (TSMA, D. 154, fol. 29): *Sîm şamdan 1, Sîm huni 1, Sîm leğen ma'a kapak 2, Sîm hoşab tası ma'a kapak 1, Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1, Sîm sürâhî ma'a kapak 2, Sîm sini 1, Sîm şamdan 2, Sîm maşraba ma'a kapak 2, Sîm kadeh ma'a kapak 12.*

Pişkeş-i Erdel Hakimi (TSMA, D. 154, fol. 18): *Sîm sofrâ 1 pare 7, Sîm maşraba 10, Sîm şamdan 2, Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1.*

Pişkeş-i Dubra-Venedik (Dubrovnik) Beyleri (TSMA, D. 154, fol. 18): *Frengî atlas donluk 18, Telli Hatâyî donluk 10, Kırmızı kadife donluk 2, Sîm tas 12, Şamî kâfûrî 12.*

¹²⁸ TSMA, D. 154, fol. 13, 7, 32.

in different quantities. (In the gift package of Hasan Pasha, *vali* of Musul, the items were generally either in quantities of two or five whereas in the other ones like that of Ibrahim Pasha, *vali* of Girit, Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, *vali* of Budin, they were totally mixed.)¹²⁹ Reidl-Kiel looks for the reason behind loosened arrangement of gift giving according to rank and connected it with the weakening of the central power in the 17th century and the unavoidably changing relations between the court and the 'ruling elite' as contrast to the highly centralized nature of the state in the 16th century.¹³⁰

Eventually, the gifts of the different guild members from Edirne and Istanbul were also to be presented. During their parades which will be explained later, artisans and craftsmen would also present the best products of their jobs as *pişkeş* to the Sultan.

3.4. The Circumcision Parade (*Sünnet Alayı*) and *Nahl* Procession

Even though the princes were the actual honourees of this festival, they were not seen in the festive occasions very often (as far as we understand from the accounts).¹³¹ Excluding the ceremony at the beginning of the festival, the circumcision parade was only the second time that they became visible. On the tenth day of festival, a glorious circumcision parade (*sünnet alayı*) was organized with the aim of taking Prince Mustafa from *Eskisaray*, in which he had been prepared for the parade, to the festival site, *Sırık Meydanı* in front of *Yeni Saray*.

Janissaries, *müteferrikas*¹³², *çavuşes* and *kapıcıs* in their special clothes paraded in front of grandiose *nahıls* and huge candy gardens. Following them, viziers, the *şeyhülislam* and the *kazaskers* in a ranking order and later

¹²⁹ TSMA, D. 154, fol.13, 14, 27.

¹³⁰ Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 50, 59, 69.

¹³¹ Actually we are talking about the visibility of Prince Mustafa because the sources did not cite Prince Ahmed anywhere apart from at the beginning giving the names of princes who would be circumcised. Probably because Ahmed was only two years old, he might not be allowed to participate in the celebrations.

¹³² *Müteferrikas* were the elite groups in the Palace formed from the sons of pashas and vassal lords.

yedeks, *peyks* and the imperial guards (*solaks*) together with the *çavuşbaşı* and the *bostancıbaşı* marched through throwing Ottoman coins towards the populace on both sides. Later, surrounded by the Agha of Haseki and Agha of Imperial Harem, Prince Mustafa was riding while greeting people and lavishing various gifts to poor men and receiving the petitions (*arzuhal*) of the public. The imperial band with a musical performance went after them. The *sipah* and *silahdar aghas*, the *topcubaşı* and the *cebecibaşı* were the last segments of the parade with their large corps of attendants.¹³³

Throughout the parade, *tulumcus* were in charge of keeping the order amongst a large number of people who were watching the procession. According to a European traveller, Covell, there were also women among the audiences who were veiled; however, some of them lifted the veil a bit and others totally to see the parade better. He also noticed the cleanliness of the streets and mentioned the *sakas* who watered the field to prevent the dust from rising and swept it to make clean.¹³⁴

After the parade crossed over *Saraçhane* Bridge and arrived at the Sultan's pavilion, the grand vizier took the right arm of the prince while the second vizier took his left and brought him to the presence of the Sultan (another display of the importance of hierarchy). After kissing the Sultan's hand, the Sultan and then the *şeyhülislam* prayed for the prince. All members of the imperial council, the *şeyhülislam*, the prince mentorship and some aghas and *kethüdas* were at the present. While setting out the banquets for these prominent guests, a scramble for dishes by the Janissaries was also allowed. Moreover, as an indicator of the Sultan's gratitude to God, he gave freedom to the slaves, and ordered to lavish money and gifts on the disabled and to honour the different employees of the festival.¹³⁵

¹³³ Defterdar Sarı Mehmet, *Zübde-i Vekayiat*, 63; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 65-68-v. 24/b- 25/a -25/b- 26/a- 26/b.

¹³⁴ Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 126.

¹³⁵ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 280.

The above-mentioned *nahil* procession was an essential element of the festivals and took place in another ceremonial occasion within a defined protocol. *Nahil* was generally tree shaped conical symbolic object made of wax or sugar. Its main skeleton was made of metals and decorated with various figures, flowers, fruits, precious stones, candles, gold and silver bands and so forth. It was a common Turkish tradition to carry *nahils* at the day of the wedding or circumcision procession in Ottoman festivals either commoners or imperial. Obviously, the *nahils* of the imperial *sur* festivals were ostentatiously larger than of the ordinary ones. The existence of an entire guild as *nahılcıyan* to construct and decorate these 'wedding- palms' in 16th century Istanbul, confirms their ceremonial importance and prevalence in the society. Evliya Çelebi cites them under the title of "*Esnaf-ı nahılcıyan-ı sur-i hümayun*" and quantifies them as 55 people who worked at four different shops around Tahtakale.¹³⁶

Nahils symbolically demonstrated the power, prosperity and the status of the sponsor. As symbols of fertility and productivity, *nahils* were constructed by the parents of a bride for the weddings or by the family of the child circumcised.¹³⁷ For the circumcision festival of 1675, 40 small *nahils* and 2 large *nahils*, which represented two princes, were constructed; the smaller ones could be carried by at least 3 Janissaries each while the bigger ones were carried by at least 100 dockworkers each.¹³⁸ These sugar sculptures (*nahils*) on huge platforms had been paraded through the streets ahead of the circumcision procession. Every big *nahil* was approximately 25 m long and in order to carry these walking trees it became necessary to cut the eaves of some houses and sometimes to break down entire house.¹³⁹ By ordering the construction of such magnificent decorations while spending

¹³⁶ And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 236.

¹³⁷ Stout, "The Surname-i Hümayun", 83-85; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 66.

¹³⁸ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 66- v. 24/b-25/a. Here the figures are minimal. In different sources, the different numbers are cited. For instance, referring to a European account, Nutku talks about 160 dockworkers managed to carry each big one and 2 rows of Janissary corps for each small one: Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 68-69.

¹³⁹ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 67. In order to enable the reconstruction of the houses destroyed parts, the court instantly paid to the house owners.

hundreds kilos of sugar and wax, as well as using many various precious and luxury metals, stones and decorations, and then by exhibiting them to his populace during the parade, the Sultan once more aspired to highlight his omnipotence. After the procession, the big *nahıls* were placed in front of the door of *Harem* which was next to the *Alay Köşkü* in *Sırık Meydanı*, and the small ones were in front of the Sultan's pavilion for the public watch.¹⁴⁰

Unsurprisingly, in the festival of 1582, many more *nahıls* were paraded ahead of the processions: 150. Naturally, the difference is related to the variation in their extents. On the other hand in the festival of 1720, we encounter 4 big *nahıls*- each was 13 *arşın* in length- and 40 small *nahıls*- each was 6 *arşın*- were constructed to symbolize four princes.¹⁴¹ The important point is the essential nature and symbolic importance of the *nahıls* in every Ottoman festival.

Nahıls were not the only items of the circumcision parade used as a sign of 'conspicuous consumption'.¹⁴² In spite of the rareness and expensiveness of sugar as a commodity until the 19th century, sugar-made candy gardens and sculptures (in the form of animals or foods) were also used to enchant the local and foreign spectators. These candy gardens were manufactured in a way that elaborate fruit trees, cypresses, flowering bushes, kiosks, pools, fountains and other fabulous items were modelled with sugar. Metin And draws attention to the high cost of the sugar-made figures in the festival of 1582 as such:

"For the festival's sugar-made decorations, 171 *kantar* sugar was used; its total worth was about 119,776 *akçe*. The equipments and materials provided like cinnamon, clove, aniseed, and bitter orange which were over 100 *kantar*, their value was approximately 199,266 *akçe*."¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 67- v.26/a.

¹⁴¹ Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 31.

¹⁴² Faroqhi, "Ceremonies, Festivals and the Decorative Arts", 165.

¹⁴³ And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 1982, 94.

The 1675 festival was adorned with a wide range of these ornate structures which were settled on 3m² or 4 m² platforms; however, the most splendid one was certainly produced by *Mimar Agha* (who was the head of the architect in the Palace) for the Sultan.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Abdi talks about the procession of three large candy gardens, which were full of violets made of sugar.¹⁴⁵

Besides the candy gardens, many sugar made decorations were passed during the procession. These 'confectionary figures' includes ostriches, peacocks, pelicans, dears, lions, elephants, horses, fish and more were generally between 46 cm and 76 cm; and carried on more than 200 hundred trays. Apart from these, 200 chests full of candies (*akide şeker*), nuts and peanuts were also paraded throughout the festival.¹⁴⁶ By means of the distribution all these candies and sugar made animal figures among the audiences and soldiers as well as the allowance to people sacking them (*şeker yağması*) on the twelfth day of the festival, the Sultan successfully demonstrated his generosity towards his subjects.¹⁴⁷

3.5. The Guild Pageantry

The great processions of the guilds were among the major attractions not only in imperial circumcision festivals or wedding festivals, but also in others such as ceremonies for the departure of the Ottoman army for a campaign. Various guilds of artisans consisting of masters and their young apprentices would file past the Sultan's pavilion and present their gifts (*pişkeş*) to the Sultan in accordance with the pre-determined order. Many of them did not merely file past in front of the Sultan, but rather would display vivid demonstrations of their particular crafts and products in order to please and honour the Sultan and his assembled guests.

¹⁴⁴ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 72.

¹⁴⁵ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 66- v.25/a; Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 229.

¹⁴⁶ Nabi, *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan*, 62- 63; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 72-73.

¹⁴⁷ Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 281.

The guild pageantry of the 1675 circumcision festival was quite extensive and the variety of the displays made an effective contribution to the organization of the festival. We come across the first guild parade in the schedule on the 4th day of *sur-i hümayun*, and then it continued as a daily feature of the festivities.¹⁴⁸ Each day following the afternoon prayer, some groups of artisans made their appearance at the square. They showed off their crafts effectively and presented the best of their products as gifts (*pişkeş*) to the Sultan and received immediately a gift in return; finally they were able to enjoy the banquets.

The Sultan's counter gift (*atiyye*) generally became in the form of *akçe*. Hedda Reind-Kiel remarks that the reason for the immediately reciprocation by the state was to give adequate cash to groups that might have otherwise found themselves in severe financial problems due to their gifting obligations. Hazerfen cites the amount of *atiyye* by which each group of artisans were rewarded. For instance, the sheep butchers of Istanbul opted to present their *pişkeş* as one silver set of small basin (*leğen*), water ewer (*ibrik*), rose water sprinkler (*gülabdan*), incense burner (*buhurdan*), chandelier (*şamdan*) and a tray (*tebsi*) and in return they received 2000 *akçe*. Similarly, the cloth merchants (*bezzazlar*) of Istanbul offered one prayer rug (*al çuka üzerine zerdûz seccade*), one velvet bundle (*kadife zerdûz boğça*), two *telli badle*, four turban muslins (*destâr*), two *kenarlı bez top*, three face towels (*makrama*), one face towel (*sırmalı makrama*), one *Mirzâyî Bogasi*, one bundle (*kılâbdanlı boğça*) and their reward came again as 2000 *akçe*.¹⁴⁹ According to *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, the least rewards given to the guilds were 1000 *akçe* while the most were 5000 *akçe*. The guilds of carpenters and shoe makers were received 5000 *akçe* as *atiyye*; the jewellers took 4000 whereas the guilds like the falconers, blacksmiths, sword and

¹⁴⁸ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 56- v.17/a. In the 1720 festival, guild parades could start on the 6th day of the festival. Here after each day witnessed demonstrations of large groups of artisans. Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 80.

¹⁴⁹ For the names of gifts see; TSMA, D. 154, fol.16 and fol.19. The document includes the whole list of the gifts which were presented to the Sultan by most of the artisan guilds. For the quantity of *atiyye* given them by the Sultan see, Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, from 218 to 233.

knife-makers, bed quilt makers and so on were rewarded by 1000 *akçe*. Some question can come to mind about the decisive factor for the amount of the *atiyye* and its parallelism to the worth of the gifted items by the guilds or about the ratio between the cost of the *pışkeş* and the value of *atiyye*. However, it is quiet hard to make satisfactory statements at this stage because the author does not have enough search on the matter.

It is difficult to determine the total number of guilds that participated in this festival parade. However, we can get the names of some lodges of the artisans and craftsmen as far as they were mentioned in the accounts. It is possible to list the guild pageantry day by day as such:

The guilds of bakers (*ekmekçiler*), round cake makers (*çörekçiler*), the *Bursa yamakan*, weavers (*dokumacılar*), and millers (*değirmenciler*) of Edirne were in the procession on the fourth day. Perfumers/druggists (*attarlar*), paper masters (*kağıtçılar*) and shoe makers (*haffaflar*) of Edirne and Istanbul, tanners (*debbağlar*), cobblers (*dikiciler*) and merchants (*bazerganlar*) were on the fifth day. Sheep and cattle butchers (*kasaplar*) of Istanbul, butchers of Edirne, grocers (*bakkallar*) and candle and wax-makers/sellers (*mumcular*) of Istanbul and Edirne, cooks of sheep feet (*paçacılar*), fruit-sellers (*yemişçiler*) were on the sixth day. On the seventh day, tanners (*debbağlar*) of Istanbul and Edirne, makers of heavy army shoes (*postalcılar*) of Edirne and second hand dealers (*eskiciler*) of Istanbul paraded. Cloth-sellers (*bezzazlar*) and sellers of prayer-beads (*tesbihçiler*) of Istanbul, jewellers (*kuyumcular*) of Istanbul, silk manufacturers (*gazzazlar*) and saddle makers (*saraçlar*) of Edirne, barbers (*berberler*) of Istanbul and Edirne and the *tulumcus* were on the eighth day; Bedesten shopkeepers (*bezestancılar*), falconers (*çakşırcılar*), bed quilt-makers (*yorgancılar*), sellers of prayer-beads (*tesbihçiler*) and sword-makers (*kılıççılar*) of Edirne, skullcap-makers (*arakiyeciler*), sword-makers, and knife-makers (*bıçakçılar*) of Istanbul, sellers of cooked sheep's head (*başçılar*), *kakmacılar*, carpenters (*neccarlar*), cotton or wool fluffers (*hallaçlar*), blacksmiths (*nalbantlar*), turban makers (*kavukçular*) and Jews of Istanbul and Edirne, tailors (*terziler*), merchants

and architects (*mimarlar*) were on the ninth day; furriers (*kürkçüler*) and merchants (*bazerganlar*) were on the tenth day. Tent-makers (*çadırçılar*), tailors (*terziler*), bow-makers (*okçular*), arrow-makers (*yayçılar*) and barley-dealers (*arpacılar*) of Edirne and Istanbul, shoe tip-makers (*nalçacılar*), barbers (*berberler*) and falconers (*çakşırcılar*) of Istanbul, cooks (*ahçılar*), carpet sellers (*halıçılar*) and animal hair-processors (*muytabcılar*) of Edirne were on the eleventh day. Egyptian traders and Bedesten shopkeepers, saddle makers (*saraçlar*), packsaddle-makers (*semerciler*), second hand dealers of Istanbul, saddle-makers and shoe tip-makers of Edirne were on the thirteenth day; bakers, cauldron-makers (*kazançılar*), tinsmiths (*kalayçılar*), bed quilt-makers of Istanbul and barbers of Edirne were on the fourteenth day.¹⁵⁰

The large number of Muslim or non-Muslim artisans of various professions is another indication about the grandiosity of this festive event. The primary sources cite the names of 50 different guilds which attended in the guild pageantry. Nevertheless, the total number of these artisan groups in the festival of 1675 seems far less than that of 1582 in which, depending on the account, 148 or 179 groups took part in the artisan processions.¹⁵¹ However, according to Derin Terzioğlu, the excess of groups in the 1582 festival might be not only a result of the grandiosity of that festival but also the flexibility to the participation of non-artisan groups in the processions. Indeed, it is normal to find the non- artisans like *suhtes* of Anatolia in the guild pageantry in 1582 whereas the processions in 1675 and 1720 were strictly limited to the guilds owing to the further formalization of the guild structures throughout the 17th century. As it is understood from the gift lists of 1720 festival, around 40 various artisan guilds participated to the festival and presented their gifts.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 217, 218, 221, 224, 226, 228, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236; TSMA, D.154, from the twelfth folio to the end; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 74; Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 58- v.18/b, 59- v.19/b, 63- v.23 /a, 864-v. 24/a.

¹⁵¹ Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582", 89.

¹⁵² Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 19-22.

As it was mentioned above, each guild created visually attractive scenes or 'living pictures' of their talents, and displayed masterly pieces of their work on movable platforms. For example, when the guilds of bakers, round cake makers and millers entered the field as a boy was reciting Qur'an on the camel; some were carrying a mill and some others were carrying an oven while setting on carts, they milled flour and baked breads.¹⁵³ Furthermore, iron-makers (*demirciler*) forged iron; tailors sewed; and butchers slaughtered sheep on their circular wheeled platforms during their parade.¹⁵⁴ With various kinds of pageant cars and devices, the marching guild members and boy apprentices demonstrated the nature of their crafts and products to the Sultan and the audience. Suraiya Faroqhi points out that the modern historians of theatre regard these scenes as an indigenous beginning of dramatic art.¹⁵⁵ When the long tradition of the Ottoman guild pageantry is analysed, it is so clear that their 'living demonstrations' have a place in the development of theatre.

3.6. Popular and Spectacular Entertainments

All popular and spectacular entertainments, theatrical and circus performances were among the most common and essential parts of all Ottoman festivals throughout the centuries. As it was mentioned in detail in Chapter II, many various men of talent were invited to Edirne so as to display various performances and to entertain the audiences because the entertainment was the perfect tool for the Sultan to provide a merry atmosphere for his subjects.

During the fifteen-day festival in 1675, the spectators in *Sirik Meydanı* were treated to a rich variety of popular entertainments, including music, dance, dramatic displays, all types of 'acts' which associated with the modern circus and carnival in addition to special spectacular shows. The organization of the entertainment followed a certain program just like in the other sections of

¹⁵³ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 216.

¹⁵⁴ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 75.

¹⁵⁵ Faroqhi, "Ceremonies, Festivals and the Decorative Arts", 170.

the festival. If the weather was nice, the demonstrations were held in two parts: following afternoon prayer and evening prayer. During the daytime, talented performances, dramatic displays, buffooneries and sportive competitions entertained the guests while firework displays, town illuminations (*donanma*), music and dance performances came into view at night. However, most of displays in the daytime were also accompanied by music and dance.

A wide range of performers coming from all around the Ottoman realm demonstrated their talents. Abdi and other sources state that rope walkers (*canbaz*), horsemen, jugglers (*hokkabaz*), conjurers (*gözbağcı*), acrobats (*kusebaz*), buffoons (*maskara*), snake-charmers (*yılanbaz*), wrestlers (*pehlivan*), those who performed bodily strength (*zorbaz*), macers (*gürzbaz*), animal trainers, puppeteers (*kuklacıyan*) were among those who showed off their skills with their acts.

Dramatic displays and comedies were also quite common in this festival. Three different theatre groups titled *Ahmet Kolu*, *Cevahir Kolu* and *Edirne Yahudi Kolu* performed different plays for different audiences according to the program of the festival. *Ahmed Kolu*, for example, presented theatrical plays or comedies at the presence of the Sultan on the first day, then to the members of Harem on the second day, then to the viziers and then to the public on another day. Additionally, a rather small group of Egyptian actors was dedicated to perform in front of the commoners and the circumcised children. In this way every social group had opportunity to watch the performances of each theatrical group.¹⁵⁶

Another main entertaining element of this festival was the mock battles which were the re-enactments of the wars in the recent past with three dimensional models. While these visual shows were tools to increase the motivation of the corps and public, they also stood out as a highly symbolic means to demonstrate military superiority. Three model castles were built for

¹⁵⁶ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 49- v.12/a; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 61.

this occasion. These were the castles of Uyvar (conquered in 1663), Kandiye (conquered in 1669) and Kamanıçe (conquered in 1672) which were triumphed over by the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha in the wars with Hungary, Crete and Lehistan. Following spectacles with these representations of castles, they were lit on fire. Additionally, there are scenes about the sea battles between the Ottoman *çektiris* and Christian galleys (*kalyonlar*). Naturally, each time, the Ottomans won the wars.¹⁵⁷

As sportive competitions of the 1675 festival, Abdi cites cudgel game (*matrak oyunu*) as a kind of fencing, archery (*okçuluk*), horseback riding (*binicilik*), marathons (*yaya yarışı*) and wrestling (*güreş*). Five days after the circumcision festival, a horse race was arranged on *Hıdırlık Tepesi*. The famous horses of that time participated and raced before large number of people. The winners were awarded with thousands of *akçes*. Needless to say, it was again an occasion for the Sultan to confirm his generosity by distributing awards.¹⁵⁸

Illuminations and firework displays were the most popular form of spectacular entertainments at the 1675 public festivities. At sunset the festival site was lit with oil-lamps. First skyrockets (*fışek*) were launched, and then fireworks displays took place. The spectators were impressed by various models of fireworks. Night became as bright as day with the fireworks exploded overhead. Every night, the displays carried on until the sunrise.

"Yine kandiller olup nurefşan,
Eyledi arzı sipihr-i gerdan.
Yine birbir tutuşup nar-ı fışek,
Virdi gündüzü gice beynine şek."¹⁵⁹

All these popular and spectacular entertainments, theatrical and circus performances indicate that the festival of 1675 was planned and carried out

¹⁵⁷ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 75- 77 –v.32/b- 33/a- 33/b- 34/a.

¹⁵⁸ Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals", 36.

¹⁵⁹ Nabi, *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan*, 54-55.

for the participation and the pleasure of not only the privileged few but also of the whole public.

3.7. Concluding Ceremonies

The circumcision of the princes itself took place generally towards the end of each Ottoman festival.¹⁶⁰ It was not different for the festival under investigation; the twelfth day was chosen as the date for the circumcision of Princes Mustafa and Ahmed.¹⁶¹ The day started with a *mevlüd* program in Selimiye, the biggest mosque in Edirne. After offering sweets and candies, a feast was also given to the prominent members of the state officers. Later on, they were honoured with the gifts by the Sultans:

Grand vizier was honoured with a long fur coat (*ferace sırt kürk*), a horse with a bejewelled harness (*mücevher takımlı*) and three racehorses. The second vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha received a long fur coat (*ferace kürk*), a horse with bejewelled saddle (*mücevher eğerli*) and also three racehorses. The third vizier Mustafa, the fourth vizier Defterdar Ahmed, the fifth vizier Yusuf Pasha and the *nişancı* Abdi Pasha were honoured with a horse with harness and silver chain, and fur; the *şeyhülislam*, the Anatolian and Rumelian *kazaskers*, the *baş imam* of the Palace (Vani Efendi), the mentorship of the prince, chiefs of doctors and surgeons (*hekimbaşı and cerrahbaşı*) were honoured with the broadcloth long furs (*çuka feraceye kaplı kürkler*); and finally other *Arz Aghas*, Agha of the Janissary, the *kul kethüdası* who was the deputy of the Agha of the Janissaries, *Sipah* and *Silahdar Aghas*, the *Çavuşbaşı*, the *Topcubaşı* and the *Cebecibaşı*, *Mirahurs*, the

¹⁶⁰ The circumcision of the princes in the 1720 festival was not carried out during the fifteen-day festive occasions in *Okmeydanı*, but, they were operated after turning back to the Topkapı Palace following another seven-day celebrations. See, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 166.

¹⁶¹ About the concrete date of the circumcision there is a conflict. While Abdi narrates it as in the thirteenth day of festival, but all other sources cited it as in the twelfth day. Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 70- v.28/b; Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 28; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 56; Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiat*, 64; Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 157; Mehmed Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 165.

Bostancıbaşı, Kapıcılar Kethüdası, the Mir-i Alem Agha, the Kapıcıbaşı, Mutfak and *Sur Emini* were presented robes of honour.¹⁶²

In the presence of the Sultan and various prominent members of the palace such as the grand vizier, the second vizier, *kaim-makam* and other viziers, Feyzullah Efendi and *baş imam*; the two *şehzades* were circumcised in *Has Oda* at *Yeni Saray*. Nuh Pasha, the surgeon, did the operation and in return for it, he was awarded with a huge amount of golden coins. Eventually, the Sultan also gave a fur coat to Vani Efendi, who was the *baş imam* of the Sultan and an important religious figure of that time.¹⁶³

During the entire festival, circumcising the ordinary children was another routine. 3500 children had already applied for this operation. Each day 200 or 300 boys were circumcised in their tents following their procession in the festival square and they were donated coins or clothes from the imperial dynasty.¹⁶⁴ According to the figures given by the *surname* authors, the total number of circumcised children reached at least 2081 for the entire festival. This number is given as 2000 children in the diary of Covel.¹⁶⁵ Apart from these, Covel also cites the circumcision of 200 middle aged non-Muslim men, who had just converted to Islam.¹⁶⁶ However, such information has not been encountered in any other sources which were investigated to accomplish this study. While the writers of the festival books, Abdi and Nabi and the chronicler Hazerfan reported the numbers of the circumcised children day by day in detail, interestingly enough, the circumcision of the non-Muslims who had converted to Islam was not mentioned anywhere in their extensive works on this imperial festival.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında", 282.

¹⁶³ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 72- 73- v.30/b; Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 57.

¹⁶⁴ It is understood from the reports of Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, in the 1720 festival, 3500 ordinary children were circumcised.

¹⁶⁵ Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 131.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 132.

¹⁶⁷ (60 children the day before starting the festival, 240 children were on the 2nd day, 316 were on the 3rd day, 200 were on the 4th day, 295 were on the 5th day, 500 were on the 6th day, 300 were on the 7th day, 200 were on the 8th day, 150 were on the 9th day and some more children but the amount is not clear on the 14th day). Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i*

The remaining days passed with similar parades, displays and entertainments. Following the feast for the common people of Edirne and the last performances of the rope walkers in the field of the festival on the fifteenth day, the *ferman* was ordered to remove the tents in the festival site.¹⁶⁸ This was the signal of concluding the festival. Then, it was declared that a horserace was to take place just five days later and everybody was invited. The employees, who had been awarded with some gifts or coins in return for their jobs, immediately started to complete the preparations for the wedding ceremony of the daughter of Mehmed IV, Hatice Sultan, with the second vizier Musahib Mustafa Pasha which would begin ten days later.

As it is consistently emphasized throughout this chapter, at the festival of 1675 in common with the previous and next festivals, the occasions were seen as tools to show the Sultan's omnipotence. The festival was regarded as a scene on which the Sultan was playing the starring role. And the whole elements of every ceremonial were shaped in regard to this ultimate game: to demonstrate and reconfirm the power, authority and generosity of the sovereign as well as to remind the strict hierarchical order prevailing in the administrative system. Considering the agenda of entire festival, it can be deduce that the festival has been remarkably successful in fulfilling its task. With its diverse units like ceremonial occasions, processions, banquets, gifts, guild parades and so varied entertainments, it was able to enchant the whole subjects of the Sultan.

Hümayun, 42, v.7/a, 51- v.14/a, 54-v.15/b, 58- v.18/b, 59- v.19/b, 64- v.24/a, 74, v.32/a; Nabi, *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan*, 53, 55, 56.

¹⁶⁸ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 75- v.32/b.

CHAPTER 4

Reflections of the Multiplicity Amongst the Participants and the Intellectual Culture of the Age

4.1. The Carnivalistic Elements of the Festival

Borrowing from Derin Terzioğlu, it can be said that Ottoman festivals were somewhere between official feasts and carnivals 'in which elements of order and subversion, control and spontaneity, coexist, interact and occasionally enter into a struggle'.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, they were the locus of multiplicity in terms of their activities, participants and their moods. The merry atmosphere, the relaxation of social rules about order throughout the festive occasions and the partaking of considerable numbers of crowds from various social strata, either as spectators or as paraders, were the characteristics demonstrating the carnival-like features of Ottoman festivals.¹⁷⁰ The common traditions of the Ottoman festive occasions such as the extending invitations to those of modest backgrounds (like low-level religious scholars or dervishes) and the offering gifts of foods and money to commoners, also makes these festivals fall into a category different from the official celebrations.

Furthermore, another crucial point is the selection of the festival venue. These kinds of festive occasions was held in large squares which were also open to the public usage on normal days rather than choosing official buildings and palaces. Like many others, the festival of 1675 gathered and brought together a wide range of crowds including members of diverse

¹⁶⁹ Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582", 97, 91.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 91. The author points out that this perception of carnival does not exactly fit Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of carnival in which "temporary liberation from the prevailing truth" is offered as opposed to the official feasts that sanctions the existing order. Bakhtin later was criticized so much being entirely positive and utopian. See also; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

guilds in Edirne and Istanbul, representatives of different religious sects, women, children and those from non-Muslim communities.

First, this grand festival was undoubtedly attractive to many of the ordinary people of Edirne, Istanbul and perhaps those of the surrounding towns; this was a "once in a lifetime activity" for most of them. For that reason, on each festive day, crowds flocked to the festival site to watch the displays as well as to watch horse races in the *Hıdırlık Tepesi* following the festival. For instance, according to Covel, approximately 20000 people gathered to watch horse races in *Timurtaş Ovası*.¹⁷¹ This number was obviously a round figure but still, it gives an idea about the number of people that took part in watching the circumcision festival. The crowdedness of the spectators on the third day attracted Abdi's attention and he wrote as "Today they are beyond comparison with the other days."

Additionally, the officials from modest background and commoners even also acted as the actual invitees of the Sultanic banquets. For instance, the religious heads in lodges of dervish orders (*tekke şeyhs*), attendees of mosques (*mahalle cemaatleri*), *imams* and *hatips* were invited to the feasts on the eleventh day while the fifteenth day of the festival was left for the banquets to the people in the quarters of Edirne. In the former one, Defterdar Pasha hosted the old *imams* and ten of *tekke şeyhs* and others with a special meal while the other *imams*, *şeyhs*, *müzezzins* and servants of mosques (*hademe*) enjoyed the feasts in some other tents. At the same time, the mosques attendees were also feasted with a few hundreds of trays full with *pilav* and *zerde*. In the latter day, following the noon prayer, the commoners who came to the square took pleasure in the banquets. Even

¹⁷¹ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 107. *Timurtaş Ovası* was the locus of the horse races following the wedding festival of Hatice Sultan which started ten days later the circumcision festival under consideration.

European travellers could also participate in the banquets or see the dishes closely.¹⁷²

“ On beşinci günü ki yevm-i bazardır umum ziyafeti ferman olunup cümle Edirne mahallatı ahalisine ve ehl-i sükun sağır ü kebir ve a’la vü ednasına ziyafet tertib olundukta meydanda 4 aded sımat-ı mükemmel döşenip ve 300 aded ağaç siniler içre pilav, zerdeler olunup cemi’ halk-ı cihan oturup safalandılar.”¹⁷³

By taking into consideration the numbers given by Abdi above, if we make a simple calculation, roughly 10 people could sit around each tray (*sini*), 300 trays make 3000 populace. It means a respectable amount of common folk feasted on the sultan’s bread. However, the timing of these banquets (in the last day of the festival) was still meaningful as well as the differentiation in the richness of meals between those for the prominent guests (twenty various dishes) and those for the commoners (rice with meat and a dessert). This was another symbol emphasizing the status differences between the participants of the show.

Similar to the festival of 1582 and 1720, here at the festival of 1675, the quiet easy interaction between the spectators (the crowds in this case) and performers or paraders was facilitated thanks to absence of any barrier or raised platform. While the masses were watching the performances, the only actor who might interfere between the performers and audiences was the *tulumcus* who moved around the square to keep the order. Likewise, the location of the Sultan’s pavilion as well as the pavilions of prominent guests was situated in a way to prevent the feeling of distance between the people and their rulers. Despite the obvious status differences, the elites and the commoners shared the familiar domain of laughter.

Along with a wide range of performances, illustrations and sportive activities in which the public was passive, watched and made merry with the

¹⁷² Nutku narrates from Nointel about his observations about the dishes and desserts for the folk, Nutku, *IV. Mehmet’in*, 57.

¹⁷³ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 75, v.32/a.

entertainments, there were others in which the commoners actively took part in. For instance, the foot-races similar to modern-world's marathons had been organized for them and each time 20 or 30 people ran at least 15 miles to take the awards from the Sultan.¹⁷⁴ Oil wrestling (*yağlı güreş*) stands out another sportive activity open to the commoners. As a second favourite sport of the time after *cirit*, wrestling matches were organized frequently throughout the festival for those good at wrestling. Twenty to thirty people appeared on the field at once in a way that their whole bodies were oiled.¹⁷⁵

4.1.1. Women and Children

Social boundaries, limitations and restrictions of the Ottoman women in public space and its changing nature over the centuries are great issues to deal with. However, in the sources, we encounter women participants in the Ottoman ceremonial occasions starting from rather early times. The available accounts of the 16th century celebrations indicate that such participation on the part of females is actually quite usual and unexceptional (For earlier centuries, we do not have comprehensive research and data not only about the participation of women at the festive occasions but also the festivals themselves). The miniature illustrations of veiled women amongst the spectators¹⁷⁶ as well as examples recounted by European travellers and the *surname* writers about the 1582 festival refer to women either as the audience or actors in a few events throughout the festival and shows that women did join in these festive occasions starting from a quiet early period. Likewise, the women from Istanbul attended to the parade when Mehmed III made his solemn entrance into the capital after his victory at Mezokeresztes (*Haçova*) in 1596.¹⁷⁷ In a slightly later period, in the festival of 1720, we

¹⁷⁴ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 107.

¹⁷⁵ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in* 108; Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 142.

¹⁷⁶ About the miniatures illustrating the women existence in the festival of 1582 see; Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun*, 73 (fol.224a), 75 (fol.281a), 77 (fol.331 a), 81 (fol.416a), 83 (fol.429a); Nurhan Atasoy gives reference to diaries of a European traveler on the women participant see; Johannes Löwenklaw, *Neuwe Cronica Türckischer Nation*, Franckfurt am Mayn, 1950, 477,487,489.

¹⁷⁷ Faroqhi, "When the Sultans planned", 1.

encounter a warning order given by the grand vizier about not to prevent men and women who wanted to watch the performances:

“(....) Devletlü sadr-i âlî hazretleri kemâl-i merhametlerinden nâsî seyrândan seyirciyânın ricâl ü nisvânına ta’arruz olunmamak üzere fermân buyurulmalarıyla herkes istedikleri yerden temâşâ ve müşârunileyh hazretlerine du’a vü senâ ederlerdi.”¹⁷⁸

Moreover, when a banquet was planned for all commoners on the 14th day of this festival, a building close to the festival side, *Okçular Tekkesi*, was reserved just for the feasting the women populace. The women could enjoy the festival banquet which consisted of *pilav* and *zerde*.¹⁷⁹ Actually, the miniatures depicting women among spectators in that festival make so obvious the presence of women in such festivals.¹⁸⁰

The role of women in the 1675 festival did not differ wildly from prior and later ones. Women, sometimes together with their children, might be found in the square watching with wondering eyes and enjoying in the celebrations, albeit within the boundaries of social norms those regulated their outer life. Indeed, some of the information given by eyewitness accounts of the festival 1675 confirms such situation. John Covell, for instance, speaks of the women amongst the spectators. They were generally veiled and they tended to lift their veils either partially or totally to watch the circumcision procession better. Naturally, they needed to fulfil social norms such as they were dressed in their outside clothes, sometimes in veils, and watched the events separately from the men, on one side of the square. Covell also came across wealthy women of upper classes who came by their chariots to watch the

¹⁷⁸ Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 194.

¹⁷⁹ “ve müddet-i sûrun evkât-ı kesiresinde nisvân tâ’ifesi dahi mevcut-ı temâşâ-yı sûr olmalarıyla anların dahi ziyâfet-i sûr-i sultaniden hisse-mend olmaları murâd olunup anlara münasip bir mekân iktizâ etdikde derûn-ı Tekye-i Kemânkeşân ricâlden tahliye ve tablalar ile pilav ve zerde döşenmek üzere sûr emini efendiye fermân olunmağla derhal derun-ı tekyede ricâlden bir fert kalmayup bi’l cümle ihrâc (.....) Ta’ife-i nisvân dahi handân olarak tekyeye dâhil ve ni’mete vasıl olup kapuyu sed ve bir çorbacı dahi gelenleri reddederdi. İçerüde ise ancak bize mahsûs ziyâfet-i sultânidir, deyü bunlar bî-mebâhâ paşmaklarını çözüp birbirlerine ‘Sen çok yedin avaylı, bize komamısın’ deyü lâtife ederek (....)” Hâfız Mehmed Efendi, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 222.

¹⁸⁰ The women among spectators were depicted in the miniatures: Esin Atıl, *Levni and The Surname*, 208 (fol.43a), 198 (fol.60a), 174 (fol.83b).

circumcision parade.¹⁸¹ Similarly, another traveller talks about the women spectators, describing a moment in which three major theatre groups of festival paraded following a guild pageantry carrying big phalluses (*kamış*) in their hands. They were waving them at the audience, especially women. The women were laughing quietly and closing their eyes with their hands to escape from the phalluses.¹⁸²

Moreover, we have known that the women of the Ottoman Household also watched the ceremonies interestedly. Actually, before the festival just for this purpose, a small building, *Kasr-ı Cedid*, had been already constructed next to the *Alay Köşkü*. Covel's writings also confirm this reality; each evening beside the Sultan and the *şehzade*, the *Hanım sultan*, the *hanıms* and other palace members watched the displays from their places.¹⁸³

Children were another essential element of this festival. First of all, thousands of circumcised children of commoners actively participated in the festival. These ordinary and generally poor boys experienced a splendid festival most would probably remember for the rest of their lives. As we cited in the section on the festival preparations, a special tent was settled for their usage while being circumcised and for resting after this procedure; special shows and music were performed in front of them and special gifts (clothes and money) were donated by the court. This is also another context that makes the existence of women inevitable. These little children presumably came to the festive site with their parents- mothers or fathers. On such a special day, mothers did not want to leave their fortunate children who had the opportunity to be circumcised in a sultanic festival, especially given that the previous one had been held 26 years prior in 1649 in Istanbul for the newly enthroned Sultan, Mehmed IV and Princes Süleyman and Ahmed (later Ahmed II).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 126.

¹⁸² Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 132. See also; Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires* II, Paris 1684.

¹⁸³ Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 130.

¹⁸⁴ Nutku, "Eski Şenlikler", 120.

Secondly, there might be considerable number of children among the spectators, sometimes accompanied by their mothers. And thirdly, the children occasionally appear in the sources as the actors of some shows. Covell talks about a *canbaz* who was walking on the rope as easily as walking on the road while he hooked up himself with a black kid (probably Arabian) back to back and piped at the same time.¹⁸⁵

4.1.2. Non-Muslims

The accounts also reveal the presence of non-Muslim groups in the festival of 1675 like in most festivals both before and after. Jewish, Greek and Armenian subjects of the Empire from all over its realm took part in the festive occasions and performed their talents.¹⁸⁶ For instance, one of the three basic theatrical groups of the festival, which even performed dramatic displays and comedies in front of the Sultan, was called *Edirne Yahudi Kolu* and consisted of Jewish actors.¹⁸⁷ There were also Spanish origin Jews amongst the jugglers (*hokkabaz*) performing puppet shows and juggling in front of the Sultan's pavilion and all other tents.¹⁸⁸ Then again, the majority of the dancers were Greeks, easily outnumbering the small number of Turk, Jewish and Armenian counterparts. It was also common to encounter Armenian comedians who came from the borderlands of Iran.¹⁸⁹

On the other hand, the non-Muslim members of the artisan guilds also filed past in front of the Sultan together with their Muslim colleagues. Because they were so familiar with the existence of non-Muslims groups in most of the guilds, none of the primary sources considering the guild pageantry did not need to cite their names as distinguished from the other the Muslim ones. They tended just to state the names of artisan group together with the city that they came from. For example, "the bakers of Edirne", "the jewellers

¹⁸⁵ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 85.

¹⁸⁶ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 44; Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü* 134.

¹⁸⁷ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 214.

¹⁸⁸ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 122.

¹⁸⁹ Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 135-136.

or merchants of Edirne and Istanbul”; however not in the way that “the Jewish jewellers” or “the Armenian merchants” and so on.

Moreover, as understood from the archival document which listed gifts, the Jewish community of Istanbul and Edirne also paraded on the ninth day and presented their *pişkes* as 2000 *zirâ’ atlas* and 500 *zirâ’ atlas* correspondingly.¹⁹⁰ The quantity of the gifts is a natural indicator of the relative crowdedness of the Istanbul Jews. The patriarch of Istanbul was also among the gift givers to the Sultan. As the representative of his Orthodox Christian community, he presented one crystalline silver tankard (*simlice billûr maşraba*), two silver long-neck bottles and tankards (*sîm sūrâhî* and *maşraba*), four big and small trays (*tebsi*), one basin with water ewer (*leğen ma’a ibrik*), ten silver chandeliers (*sîm şamdân*), one silver trunk (*sîm sandûk*), two *donluk* of Iranian satin (*dîbâ -yı Acem*), eight *donluk* of silk woven in lampas structure (*kemhâ*) and eight *donluk* of Italian satin (*atlas Frengî*).¹⁹¹

European travellers who were also present at this festival talked about the Ottoman hospitality. Covell, for instance, wrote that the Europeans (like Covell) were being hosted wonderfully. “With the intention of impressing us with the glory of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans were showing us round numbers of times. Showing us everything down to the last detail, they were proud of seeing our admiration. Many times I walked around the street in my hair and hat that the Ottomans have always hated and I never suffered an affront, on the contrary I always encountered a fair treatment.”¹⁹²

4.1.3. Animals and Slaves

¹⁹⁰ TSMA, D. 154, fol.20. By the way, Hazerfan gives different amounts: the gifts of Jews of Istanbul were 2000 *zirâ’* but the ones of Jews of Edirne as 5000 *zirâ’*. See, Hazerfen, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 229. *Zirâ’* was a kind of measure of length in Ottoman Empire which could be changed from 54,04 cm to 91 cm. And *atlas* was a kind of fabric: satin. See; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983, 367.

¹⁹¹ TSMA, D. 154, fol.26. The term *donluk* denotes the length of fabric for a garment, in the 18th century 7,8 m. During the 16th and 17th centuries, it might be larger. See, Reindl-Kiel, “Power and Submission”, 39.

¹⁹² Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 127.

Animals were another essential element of the festivals and were represented in many different manners. First, as it explained in detail in the part of *Nahil* procession of Chapter III, the large sugar-made figures of animals were an intrinsic element in the decorations of the circumcision parade.

In addition to these figures, live animals were also used in competitions and performances. Donkeys, hounds (*tazi*) and mainly horses were utilized for races; animal trainers performed their talented bears, monkeys and sometimes goats. Hezarfen and Abdi, talk about the amusement done with live animals that were wrapped with crackers. When the crackers were fired, these frightened animals (generally donkey, hound or bear) went crazy and started to scuttle towards the crowds.¹⁹³ Snakes were other common figures of the festival. They were utilized by skilful magicians to amaze the audience with various magical talents. The snakes could be pulled out from someone's nose or chest. The handkerchief, balls or knives could be turned into snakes in the hands of spectators.¹⁹⁴ It was also possible to see the performers and dancers who showed off while masquerading as bears, lions, leopards, deer, dogs or camels.¹⁹⁵

The animals were also a category of formal gifting in the imperial festivals. Compared to the festival of 1582 in which animals such as horses, camels, falcons (*şahin*), mastiffs (*sansun*), hounds (*zağar*), lions, tigers and giraffes were destined as gifts to the Sultan; in the account of 1675 festival, we come across just horses as *pişkeş* from a handful of high ranking invitees. The third vizier Kaim-makam Mustafa Pasha, the fifth vizier Yusuf Pasha, the *vali* of Egypt, the *vali* of Diyarbekir, the *muhassıl* of Haleb Fazlı Agha, the

¹⁹³ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 211; Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekayi-Name*, 441.

¹⁹⁴ Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 141.

¹⁹⁵ Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in*, 123.

voyvoda of Diyarbekir, the *voyvoda* of Tokat, the *voyvoda* of Türkmen, the *mir-miran* of Şehrizar opted to grace their collection of gifts with horses.¹⁹⁶

The slaves were the subordinate group of the festival. In the accounts, they stand out as the ones whose manpower was exploited during the festival. For instance, it is known that 300 slave dock workers were employed to help fire workers and another 160 slaves had to carry out the big *nahıls* during the circumcision parade. On the other hand, it is also mentioned that the slaves were freed by the Sultan in honour of this special occasion twice: the first was on the tenth day following the circumcision parade, the second was on the twelfth day after the circumcision of the Princes. It is deduced from Covell's notes; the *nahıl* carrier slaves also got their freedom after completing their task.¹⁹⁷

The slaves are also seen as costly but prestigious dispatching materials in the court festivals. Here, there is the same inclination among the upper ranking Ottoman dignitaries to choose men slaves (*gulam*) as gifts to the Sultan. As far as it can be determined, the third, fourth, fifth viziers, the *nişancı*, the *vali* of Egypt, the *defterdar* of Anatolia, the *aghas* of Sipahis and Silahdars, the *kaim-makam* of Istanbul, *mir-mirans*, *defterdars* and *muhafız* of some provinces presented at least 138 slaves in total to the Sultan together with their gift packages.¹⁹⁸ Besides their significance thanks to their cash value, slaves were also symbolically crucial as the conveyers of the message which

¹⁹⁶ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 208,209,212,215,224,228,232; Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 52 and 69.

¹⁹⁷ Covell, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, 127.

¹⁹⁸ According to accounts, the high Ottoman dignities who presented the slaves and the quantity of these slaves as such: Kaimmakam Mustafa Pasha presented 10 of *gulams* (Hazerfan, 208); the fourth vizier Defterdar Ahmed Pasha presented 7 of *gulams* (Hazerfan, 208); the fifth vizier Yusuf Pasha: 5 (Hazerfan, 209); the vizier *nişancı* pasha: 2 (Hazerfan, 209); the *vali* of Egypt: 20 (Hazerfan, 212); the *mir-liva-yı* Inabahtı: 2 (Hazerfan, 213); the *defterdar* of Anatolia: 2 (TSMA, D. 154, fol.10); the *mir-miran* of Çıldır: 9 (TSMA, D.154, fol. 9); the Agha of Sipahiyan, Mahmud Ağa: 3 (TSMA, D.154, fol.10); the *Mir-miran* of Uyvar, Mustafa Pasha: 10 (Hazerfan, 221); the *ser-cebeciyan*: 6 (Hazerfan, 223); the Agha of Janissaries: 10 (TSMA, D. 154, fol.13); the mirahur-ı evvel: 5 (TSMA, D. 154, fol.15); the *defterdar* of Karaman: 1 (TSMA, D. 154, fol.19); the *mir-miran* of Yanova: 16 (Hazerfan, 225); the *muhafız* of Budin: 22 (Hazerfan, 227); the Agha of Silahdar, Hasan Ağa: 3 (TSMA, D. 154 fol.10), the *kaim-makam* of Istanbul, Vezir Ibrahim Pasha: 5 (TSMA, D. 154, fol.10)

meant the donor's own entire obedience to his Sultan: "As each subject of this Empire, I'm also your slave (*kul- köle*) and you are my absolute master."

Interestingly, in contrast to the festivals of 1582 and 1675, slaves were not found in the gift corpus of the 1720 festival. For Reindl-Kiel, the lack of slaves in the latter cannot be a result of the discovery of human rights amongst the Ottoman elite of that time but rather due to a deficiency in the supply of slaves.¹⁹⁹ Since the wars were the foremost source of supplying slaves to the Ottoman Empire, when the successful sieges and conquests lessened in the 18th century, the acquisition of slaves became harder and more expensive as well. As such, Ottoman official could no longer afford to offer such prestigious gifts to their Sultan.

4.2. The Books as Gift: Clues about the Intellectual Culture of the Age

The festivals are also appropriate tools to obtain clues about the intellectual culture of the age. Looking at some elements of the festival such as the books on the gift lists, the existence and participation of members of the *ulema* class and various religious orders with the relation amongst them, it may be possible to make an inquiry about the ideas, ideologies and intellectuals of the era in which the festival took place. In the scope of this master thesis, I will attempt to compare the nature of the gifted books of 1675 with the ones of 1582 and 1720 in order to understand the intellectual tendencies of that period.

As in other Ottoman imperial festivals, here in the festival of 1675, books were one of the most important items in the gift-packages presented to the Sultan. Rather than the military commanders, generally the members of the higher *ulema* and viziers enriched their gift sets with valuable manuscript books as indicators of their wealth, power but especially their cultural level and authority on the intellectual matters. By giving a religious book to the

¹⁹⁹ Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 74.

Sultan, the giver demonstrated his own religiousness while at the same time alluding to the ideal of the pious and just Islamic ruler. The Sultan could therefore understand that this gift was an acknowledgement of his perfect use of Islamic rule. Copies of the Qur'an were at the centre of the book gifting tradition. Then the books of Qur'an exegesis (*tefsir*), the classics of Persian literature, religious or judicial texts and dictionaries stand out as the most prestigious genres.

From the gift accounts of 1675, the increase is conspicuous in the number of the Quran copies as well as the other books which were presented to the Sultan and his princes, compared to the 1582 festival. While 23 copies of the Quran had been gifted in the previous festival, here the number increased slightly to 27. Moreover, only 35 books, other than Qurans, had been gifted in 1582, whereas now 59 books were presented.²⁰⁰

The first three highest authority of Imperial Council opted for precious Quran manuscripts written in calligraphy by three diverse calligraphers. The grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha offered a *Kelâm-ı Şerif ba hatt-ı Şükruallah* (a Qur'an manuscript written by calligrapher Şükruallah), the second vizier Mustafa Pasha presented a copy written by Abdülbaki in a jewelled case (*zarf*) with pearls and the third vizier Kaim-makam Mustafa Pasha made his choice on a Quran copy of Yakut the calligrapher.²⁰¹ Apart from them, a quite large number of the Quran copies (but not illuminated or written in calligraphy or bound in precious materials) were presented to the Sultan. Among their donors there were the *şeyhülislam*, the *vali* of Egypt (Hüseyn Pasha), the mentorship of the Prince Mustafa (Feyzullah Efendi), the *kazaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *deftardar* of Anatolia, the Agha of Janissary, the

²⁰⁰ Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 45, 64.

²⁰¹ TSMA, D. 154, fol.1; Hedda Reind- Kiel gives short information about these three calligraphers: Şükruallah (d. 1543 or 1544) was a student and son-in-law of the great master calligrapher Şeyh Hamidullah of Amasya; Abdülbaki might be contemporary scholar and poet and calligrapher Abdülbaki Arif Efendi (d.1713), who was the protégé of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha; Yakut el-Musta'simi (1221-1299) was the palace calligrapher to the last Abbasid caliph Musta'sim. See, Reind-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 64-65; See also, Muammer Ülker, *Türk Hat Sanatı*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1987, 18-19, 21, 70 and 73; Mustafa Uzun, "Abdülbaki Arif Efendi", in *DİA I*, Istanbul, 1988 195-8.

nakibü'l-eşraf, the *qadis* of Istanbul, Edirne, Selanik, Izmir, Yenişehir, Haleb, Diyarbekir, the old *qadis* of Istanbul, the old *kazaskers* and so on.²⁰²

Another variation in the canon of book gifting appears as an increase in the number of religious books. Not only their variety but also the frequency that they were presented to the Sultan increased in 1675. While in 1582, 8 specific religious books were bestowed on 11 occasions²⁰³, now in 1675, the number sharply rose, 26 separate religious books were chosen 55 times as gifts. The books of jurisprudence in ten different titles²⁰⁴, hadith in five²⁰⁵, narratives of the Prophet in two²⁰⁶, *tefsîr* in four²⁰⁷, mysticism in one²⁰⁸, mystical (and moral) poetry in four²⁰⁹ different titles were registered in the gift accounts. Among them, Buharî's hadith book, *Sahîh*, was the most popular and typical one with eleven copies gifted. Then it was followed by the books on jurisprudence, *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* (6 copies) and *Kuhistanî* (5 copies).²¹⁰

Tefsîr of Beyzâvî and *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* may be considered among the established titles of religious literature since they are notable for being chosen as a gift to the Sultan in both festivals (in 1582 and 1675).

²⁰² TSMA, D.154, fols.1-33.

²⁰³ Cevherî's *eş-Şihâh*, Celaleddin Rumi's mystical poetry book *Mesnevî*; *tefsirs*: *Beyzâvî Tefsîri* and Fahreddin er-Razi's *Mefâtihü'l- gayb*, Suyûtî's *Hâşiye ale'l-Beyzâvî*; jurisprudence works: *el-Muhîf* of Serahşî, *Hidâye*, hagiography: *Menâkib-i Celaleddin*, Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 80.

²⁰⁴ These are *Înâye*, *Mültekâ*, *Eşbâh ve'n-Nezâir*, *Fetâvâ*, *Kuhistanî*, *Hidâye*, *Durer ve Gurer*, *Sadrü's-şerîa*, *Hâşiye*, *Tenvîrî'l- ebsâr*. These books and others in next five footnotes are taken from the archival document, TSMA, D. 154 fol. 3-30, and the work of Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 82-84. In order to prevent the waste of space, the references will not be repeated below.

²⁰⁵ *Sahîh*, *Mesâbih-i Şerif*, *Şemâ'ilü'n-Nebî*, *Mir'atü'r- Rüyâ*, *Tuhfetü'l- ebrâr*

²⁰⁶ *Kısas-ı Enbiyâ*, *Mevâhibü'l-ledünniyye*

²⁰⁷ *Tefsîr* by Ebusuud, *Tefsîr-i Kâdîhan*, *Letâif el-İşârât* by Küşeyrî, *Tefsîrü'l- Celâleyn* by Celalettin es-Suyutî

²⁰⁸ *Yevâkît*

²⁰⁹ *Subhatü'l- ebrâr*, *Mesnevî*, *Tuhfetü'l- ahrâr (?)*, *Nefakât*

²¹⁰ Hedda Reindl-Kiel makes a comprehensive list of all the works, that are cited throughout the paragraph and in the previous footnotes in this page, together with data on their authors, topics and centuries see Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 80-85; See also, TSMA, D.150, fols.1-33; See also, Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 208-236.

On the other hand, the most popular book gifts of 1582, the classics of Persian literature like Nizamî's *Hamse* (six copies), Firdevsî's *Şehnâme* (four copies), Sa'dî's *Bûstân* and *Gülistân* (five copies in all), *Dîvâns* of Hâfiz, Figâni and Câmi (three copies in all), were offered less fervently in 1675. Just few of them still were on the lists: Hâfiz's *Dîvân* (two copies), Nizamî's *Hâmse* and *Mahsenü'l-esrâr* (one copy each), Sa'dî's *Külliyyât* and *Bûstân* (one copy each).

While new genres of literature appeared amongst the gifted books in the 1675 festival such as cosmography²¹¹ and narratives of the Prophet²¹², others seemed to be out of fashion such as the miniatures. In the inventory of books for the 1675 festival, none of the books are mentioned as having illustrations or illuminations. Hedda Reindl-Kiel speculates about this disregard and connects it with the absence of a thriving market for book illustrations.²¹³

Interestingly enough, even though the festival under investigation was one of the three greatest Ottoman festivals, there is not any visual documentation on it. Unlike the other two ones, its sequence of events were not illustrated by miniature drawings. Not having any imagery is seemingly something associated with the intellectual trends of the era.

It is impossible to make a full comparison of the nature and copies of the gifted books in 1675 with the ones in 1720 due to the paucity of documentation for the latter one.²¹⁴ However, as understood from the sources, book gifting was again on the agenda without pausing down in the 1720 festival. At least 19 different books were offered to the Sultan. Moreover, the domination of the religious books among them is

²¹¹ *Tertîb-i dünya* and *Acâibü'l-mahlukât*; Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 66.

²¹² *Kisâs-ı Enbiyâ, el-Mevâhibü'l-ledünniyye* by Kastallanî, "Power and Submission", 68.

²¹³ Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission", 65.

²¹⁴ For both previous festivals (in 1582 and in 1675), historians have archival documents regarding whole lists of gifts under the name TSMA, D. 9614 for the first one and TSMA, D. 154 for the second, while for the 1720 festival they have to content with just the reports of *surname* authors, restricting with the gifts of the most popular invitees but not all.

conspicuous.²¹⁵ Additionally, some masterpieces of theological and juridical literature still prevailed. *Kitâb-ı Hidâye*, *Beyzâvî Tefsiri*, Kuhistanî, Ibrahim el-Halebî's *Mültekâ* were on the list again as well as mystical poetry work such as *Mesnevî* of Celaleddin Rumi.²¹⁶

Reindl-Kiel argues that the penchant for such classical Persian literature was a reflection of the ruling elite's poetic taste during the period of the festival of 1582. As such, the choice of books as gifts during the festival in Edirne might point to the resurfacing of the Islamic identity which had become stronger in the past ninety years amongst the Ottoman society's elite. It seems that the idea of reading for fun and enjoying the elegant illustrations in the books suddenly became a past time. Reindl-Kiel further argues that Ottoman society in general during that period likely adhered more strictly to the orthodox Islamic rules in the 17th century and, moreover, the puritan movement of the Kadızadelis might be seen as a reason for it.

In reality, it is a general tendency among some Ottoman historians to characterize the 17th century Ottoman Empire with 'a turn to piety' and a growing influence of puritan religious figures in the state affairs.²¹⁷ In this regard, it is also asserted that the fundamentalist Kadızadeli movement taking place in the Ottoman Empire roughly between the years from 1630 to 1690 played an important role in shaping the intellectual life of the Empire, at least in the capital city and its hinterland.²¹⁸ Inspiring ideologies from an earlier scholar Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573), they started to be known as Kadızadelis after their preacher leader Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d.1635). This group came to the existence with a reformist agenda. They had prevailed and became effective in some periods of the reigns of Murad IV (r.1623-1640), Ibrahim I (r. 1640-1648) and Mehmed IV (r.1648-1687) in

²¹⁵ However, because the sources just cited the gifts of just the most prominent guests but not all others, we can not get the final say yet.

²¹⁶ Reindl-Kiel gives a complete table of the book gifts in the 1720 festival in "Power and Submission", 86.

²¹⁷ Marc Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2008; Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988.

²¹⁸ Semiramis Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement: an Attempt of Şeriat-minded Reform in the Ottoman Empire." Ph.D.diss., Princeton University, 1990, 1.

rather varying proportion from time to time. Under the leadership of different preachers like Kadızade Mehmed Efendi, Üstevani Mehmed Efendi (d.1661) and Vani Mehmed Efendi (d.1685), the Kadizadelis attempted an Islamic reform on the society with the restoration of purity in Islam by rejecting all kinds of 'innovations' (*bid'ats*) which had accrued from the time of the Prophet and the Four Righteous Caliphs. This was the only way to get rid of signals of the 'decline' and 'crisis' (in the words of Kadizadelis and some other contemporary scholars) of the time.²¹⁹

Although many of these innovations like coffee, coffeehouses, tobacco, the use of dance and music in Sufi ceremonies were practiced by a large number of the people in society, they saw the Halveti Sufis as the most obvious bearers and targeted their activities. Some matters relating to the social, political life and religious beliefs and practices caused a dispute between the Kadizadelis and Halveti Sufis. They openly criticized and objected various Sufi ideologies and practices such as the performance of *zikr*, *sema*, *devran* and *raks* and the usage of music with them. They also came out against rather common religious rituals such as invoking the blessing upon the Prophet and his companions, the melodic recitation of the Kur'an, the call to prayer and eulogy of the Prophet, the performance of the supererogatory prayers in congregation, studying rational sciences and mathematics and visiting tombs. Additionally, they were strongly against the consumption of coffee and tobacco.²²⁰ The first one was introduced to

²¹⁹ Semiramis Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement", 1-2; Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)." Ph.D.diss., Harvard University, 1999, 4-7; For the different perspective on the discourse of the 17th century Ottoman decline narratives, Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 2010; Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands Under the Ottoman Rule, 1516-1800*, Pearson Education Limited, 2008, 59-66; Daniel Goffman and Virginia Aksan (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

²²⁰ Semiramis Çavuşoğlu makes a comprehensive study on the matters which were strictly criticized by the Kadızadeli authorities in "Part 3: The Matters of Disputes Between the Sufis and Kadızadelis" in "The Kadızadeli Movement", 183-308; See also Semiramis Çavuşoğlu, Kadızadeliiler, in *DİA XXIV*, Istanbul, 2001, 100-103.

Istanbul in the 16th century after 1540 while the latter one came to the Ottoman lands around the late 16th century or early 17th century.²²¹

The conservative discourses of the Kadizadeli leaders impressed a great number of people among the mosque attendees, the various high ranking Ottoman officials and even the Sultans themselves. Given the atmosphere at the time of 'crises' and 'degeneration', the Kadizadeli ideas of religious reforms were seen as the *savoir*.

Vani Mehmed Efendi, who was a religious scholar, a charismatic preacher and later a spiritual advisor of various members of the Ottoman Household, was known as the third leader of the movement and the most influential advocate of the Kadizadeli reform agenda.²²² His religious reformist ideas (following his antecedents) found more favour in the Ottoman Palace and he was able to intervene in the state politics and influence the Sultan to make decisions on the behalf of their ideologies.²²³ It seems that he became at least partially effective in demolishing the Sufi dervish lodges, banning smoking and the consumption of coffee and wine and also encouraging the conversion of the non-Muslims to Islam.

During the festival at hand, Vani Mehmed had been in the Ottoman Palace since more than ten years, occupied at the beginning as the teacher of Prince Mustafa (later Sultan Mustafa II) and then the personal *imam* of Mehmed IV later, together with favourite disciple Feyzullah Efendi, who took over Vani's responsibility and became the mentor of Prince Mustafa. As expected, they both took part in the each part of the festive occasions actively. Their names are frequently mentioned in the primary sources of this festival.

²²¹ Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadizadeli Movement", 215.

²²² Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident", 6; for a satisfactory biography of Vani Mehmed Efendi as an advocate of Kadizadeli Movement see, "Chapter 5: Kadizadeli Movement: Vani Efendi vs. Niyazi-i Misri" in Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadizadeli Movement", 149-179.

²²³ Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident", 6.

The question of whether or not Kadızadeli puritan ideologies became a decisive factor over any steps of this ceremonial is difficult to answer. However, as far as it is understood from the sources under investigation, it seems that Vani Mehmed did not or could not interfere with the content of the festival. Or, in the mean time (from the time of the sharpest disputes held between the Kadızadelis and the Sufis to the festival time), the strict Kadızadeli ideologies and the movement might undergo a gradual alteration and transformed into a more moderate fashion as a result of the reactions from the society. Otherwise, some elements which were accepted as blameworthy innovations by Kadızadelis would not have been observed during the festival.

For instance, in spite of the strong antagonistic attitude of Kadızadelis towards coffee drinking, it was a widespread and the most frequent activity of the festival. Every day before and after banquets, coffee was offered to the invitees by the *baltacı*s without any exception. It is described in each primary account a countless number of times.²²⁴ For instance, on the third day the feast for the *imams*, *hatıbs* and importance *şeyhs* started with coffee service. Soon after the meal, they drank coffee once more.

Secondly, the melodic recitation of the Kur'an, the call to prayer and the eulogy of the Prophet were other disputes among the Kadızadelis and the moderate Sufis.²²⁵ Chanting the Kur'an and the *nat-ı şerif* was a practice that must be forbidden according to the Kadızadeli preachers. On the twelfth day of the festival, a *mevlüd* programme was held in honour of the princes' circumcision in Edirne Selimiye Mosque. Vani Mehmed Efendi was also there and preached a sermon in the *kürsü* prior to the citing eulogy by *müezzins*.²²⁶

²²⁴ Abdi, *Sur-i pür Sürur-i Hümayun*, 48 (v.117a), 50 (v.13/a), 51 (13/b), 53 (15/a) and so on.

²²⁵ Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement", 245-248.

²²⁶ Hazerfan, *Telhisü'l- Beyan*, 234.

Just by looking at the positions of the Kadizadeli figures in this festival, it is impossible to have a final word about the influence of the Kadizadeli movement in general and Vani Mehmed Efendi in particular on the society and the state around the time of this festive occasion. It needs a separate and comprehensive study before making a general comment. As of now, the research brought to light their achievement on the attacks on Sufis and dervish lodges. Until the failed Vienne Siege in 1683 they succeeded temporarily in influencing state policies towards the Sufis and caused the exile of some Sufi leaders as well as the demolition of a few Sufi lodges by the state. For the other social and religious topics like coffee drinking and the eulogy of the Prophet, it is necessary to make an overall research about the social, economic and religious conditions of the period.

At least, within the scope of this study, it can be argued that the ideologies of the Kadizadeli movement could not penetrate into the festival under consideration or as I claimed above, their philosophies had already evolved in time. The first part of Chapter IV also ensures this argument. If there had been an effect, it would have been necessary to find differences about the contents of the celebrations and the social participation in the festive occasions in 1675 compared to the pre and post grandiose festivals. In comparison to the festivals of 1582 and 1720 - the former took place in a time in which no orthodox movement prevailed and the latter in the Era of Tulip (*Lale Devri*) whose main features were accepted as luxury and excessive extravagance-, the 1675 festival was held in so to say 'a relatively piety-dominated period'. However, in the resources, no restriction of religious authorities in the nature of the entertainment and performances can be found. All kinds of men of talent displayed or performed their various shows freely like in the other Ottoman festivals. Moreover, the participation of people from various social strata into the ceremonials also makes certain the relaxed atmosphere during the entire festival. It is obvious from the resources that the women and non-Muslim groups could join in the events at least as in the same degree as before.

On the other hand, naturally, during the festival Vani Mehmed Efendi was still respected by the Sultan and the other members of the imperial court whether as the *hünkar imamı* of the Sultan or the foremost figure of Kadızadelis. The Sultan always appealed to Vani Mehmed Efendi for the role of fulfilling religious rituals of the circumcision festival such as preaching a sermon during *mevlüd* programme or praying to God before circumcising the Princes. In addition, he was often offered by the Sultan the robes of honour or other precious gifts such as furs. However, as it understood from the sources, he never had a privilege as more than the official head of religious authority of the state (*şeyhülislam*). Even the location of his tent in the festival site, and the order in which he kissed the Sultan hand and the wealth of gifts presented to him and to the *şeyhülislam* confirm the idea of his limited significance.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The imperial circumcision festival for the princes of the Sultan Mehmed IV in 1675 was the greatest ceremonial occasion of the 17th century Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, it stands out as a perfect means to explore the meaning and symbols behind Ottoman festivals. With its ceremonial occasions, processions, parades and traditions such as offering banquets and gifts as well as every kind of popular and spectacular entertainment, the festival of 1675 attracted me to evaluate it within its historical context.

In this thesis, the festival of 1675 was explored from different aspects. First, the formation, preparations and agenda of the festival were put under the scope. Afterwards the festival was scrutinized in terms of its elements to display the authority, power and generosity of the organizer (the Ottoman Sultan in this case) as well as the elements used as a reminder of the strict protocol order prevailing in the Ottoman state and society over centuries. Later on, the festival was examined closely regarding the multiplicity in its participants. An exploration was made on the atmosphere of the ceremonial, in which so many members of various social strata could enjoy the entertainments. Finally, from the information about the gifted books, I attempted to understand the intellectual culture of the period.

The festival of 1675 with its all diverse elements seemingly continued the traditions of the previous Ottoman imperial festivals. The common characteristics of Ottoman royal festivity culture prevailed in the case of the 1675 festival.

While looking closely at the scale of preparations, expenditures and employments, it was seen that similar to the festivals of before and after, here again, no expense was spared in planning all kinds of pompous

celebrations and entertainments. The concern was to impress the subjects of the Sultan and the foreign rulers in order to confirm their loyalties and this idea was dominant during each step of the festival. Everything was organized in a way to convey political message of the ruler claiming his sovereignty and magnificence.

Moreover like the others, this festival also functioned as a reflection of the highly hierarchical nature of the Ottoman state. It was always used to remind to the Ottoman officers of their limited power and authority in front of the absolute source of the power. Therefore, the presence of strict protocol rules manifested itself in the course of the organization.

Whole popular and spectacular entertainments, theatrical and circus performances in the festival of 1675 were planned and carried out for the participation and the pleasure not only of a privileged few but for the whole public. Therefore, it is quite common to encounter active or passive participants from rather diverse social groups in the festive occasions. The women were at the present, of course in line with the social norms regulating their outside life; members of various guild artisans were also sides of this festival as well as non-Muslims groups and a considerable amount of children.

In the case of making a comparison between the festival at hand with the two other greatest festivals of the Empire (the ones in 1582 and 1720), it seems that the former could not reach the latter in terms of the scale of the festive occasions. This deduction is made out of some comparative figures of three festivals cited throughout the thesis such as the differences in the duration, the numbers of employees, invitees, guilds groups, sugar-made decorations and circumcised boys, the variety of dishes and performances.

As for the question of whether the influence of Kadızadeli fundamentalist ideologies can be traced within the stages of on-going festival, it is difficult to find an answer. Before starting to seek such an influence, it is necessary first

to make a satisfactory study about the extent to which the Kadızadeli philosophy gained acceptance by the society and the state at the time of this *sur-i hümayun*. A statistical inference is needed about the success of the issues in Kadızadeli reform agenda. Then it might be meaningful to look for whether the presence of leading Kadızadeli figures changed any rituals of the festival. Considering wide-ranging entertainments and celebrations of the festival, any restrictions caused by pious tendencies do not come out. Moreover, by looking at the protocol rules, the Kadızadeli figures (Vani Mehmed Efendi and Feyzullah Efendi) never had a privilege more than the one of the official head of religious institutions (the *şeyhülislam*) as well as the administrators from top- ranking class.

On the other hand, during the foregoing study, I came across behaviors that the Kadızadeli were completely against such as drinking coffee and the eulogy of the Prophet. Still, it is too early to recognize them as a signal for losing their effects. From the time of coffee's entrance into Ottoman realms at the second half of the 16th century, for example, there had been attempts to abolish it in different periods but it never completely achieved. On the other side the eulogy of the Prophet was a rather established tradition, dating back for centuries. It seems impossible to make the public give it up easily.

It can be said that the prestigious Kadızadeli figures took part in the festival and did not intervene in its rituals. However, as I have reported from Hedda-Reindl-Kiel, the existence of an influential fundamentalist group played a partial role in shaping the intellectual culture of the age. Their roles also might be investigated in the increasing number of religious books offered to the Sultan by Ottoman dignitaries. Moreover, it can be also explored whether their orthodox religious discourse might be a reason both for illustrated works to become out of fashion as well as for the lack of miniatures concerning the festival at hand. Since they require a separate search, these questions could not have found their answers within the scope of this master degree thesis.

Then again, in regard to financing the festival, it is difficult to make satisfactory analysis because first I am not an expert yet on the Ottoman economic system of the 17th century and second there is a paucity of the sources relating to the total amount of the festival expenditure. Thanks to an archival register, we are informed about the amount of money given from inner treasury (*Enderun Hazinesi*) for festival expenditures. Additionally, we have large archival lists of the gifted items to the Sultan. However, these are still not enough to expose the total cost of the festival and to what extent it could be compensated with these gifts. Another ambiguity about the sufficiency of the quantity taken from the inner treasury comes to existence that whether the monetary sources of outer treasury was used or extraordinary taxes were levied on public. At this conjecture, we should also state that there were not even clear-cut boundaries between the state / outer treasury and the inner treasury which served rather as a royal privy purse.

We also do not know exactly the regulative rules about the place in which all gifts for the Sultan would be hoarded. After the festival, which items were to put where? Were all of them kept in the Inner Treasury or were some of them sent to the Outer one? In the state archives, there is a document, *müfredat defteri*, which shows how some gifted objects were disposed or utilized later. It proves that at least some gifts were taken out of the inner treasury and were distributed among different officials or institutions by the order of the Sultan.²²⁷ In that purpose, *Acemioğlanlar*, for instance, were delivered 39 turban muslins (*destâr*) and 39 *donluk* plain light satin (*sade atlas*) while 1 *münakkaş peşkir* together with 10 razors (*sim saplı ustura*), 1 scissors (*mikraz*), 1 prayer rug (*münakkaş seccade*) were sent to the barbers of Istanbul.²²⁸ We also know the common tendency to transfer gifts of precious metals to the state treasury in order to melt down and make into coins. However, it is not still obvious enough that how the remaining gifts were used. What about the invaluable books, for instance, may be they were

²²⁷ TSMA, D.7857, "Müfredat Defteri". In the appendix part you will find the examples of this 6 pages document.

²²⁸ TSMA, D.7857, fol.2.

sent to the palace library or to different provinces as well as they might be re-offered to the various Ottoman dignitaries.

These questions make the further researches of the subject possible. Perhaps in the future, the policies of financing the grandiose royal festivals in general and the festival of 1675 in particular could be analyzed. Second the extent of the influence of the Kadızadeli ideologies over the society in different decades can be researched in depth.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTIONS of ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

1. Enderun Hazinesi Masraf Defteri (TSMA, D. 118)

(fol.1)

Mah-ı mezbûr fi 13 de vârid olan hatt-ı hümâyûn mûcibince sûr-i hümâyûn levâzımı ve mesârifi için Defterdar Ahmed Paşa'ya ber vech-i karz teslim olunması fermân buyurılan beher kesesi beşer yüz olmak üzere yüz kese Riyâl kuruş ve beher kesesi beşer yüz kırk beşer buçuk olmak üzere yüz elli kese Esedî kuruş ve beher kesesi yirmişer bin para olmak üzere iki yüz elli kese zikr olunduğu üzere Ruznamçe-i evvel Hüseyin Efendi yediyle ber-mûceb-i hatt-ı hümâyûn teslim olunmuştur.

(fol.2)

Sene-i mezbûrun şehr-i Rebûlevvel guresinde vârid olan Hatt-ı Hümâyûn mûcebince berây-ı sûr-ı sünnet-i hümâyûn devletlü Vâlide Sultân hazretlerine beş bin altun ve beher kesesi altmışar bin olmak üzere yüz kese para-yı Mısırî Haseki Sultan hazretlerine beş bin altun ve beher kesesi altmışar bin olmak üzere seksen kese para-yı Mısırî ve Kadın Hazretlerine bin aded altun ve altmışar bin olmak üzere on kese para-yı Mısırî ile kırkar bin olmak üzere iki kese cedîdî akçe zikr olunduğu üzere mecmuî yalnız onbir bin altun ve yüz doksan kese para-yı Mısırî ile iki kese cedîdî akçe ber-mûceb-i hatt-ı hümâyûn Hazinedar Ali Ağa yediyle harem-i şerîfe teslim olunmuştur.

2. Hediye Defteri (TSMA, D. 154)

(fol.3)

1086 şehri Rebiülevvel guresinde, şevketlü, inâyetlü, mehâbetlü Sultan Mehemed Han-ı Gâzi Ebu'l- Feth-i Sâni -*hullidet hilâfetuhû* hazretlerinin Şehzadegân-ı Civân-baht Sultan Mustafa ve Sultan Ahmed-*tavvela'llahu ömrehümâ* hazretlerinin sûr-i hitânları için mahrûsa-yı Edirne'de Saray Ovası nam sahrâ matrab [a] otağ-ı hümayun-ı padişâhî olup huzur-ı hümayun-ı padişâh-ı meymenet-makrûn-ı Osmanî üzere bi-hasebi'l-merâtib rikâb-ı hümayûna gelen pîşkêşlerdir ki beyan olunur.

**Pîşkêş-i Hazret-i Sadrazam
Ahmed Paşa:**

- 1-Ba- hatt-ı Şükrullah *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- *Kitâbu Mahzenü'l-esrâr ve Şeyh Nizamî* ba- hattı Şah Mahmûd cild (1)
- 3- *Kitâbu Tuhfetü'l- ebrâr Molla Câmi* cild (1)
- 4- Murassa' altun kase ma'a kapak ve tabak aded (1)
- 5-Tahta semmûr kürk aded (1)
- 6-Tahta vaşak semmûr kürk aded (1)
- 7-Sade kutnî donluk aded (12)
- 8-Sade Hatâyî donluk aded (12)
- 9-Telli Hatâyî donluk aded (12)
- 10-Sade atlas donluk aded (12)
- 11-Zencîr-i bâb donluk aded (12)
- 12- Mukaddem kuşak kî'ta (12)
- 13-İstanbul serâseri top (12)
- 14-Telli kadife donluk aded (12)

**Pîşkêş-i Vezîr-i Sâni Hazret-i
Mustafa Paşa el-Musâhib:**

- 1-İncili mücevher zarflı ba-hatt-ı Abdülbaki cild (1)
- 2-Kitâbu *Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât* cild (1)
- 3-Murassa' şemşîr-i Şam kî'ta (4)
- 4- Sîm pîş-tahta saati aded (1)
- 5-Musavver pîş-tahta saati kî'ta (1)
- 6-İstanbul ve Acem serâseri kî'ta (8)
- 7-Diyâr-ı Acem donluk aded (12)
- 8-Telli kadife donluk aded (8)
- 9-Telli Hatâyî donluk aded (8)
- 10-Sade Hatâyî donluk aded (8)
- 11-Def'a sade Hatâyî donluk aded (12)
- 12- Kitresiz taraklı atlas donluk aded (20)
- 13-Sade çubuklu Frengî hâre donluk (16)

- 14-Hindî kutnî donluk (16)
- 15-Hindî atlas atlas donluk (16)
- 16-Sade Frengî atlas donluk (12)
- 17-Tahta semmûr kürk (1)

**Pîşkêş-i Vezîr-i Sâlis Hazret-i
Kâim-makâm Mustafa Paşa:**

- 1-*Kelâm-ı Şerîf* ba- hatt-ı Yâkutü'l-Musta'simî cild 1
- 2-Tahta semmûr kürk (1)
- 3- Vaşak tahta kürk (1)
- 4-Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk (8)
- 5-Sade atlas donluk (28)
- 6-Sade Hatâyî donluk (28)
- 7-Telli kadife donluk (12)
- 8-Sade hâre donluk (12)
- 9-Telli donluk (12)

(fol.4)

**Pîşkêş-i Vezîr-i Râbi' Hazret-i
Defterdâr Ahmed Paşa:**

- 1-Murassa' sorguç kî'ta (1)
- 2-Murassa' raht kî'ta (1)
- 3-Murassa' enselik kî'ta (1)
- 4-Murassa' palan kî'ta (1)
- 5-Tahta semmûr kürk (1)
- 6- Vaşak tahta kürk (1)
- 7-Sade kutnî donluk (12)
- 8-Destâr aded (8)
- 9-Telli Hatâyî donluk (28)
- 10-Telli sade Hatâyî donluk (28)
- 11-İstanbul serâseri adet (12)
- 12-Çiçekli kadife donluk (12)
- 13-Sade hâre donluk (12)
- 14-Sade atlas donluk (24)
- 15-Sagîr kî'ta asma saat (1)

**Pîşkêş-i Vezîr-i Hâmis Hazret-i
Yusuf Paşa:**

- 1-Şamî ve Acem dîbâsı donluk (8)
- 2-Sade Hatâyî donluk (8)
- 3-Sade kutnî donluk (8)
- 4-Sade hâre donluk (4)

5-Sade atlas donluk (4)

**Pîşkêş-i Vezîr-i Sâdis Tevkii
Abdurrahman Paşa:**

- 1- *Kitâb-ı Tefsîr-i Kâdı* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Tertîb-i dünya* cild 1
- 3- Sîm murassa' devât
- 4- Çiçekli kadife donluk 8
- 5- Sade Hatâyî donluk 8
- 6- Acem dîbâsı 8
- 7- Sade atlas 8
- 8- Destâr 8
- 9- Kücuret (?) 8
- 10-Sade kutnî 8

Pîşkêş- i Faziletlü ŞeyhüIslâm:

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Buharî* cild 1
- 3- Keşmirî şâl 6
- 4- Mütenevvi'a kutnî 6
- 5- Sof top 3
- 6- Fağfûrî sarı kase ma'a kapak 1
- 7- Fağfûrî mavi kase ma'a tabak 1
- 8- Fağfûrî kase ma'a tabak 1

**Saadetlü Şehzâde Mustafa
Hazretlerine:**

- 1-*Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2-*Tefsîr-i Kâdı* cild 1
- 3-*Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild 1

**Şehzâde Sultan Ahmed
Hazretlerine:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Tefsîr-i Kâdı* cild 1
- 3- *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild 1

**Pîşkêş-i ŞeyhüIslâm-ı Sâbık
Faziletlü Yahya Efendi:**

- 1- *Kitâb-ı Sahîh-i Buharî* cild 1
- 2- Sarı fağfûrî kase ma'a tabak 1

(fol.5)

**Pîşkêş-i Faziletlü Nakîbü'l-
eşrâf Mevlana Mehemed
Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild (19)
- 2- *Sahîh-i Buharî* cild (1)
- 3- *Mevâhibü'l- ledünniyye* cild (1)
- 4- *Kuhistânî* cild (1)
- 5- Burûcî Germsud kit'a (2)
- 6- Şâl-ı Keşmirî aded (4)
- 7- Hindî Kutnî (4)
- 8- Putadârî kutnî (4)
- 9- Sof top 3

**Pîşkêş-i Faziletlü Hekimbaşı
Mustafa Efendi Mevlana:**

- 1-*Kitâbu Kısas-ı Enbiya* kit'a-yı
kebir cild (1)

**Pîşkêş-i Faziletlü Rumeli
Kazaskeri Mevlana:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Buharî* cild (1)
- 3- *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild (1)
- 4- Destâr(6)
- 5- Keşmirî şâl (6)
- 6- Zencîr-i bâb (6)
- 7- Sade kutnî aded (6)
- 8- Telli putadârî (3)
- 9- Atlas-ı Hindî (4)
- 10-Sof top (3)

**Pîşkêş-i Faziletlü Anadolu
Kazaskeri Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Buharî* cild (1)
- 3- *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild (1)
- 4- Destâr (6)
- 5- (6)
- 6- Zencîr-i bâb (6)
- 7- Sade kutnî (4)
- 8- Putadârî (3)
- 9- Sof top (4)

Pîşkêş-i Mevlana İstanbul Kadısı:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cildi (1)
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Mesnevî* cild (1)
- 3- Kemhâ donluk (4)
- 4- Atlas donluk (4)

Pîşkêş-i Mevlana Edirne Kadısı Mehemed Efendi:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- *Nefehât-ı Molla Câmi* cild (1)
- 3- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk (1)
- 4- Münakkaş kadife donluk (1)
- 5- Frengî atlas donluk (4)
- 6- Hindî Kutnî donluk (7)
- 7- Sade Hatâyî donluk (7)

(fol.6)

Pîşkêş-i Mevlana Mehemed Efendi Mısır Kadısı:

- 1- *Kitâb-ı Subha* cild (1)
- 2- İstanbul serâseri aded (3)
- 3- Hatme donluk (3)
- 4- Atlas top (5)
- 5- Kutnî aded (4)
- 6- Kemhâ donluk (3)
- 7- Destâr mütenevvi'a (10)
- 8- Burûcî alaca aded 10

Pîşkêş-i Galata Kadısı Mehemed Efendi:

- 1- *Tefsîr-i Celâleyn* cild (1)
- 2- *Fetâvâ-yi Kādihan* cild (1)
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk (2)
- 4- Kemhâ donluk (2)
- 5- Hindî kutnîsi aded (2)

Pîşkêş-i Selânik Kadısı Mehemed Efendi:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- Frengî atlas donluk (5)

- 3- Hindî kutnî aded (5)
- 4- Kemhâ-yı Frengî (3)
- 5- Destâr-ı Hünkârî (3)
- 6- Dîbâ -yı Acem (3)
- 7- Frengî hâre donluk (3)

Pîşkêş-i Kadı-yı İzmir Mevlana Mehemed Efendi:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild (1)
- 2- Dîbâ -yı serâser aded (5)
- 3- Destâr aded (5)
- 4- Atlas donluk (5)
- 5- Kemhâ-yı Frengî (3)
- 6- Kutnî Hindî (5)
- 7- Mukaddem aded (5)

Pîşkêş-i Kadı-yı Şâm-ı Şerîf Mevlana Abdü'l'baki Efendi:

- 1- *Kitâb-ı Subhatü'l -ebrâr ma'a Tufhetü'l- ebrâr* cild (1)
- 2- Serâser aded (3)
- 3- Çatma serâser aded (3)
- 4- Kemhâ donluk (3)
- 5- Hindî-yi kutnî (5)
- 6- Frengî atlas donluk (5)
- 7- Destâr aded (10)
- 8- Burûcî alaca (10)

Pîşkêş-i Kadı-yı Yenişehir Mevlana Seyyid Mehemed Efendi:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- Şîb dîbâ aded 2
- 3- Sade atlas donluk 5
- 4- Hindî kutnî 5
- 5- Mukaddem aded 2
- 6- Destâr mütenevvi'a 2
- 7- Kemhâ-yı Frengî 2

(fol.7)

Pîşkêş-i Hazret-i Vâlide-i Sultan Kethüdâsı Mustafa Efendi:

- 1- *Kitâbu Şemâ'ilü'n-Nebi* cild 1
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 6
- 4- Sade Hatâyî 3
- 5- Kitresiz atlas donluk 3

**Pîşkêş-i Hazret-i Haseki Sultan
Kethüdâsı Hızır Ağa:**

- 1- Şamî ve Acem dîbâsı donluk 6
- 2- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Atlas donluk 3

**Pîşkêş-i Şehzâde Efendi Hacesi
Feyzullah Efendi:**

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâbu Durer ve Gurer* cild 1
- 3- *Kitâbu'l-Eşbâh [ve]'n-Nezâir* cild 1
- 4- *Kitâbu Mir'âtü'r-Rü'yâ* cild 1
- 5- Cevahir billûr devât 1
- 6- Seccade aded 1

**Pîşkêş-i Hazret-i İmâm-ı
Şehriyâri:**

- 1- Sûzenî mak'ad1

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Mısır Hazret
Hüseyin Paşa:**

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- Murassa' altun şemşîr 1
- 3- Tahta semmûr kürk 1
- 4- Tahta vaşak kürk 1
- 5- Dikme abâyî 3
- 6- Serâser abâyî 4
- 7- Zer-baft abâyî 1
- 8- Zer-baft balin 2
- 9- Zer-baft minder 1
- 10- Zer-baft iskemle örtüsü 1
- 11- Harir kalıçe 1
- 12- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 13- Sîm maşraba 9
- 14- Sîm tas 9
- 15- İstanbul serâseri top 9

- 16- Çiçekli kadife 9
- 17- Putadârî 9
- 18- Kadife donluk 9
- 19- Frengî kemhâ 9
- 20- Kırmızı kemhâ 9
- 21- Sade Hatâyî 9
- 22- Hâre donluk 9
- 23- Frengî atlas 9
- 24- Taraklu atlas donluk 9
- 25- Kitresiz atlas donluk 9
- 26- Def'a atlas donluk 9
- 27- Hind kutnîsi 27
- 28- Bayram podu 9
- 29- Mardin peşkiri 9
- 30- Hatâyî burûcî 9
- 31- Beyaz destâr 50
- 32- Algördü 10
- 33- Mütenevvi'a gördü destâr 10
- 34- Beyaz gördü destâr 10
- 35- Zer-kâr şerbeti (?)10
- 36- Üstlük zer-kâr 10
- 37- Uslebân denk (?) 1
- 38- Od-i mülebbes şişe 20
- 39- Şeker kafes 200

(fol.8)

**Pîşkêş-i Cidde Beyi Mehemed
Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Acem dîbâsı donluk 5
- 3- Çiçekli kadife aded 5
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 5
- 5- Frengî atlas donluk 5
- 6- Kutnî-yi Hindî aded 5
- 7- Destâr aded 5

Pîşkêş-i Masraf Defterdârı:

- 1- Acem dîbâsı donluk 2
- 2- Çiçekli kadife donluk 2
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 2
- 4- Frengî atlas donluk 2
- 5- Mukaddem aded 2
- 6- Hind-i kutnî 2
- 7- Destâr-ı mütenevvi'a 4

Pîşkêş- i Kapudan Paşa:

- 1- Bir kabza murassa' şemşir
- 2- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 3- Sîm maşraba 9
- 4- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik aded 5
- 5- İstanbul serâseri 9
- 6- Çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 7- Telli atlas aded 9
- 8- Şâl-ı Keşmirî kıt'a 9
- 9- Sade Hatâyî donluk 9
- 10-Hindî kutnisi aded 9
- 11-Taraklı atlas aded 9

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i mîran-ı Kıbrıs
Mehemmed Paşa**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî aded 5
- 2- Sîm maşraba aded 5
- 3- Sîm tebsi aded 5
- 4- Acem dîbâsı donluk 4
- 5- Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Atlas donluk 4
- 7- Hind kutnîsi 4
- 8- Destâr-ı mütenevvi'a aded 4

**Pîşkêş-i Mora Sancağı
Mutasarrıfı Hasan Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Sîm maşraba 5
- 3- Sîm tebsi 5
- 4- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 5- Telli kadife 4
- 6- Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 7- Hind kutnîsi aded 4
- 8- Destâr-ı mütenevvi'a 4

**Pîşkêş-i Rodos Sancağı
Matasarrıfı Abdü'lkadî Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 3- Atlas donluk 4
- 4- Hatâyî donluk 4
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hindî 4
- 6- Destâr-ı köse 4

**Pîşkêş-i Sakıs Sancağı Beyi
Hüsâm Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Atlas donluk 3
- 4- Hatâyî donluk 3
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hindî 3

(fol.9)**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i livâ-yı Eğriboz Ali
Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Atlas Frengî donluk 3
- 4- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 5- Hind-i kutnî 3

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i livâ-yı Midilli
Mehemmed Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Atlas Frengî donluk 3
- 4- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 5- Destâr aded 3

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i livâ-yı Mezistre
Osman Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Atlas Frengî donluk 3
- 4- Telli Hatâyî 3
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hindî 3

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i livâ-yı İnebahtı
Mustafa Bey:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 2
- 2- Atlas donluk 3
- 3- Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Destâr aded 3

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i livâ-yı Suğla
Mustafa Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sÛrâhî 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 3- Atlas donluk 3
- 4- Hatâyî telli donluk 3
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind 3

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Erzurum Vezîr
Hazret Ömer Paşa:**

- 1- Semmûr tahta kürk 1
- 2- Vaşak tahta kürk 1
- 3- Sîm sÛrâhî aded 9
- 4- Sîm maşraba 9
- 5- Sîm tebsi 9
- 6- Dîbâ -yı Acem ve İstanbul donluk 9
- 7- Çiçekli kadife 9
- 8- Hatâyî donluk 9
- 9- Kitresiz atlas donluk 9
- 10-Atlas-ı Hindî 9
- 11-Hindî kutnî 9
- 12- Destâr-ı mütenevvî'a added 9

**Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i mîran-ı Çıldır
Arslan Mehmed Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sÛrâhî 9
- 2- Acem serâseri donluk 9
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 9
- 4- Çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 5- Kitresiz atlas donluk 9
- 6- Kutnî-yi Hindî 9
- 7- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 9
- 8- Gulâm nefer 9

(fol.10)

**Pîşkêş-i Sipâhiyân Ağası
Mahmûd Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 2- Frengî kadife donluk 3
- 3- Taraklı atlas donluk 3
- 4- Gulâm nefer 3

**Pîşkêş-i Silâhdâr Ağası Hasan
Ağa**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Frengî donluk 3
- 2- Çiçekli kadife donluk 3
- 3- Taraklı atlas donluk 3
- 4- Gulâm nefer 3

**Pîşkêş-i ber vechi tegaüd
Kocaeli Sancağı Mutasarrıfı
Vezîr Mehmed Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sÛrâhî 5
- 2- Serâser aded 5
- 3- Çatma aded 5
- 4- Benek kutnî aded 5
- 5- Frengî kemhâ aded 5
- 6- Frengî atlas donluk 5
- 7- Kutnî-yi Bağdâdî aded 5
- 8- Mukaddem kuşak 5

**Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Bostancı
başısı Osman Ağa:**

- 1- Semmûr kürk aded 1
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 4- Telli atlas donluk 4
- 5- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 6- Sade hâre donluk 4

**Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne-i Saadet
Kâim-makâm Vezîr İbrahim
Paşa:**

- 1- Tahta semmûr kürk 1
- 2- Serâser aded 7
- 3- Kadife donluk 7
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 7
- 5- Çukadanlık donluk 7
- 6- Frengî atlas donluk 7
- 7- Gulâm nefer 5

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr-ı Anadolu:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb Nizâmî-yi Hamse* cild 1
- 3- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 4- Zencîr-i bâb 3
- 5- Kadife donluk 3

- 6- Hatâyî donluk 4
- 7- Şâl-ı Keşmirî aded 3
- 8- Hindî kutnî 2
- 9- Destâr-ı Hünkârî aded 10
- 10-Gulâm nefer 2

**Pîşkêş-i Küçük Defterdâr
Recep Efendi:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 2- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Sade kadife donluk 1
- 5- Sade atlas donluk 2
- 6- Putadârî donluk onluk 2
- 7- Kutnî-yi Hind 2

(fol.11)

**Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne-i Emîn-i
Gümrük Hasan Ağa:**

- 1- Elmas ile murassa'lîca kuşak 10
kıt'a
- 2- İstanbul serâseri donluk 4
- 3- Acem dîbâsı donluk 4
- 4- Telli sade donluk 4
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Çiçekli kadife donluk 4
- 7- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 8- Sade hâre donluk 4
- 9- Londrina çuka donluk 4

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Diyârbekir
Vezîr-i Kable Mustafa Paşa:**

- 1- Tahta semmûr kürk 1
- 2- Tahta vaşak kürk 1
- 3- Sîm sürâhî aded 9
- 4- Sîm maşraba 9
- 5- Sîm tebsi aded 9
- 6- Acem serâseri aded 9
- 7- Telli Hatâyî donluk 8
- 8- Çiçekli kadife donluk 8
- 9- Kitresiz atlas donluk 8
- 10- Hindî atlas aded 8
- 11-Kutnî-yi Hind aded 8
- 12-Destâr-ı Hünkârî 8

**Pîşkêş-i Cezire Hakimi
Abdullah Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 4
- 2- Sîm maşraba 4
- 3- Sîm tebsi 4
- 4- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Çiçekli kadife donluk 4
- 7- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 8- Atlas-ı Hind donluk 4
- 9- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 4
- 10-Destâr-ı Hünkârî 4

**Pîşkêş-i Hazzo Hakimi Murad
Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 4
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 4- Çiçekli kadife donluk 4
- 5- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 11-Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 4
- 6- Atlas-ı Hind donluk 4
- 7- Destâr-ı Hünkârî aded 4

**Pîşkêş-i İmadiyye Hakimi
Kadir Bey:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 5
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 4- Çiçekli kadife donluk 5
- 5- Kitresiz atlas donluk 5
- 6- Taraklı atlas donluk 5
- 7- Atlas Hindî donluk 5
- 8- Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 5
- 9- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 10-Destâr-ı Hünkârî 5

(fol.12)

Pîşkêş-i Bursa Kadısı:

- 1- *Tefsîr-i Kādî ma'a Ebussu'ûd*
ve *Hâşiye-i Şeyh-zâde* cild 1
- 2- Serâser donluk aded 2

- 3- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 2
- 4- Giritî ve nohudî Hatâyî donluk 2
- 5- Duhavi döşek 2

Pîşkêş-i Filibe Kadısı:

- 1- *Kitâb- ı Mültekâ* cild 1
- 2- Atlas donluk 2
- 3- Hâre donluk 2
- 4- Telli sandal donluk 2

Pîşkêş-i Manisa Kadısı:

- 1- *Tenvîrû'l- ebsâr* cild 1
- 2- Kemhâ donluk 2
- 3- Atlas donluk 2
- 4- Kutnî donluk 2
- 5- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 2

Pîşkêş-i Erzurum Kadısı:

- 1- *Dîvân-ı Hâfiz* 1
- 2- Kutnî donluk 3
- 3- Destâr aded 3
- 4- Şâl-ı Keşmirî aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Ankara Kadısı:

- 1- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 3
- 2- Sof top 2
- 3- Atlas donluk 3

Pîşkêş-i Eyüb Kadısı:

- 1- *Sadrü'ş- şerî'a* cild 1
- 2- Atlas donluk 2
- 3- Kemhâ donluk 2
- 4- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 2

Pîşkêş-i Konya Kadısı:

- 1- *Kuhistân* cild 1
- 2- Destâr 2
- 3- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 2
- 4- Atlas donluk 2

Pîşkêş-i Ekmekçiler ve Değirmenciler:

- 1- Yasdik Burusa 8
- 2- Döşeme-yi Burusa aded 2

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Haffâfları:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik aded 2
- 2- Çizme çift aded 1 teslim-i Harem-i Şerîf

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Attârları:

- 1- Sîm maşraba aded 3
- 2- Sîm sini aded 3

(fol.13)

Pîşkêş-i Ağa-yı Yeniçeriyân-ı Dergâh-ı Ali:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* ba cild-i murassa' cild 1
- 2- Semmûr kürk tahta 1
- 3- Vaşak kürk tahta 1
- 4- Sîm çekmece saati kıt'a 1
- 5- İstanbul serâseri donluk 4
- 6- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
- 7- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 8- Telli kadife donluk 4
- 9- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 10- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 11- Gulâm re's 10

Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Bağdat Abdürrahman Paşa:

- 1- Semmûr kürk tahta 1
- 2- Vaşak kürk tahta 1
- 3- Anber-i miskâl 200
- 4- Sîm maşraba 9
- 5- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 6- Sîm tebsi 9
- 7- Serâser donluk 9
- 8- Zencîr-baf donluk 9
- 9- Putadârî donluk 9
- 10- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 9

- 11-Telli badle 9
- 12-Atlas Hindî donluk 9
- 13-Destâr-ı Hünkârî aded 18

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Basra Vezîr
Hüseyn Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Sîm maşraba 9
- 3- Sîm tebsi 9
- 4- Hind tası 9
- 5- Zer-bâf 9
- 6- Putadârî 9
- 7- Badle 9
- 8- Hatâyî donluk 9
- 9- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 9
- 10-Atlas Hindî donluk 9
- 11-Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 9
- 12-Destâr 18

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Musul Hasan
Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm şamdan 2
- 2- Sîm kahve bakracı 2
- 3- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 5
- 4- Şamî dîbâ donluk 5
- 5- Sade Hatâyî donluk 5
- 6- Şâl-ı Keşmirî aded 5
- 7- Kitresiz atlas donluk 5
- 8- Destâr-ı a'lâ 5

**Pîşkêş-i Şam-ı Trablus Hasan
Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 9
- 3- Telli atlas donluk 9
- 4- Kitresiz atlas taraklı donluk 9
- 5- Hatâyî donluk 9
- 6- Çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 7- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 9
- 8- Atlas-ı Hind donluk 9

(fol.14)

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Girid İbrahim
Paşa:**

1. Sîm sürâhî 5
2. Sîm maşraba 9
3. Sîm tebsi 9
4. Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
5. Çiçekli kadife donluk 4
6. Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
7. Kemhâ donluk 4
8. Frengî atlas donluk 4
9. Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 4
10. Destâr aded 5

**Pîşkêş-i Kethüdâ-yı
Kuyumciyân:**

1. Zencîr-baf ve putadârî 5
2. Destâr 5
3. Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
4. Telli sûsî 5
5. Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Mîr-i âlem Yusuf Ağa:

- 1- Dîbâ donluk 5
- 2- Çiçekli kadife donluk 2
- 3- Hatâyî donluk 2
- 4- Frengî atlas donluk 5

**Pîşkêş-i Kuyucubaşı
Abdüllatif Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ donluk 2
- 2- Kadife donluk 1
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Kuyucubaşı Ömer
Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ donluk 2
- 2- Kadife donluk 1
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Kuyucubaşı Mustafa
Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ donluk 2
- 2- Kadife donluk 1
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Kuyucubaşı Doğancı
Osman Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ donluk 2
- 2- Kadife donluk 1
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Çavuşbaşı Mehemmed
Ağa:**

- 1- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 2- Destâr 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

**Pîşkêş-i Eğri Eyaletine
Mutasarrıf Vezîr Ali Paşa:**

- 1- Sim leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sim kahve ibriği 1
- 3- Duhavi kadife 4
- 4- Telli sade donluk 4
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Sade atlas donluk 4
- 7- Taraklı atlas donluk 4
- 8- Destâr-ı mütenevvi'a 4

(fol.15)

**Pîşkêş-i Varad Eyaletine
Mutasarrıf Vezîr Mehemmed
Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 2
- 2- Sîm maşraba 2
- 3- Telli kadife donluk 4
- 4- Sade kadife donluk 4
- 5- Kitresiz taraklı atlas donluk 4
- 6- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 7- Destâr 4

**Pîşkêş-i Hersek Sancağı
Mutasarrıfı Ali Paşa:**

- 1- Bakır yıldızlı leğen ma'a ibrik 3
- 2- Bakır yıldızlı buhûrdân 3

- 3- Bakır yıldızlı gülabdân 3
- 4- Bakır yıldızlı ferraşane 3
- 5- Çiçekli kadife donluk 4
- 6- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 7- Atlas Frengî donluk 4

**Pîşkêş-i Mirâhur-u Evvel
İbrahim Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 2- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 3
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 5- Gulâm re's 5

**Pîşkêş-i Mir-i âhûr-u Sâni
Ahmed Ağa:**

- 1- Acem serâseri donluk 1
- 2- Telli kadife donluk 2
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3

Pîşkêş-i Arpa Emîni Efendi:

- 1- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 2- Destâr 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

**Pîşkêş-i Edirne Bostancıbaşı
Nasuh Ağa:**

- 1- Şâmi sade donluk 3
- 2- Telli Hatâyî donluk 3
- 3- Sade atlas donluk 3
- 4- Sade hâre donluk 3

**Pîşkêş-i Çakırcıbaşı Şâhin
Mustafa Paşa:**

- 1- Serâser donluk 1
- 2- Atlas donluk 2
- 3- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 2
- 4- Kemhâ donluk 4
- 5- Benek kumaş donluk 1
- 6- Mukaddem aded 2

Pîşkêş-i Şâhincibaşı Hasan**Ağa:**

- 1- Serâser donluk 1
- 2- Kemhâ donluk 2
- 3- Atlas donluk 1
- 4- Benek kumaş donluk 1
- 5- Çatma aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Ekmekçibaşı Dilaver**Ağa:**

- 1- Çatma aded 1
- 2- Kemhâ donluk 1
- 3- Bağdâdî merre donluk 2

(fol. 16)**Pîşkêş-i Türkmen Ağası:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 2- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 3- Hâre donluk 4
- 4- Sade atlas donluk 4
- 5- Kutnî-yi Bağdâdî donluk 4
- 6- Keşmirî şâl 4
- 7- Kuşak 4
- 8- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 10

Pîşkêş-i Bakkalân-ı Âsitâne:

- 1- Sîm şamdan aded 2
- 2- Sîm şamdanlı tebsi aded 2
- 3- İstanbul serâseri top 5
- 4- İstanbul zer-baftı 4
- 5- Zer-baft-ı Acem aded 1
- 6- Fağfûrî buhûrdân ma'a gülâbdân aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Bakkalân-ı Edirne:

- 1- Sîm kavanoz aded 1
- 2- Sîm badiye aded 1
- 3- Sîm şerbet tası aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Kassabân-ı Koyun der Âsitâne:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik aded 1
- 2- Sîm gülâbdân ma'a buhûrdân 1
- 3- Sîm şamdan aded 1
- 4- Sîm tebsi aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Kassabân-ı Edirne:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik aded 2
- 2- Kebir sîm maşraba aded 2
- 3- Sîm şamdan aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Mumcıyân-ı Âsitâne:

- 1- Sîm şamdan 1

Pîşkêş-i Mumcıyân-ı Edirne:

- 1- Sîm şamdan ma'a mikrâz aded 1
- 2- Sîm tebsi aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Kassabân-ı Sığır der Âsitâne:

- 1- Sîm şamdan 1
- 2- Sîm gülâbdân ma'a buhûrdân aded 1
- 3- Sîm maşraba aded 1
- 4- Sîm leğen ibrik aded 1
- 5- Sîm kebir tebsi aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne-i Yedikule Debbağları:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm şamdan 2
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1
- 4- Elvan sahtiyan 22

(fol.17)**Pîşkêş-i Edirne Debbağları:**

- 1- Yıldızlı sim leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm maşraba kebir 2
- 3- Sîm sürâhî 2

- 4- Def'a sîm sürâhî 2
- 5- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsîtâne Eskicileri:

- 1- İncili çizme 1
- 2- İncili fular 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Postalcıları:

- 1- Sîm rikâb aded 1

Pîşkêş-i Re'îsü'l- Küttâb Efendi:

- 1- Destâr-i Hünkârî 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Emîn-i Defter:

- 6- Destâr 5
- 7- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 8- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 9- Telli sûsî 5
- 10-Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Emîn-i Şehr:

- 1- Destâr 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Emîn-i Matbah:

- 1- Destâr 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Emîn-i Tersane:

- 1- Destâr 5

- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

(fol.18)

Pîşkêş-i Rûznâmçe-i Evvel:

- 1- Destâr 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Başmuhasebeci:

- 1- Destâr 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Mukâbeleci:

- 1- Destâr 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Kâtib-i Yeniçeriyân –ı Dergâh-ı Ali:

- 1- Destâr-ı Hünkârî aded 5
- 2- Zencîr-baf ma'a putadârî 5
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 4- Telli sûsî 5
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Uyvar Beylerbeyisi Mustafa Paşa:

- 1- Sîm-i sürâhî 6
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 8
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 6
- 4- Taraklı atlas donluk 8
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind donluk 8

- 6- Destâr 8
- 7- Gulâm re's 14

Pîşkêş-i Erdel Hakimi

- 1- Sîm sofrâ 1 pare 7
- 2- Sîm maşraba 10
- 3- Sîm şamdan 2
- 4- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1

Pîşkêş-i Dubro-Venedik (Dubrovnik) Beyleri:

- 1- Frengî atlas donluk 18
- 2- Telli Hatâyî donluk 10
- 3- Kırmızı kadife donluk 2
- 4- Sîm tas 12
- 5- Şamî kâfûrî 12

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Gazzâzları:

- 1- Mücevher ön kuşak 1
- 2- İncili sırma çapraz takım 1
- 3- Som kerre kuşak 2
- 4- Som sırmalı tapkur 5
- 5- Som sırmalı dizgin 5

(fol.19)

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Bezzâzları:

- 1- Al çuka üzerine zer-dûz seccade 1
- 2- Kadife zer-dûz boğça 1
- 3- Telli badle 2
- 4- Destâr 4
- 5- Kenarlı bez top 2
- 6- Makreme 3
- 7- Sırmalı makreme 1
- 8- Mirzâyî bogasi 2
- 9- Kılardanlı boğça 1

Pîşkêş-i Kuyumcular:

- 1- Kuyumcubaşı kollarından incilü yelpaze 1
- 2- Sîm boğça kıt'a 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Sarrâçları:

- 1- Sîm matara 1
- 2- Sîm kemer-i raht 1
- 3- Zer-dûz matara 1
- 4- Sırmalı matara 1
- 5- Zer-dûz mum sofrası 1

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr-ı Şam-ı Şerîf:

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 2
- 2- Dîbâ -yı Şam donluk 1
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 1
- 4- Atlas donluk 2
- 5- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 4
- 6- Mukaddem 2
- 7- Kutnî-yi Hind 2
- 8- Destâr 4

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr-ı Bosna:

- 1- Bakır yıldızlı buhûrdân ma'a gülabdân 3
- 2- Bakır yıldızlı leğen ma'a ibrik 6
- 3- Bakır yıldızlı ferrâşhane 3
- 4- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 1
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 1
- 6- Şamî dîbâ donluk 1
- 7- Çubuklu hâre donluk 3
- 8- Londrine çuka donluk 3

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr-ı Karaman:

- 1- Telli kadife donluk 3
- 2- Telli hâre donluk 3
- 3- Frengî atlas donluk 3
- 4- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 5- Kuntî-yi Hindî donluk 3
- 6- Gulâm re's 1

Pîşkêş-i Haleb Muhassılı:

- 1- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 2- Zencîr- baf 4

- 3- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 4- Bağdâdî merre 4
- 5- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Başlıları:

- 1- Sîm buhûrdân ma'a gülabdân
1
- 2- Sîm kahve ibriği 1

(fol. 20)

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Kılıçlıları ve Bıçaklıları:

- 1- Tiğ kabza 1
- 2- Namlu 2
- 3- Altun bıçak 2
- 4- Kalemıraş 4
- 5- Tırnak bıçağı 4

Pîşkêş-i Bezestân-ı Edirnevi:

- 1- Mertabânî sagîr kı'ta tabak
ma'a kapak 8
- 2- Sîm kemer-i raht 4
- 3- Fağfûrî leğen ma'a ibrik 1

Pîşkêş-i Eski Bezestânlı Âsitâne:

- 1- Mücevher kaplı buhûrdân 1
- 2- Fağfûrî matara 1
- 3- Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Çuka donluk 3
- 5- Atlas donluk 3

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Başlıları:

- 1- Sîm sorguc 1
- 2- Sîm şamdan 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Kılıçlıları:

- 1- Sîm rikâb aded 1
- 2- Sîm kemer-i raht 1
- 3- Sade namlı 2

Pîşkêş-i Na'lbendân-ı Edirne:

- 1- Sîm na'1 8
- 2- Sîm mih 48
- 3- Sîm ber-bend 1
- 4- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Na'lbendân-ı Âsitâne:

- 1- Sîm tas ma'a kapak 1
- 2- Sîm tebsi 1
- 3- Sîm na'1 4
- 4- Sîm mih 24

Pîşkêş-i Âsitânede Sakin Yâhudiler:

- 1- Atlas zırâ' 2000

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Yâhudileri:

- 1- Atlas zırâ' 500

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Çakşırcıları:

- 1- Sîm gülabdân 5
- 2- Sîm buhûrdân 5
- 3- Sîm maşraba 1

Pîşkêş-i Arakçıyan-ı Âsitâne:

- 1- Som sırma arakçılık pare 10

(fol.21)

Pîşkêş-i Dülgerler:

- 1- Köşk ma'a döşeme 1
- 2- Fânûs ma'a iskemle 2
- 3- Sîm ...çiçek iskemlesi (Harem'e gitmiştir.)

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Kavukcuları:

- 1- Eyvanlı kadife donluk 1
- 2- Giritî kadife donluk 1
- 3- Al kadife donluk 1

4- Kırmızı kadife donluk 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Kavukcuları:

- 1- Sade Giritî kadife donluk 1
- 2- Sade eyvanlı kadife donluk 1
- 3- Sade kırmızı kadife donluk 1
- 4- Sade anber bûy kadife donluk 10

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Gazzâzları:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm tas 3
- 3- Som kuşak 5
- 4- Som tapkur 5
- 5- Som dizgin 5

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Hallâçları:

- 1- Zer-dûz yasdık 2

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Hallâçları :

- 1- Zer-dûz yasdık 2

Pîşkêş-i Yorgancıyân-ı Edirne:

- 1- A'lâ yorgan kıt'a 4

Pîşkêş-i Eflak Voyvodası:

- 1- Sîm abdest leğeni 1
- 2- Sîm ibrik 1
- 3- Def'a sîm leğen 1
- 4- Sîm ibrik 1
- 5- Sîm şamdan 3
- 6- Sîm hoşab tası ma'a kapak 4
- 7- Sîm kebir ve sagîr maşraba 6
- 8- Sîm sagîr ve kebir kahve ibriği 5
- 9- Sîm kebir tebsi 2
- 10- İstanbul serâseri 10
- 11- Şamî dîbâ donluk 10
- 12- Telli Hatâyî donluk 10
- 13- Telli hâre donluk 10
- 14- Sade çiçekli Hatâyî donluk 10
- 15- Telli atlas donluk 10

- 16- Beyaz atlas donluk 10
- 17- Sırmaî atlas donluk 10
- 18- Sarı atlas donluk 10
- 19- Kırmızı atlas donluk 10
- 20- Yeşil atlas donluk 10
- 21- Destâr 10
- 22- Hindî kutnî donluk 10

(fol.22)

Pîşkêş-i Bazergânân-ı Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn:

- 1- Mücevher buhûrdân 1
- 2- Dîbâ otağ perdesi 1
- 3- Venedik dîbâsı zırâ' 120
- 4- Zer-dûz seccade 1
- 5- Zencîr-baf 5
- 6- Hindî sûzenî mak'ad 4
- 7- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 2
- 8- Sîm sini 2
- 9- Sîm tas 4

Pîşkêş-i Yanova Beylerbeyi Mehmed Paşa:

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 2- Sîm şemşîr 9
- 3- Sîm tebsi 9
- 4- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 9
- 5- Çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 6- Putadârî aded 9
- 7- Sade Hatâyî donluk 9
- 8- Sade hâre donluk 9
- 9- Frengî atlas donluk 9
- 10- Hindî kutnî donluk 9

Pîşkêş-i Kürkçüler:

- 1- Semmûr kürk tahta 2
- 2- Vaşak kürk tahta 2
- 3- Semmûr dane 4

Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan Rumeli Kazaskeri Olan İzzettin Efendi:

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild 1

- 3- *Dîvân-ı Hâfız* cild 1
- 4- Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 5
- 5- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 6- Badle 3
- 7- Atlas donluk 3
- 8- Sof top 3
- 9- Putadârî 3
- 10-Destâr 6

**Pîşkêş-i Anadolu
Kazaskerliği Payesiyle Sabıkan
İstanbul Kadısı Olan İsa
Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cildi 1
- 2- *Sahîh-i Buharî* cild 1
- 3- *Hidâye* cild 1
- 4- Zencîr-baf 3
- 5- Putadârî 3
- 6- Badle
- 7- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 8- Destâr 6
- 9- Kutnî-yi Hindî donluk 5
- 10-Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 11-Sof top 3

(fol.23)

**Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan Anadolu
Kazaskeri Olan Mustafa Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Buharî* cild 1
- 3- *Kitâb-ı Şeyh Sa'dî* cild 1
- 4- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 5- Zencîr-baf 3
- 6- Hatâyî donluk 3
- 7- Münakkaş buruc 3
- 8- Atlas Hindî donluk 3
- 9- Sof top 3
- 10-Destâr 6
- 11-Kutnî-yi Hindî 5

**Sabıkan İstanbul Kadısı Olan
Mevlana Hamid Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Hidâye* cild 1

- 3- *Kitâb-ı Sadrü'ş-şerî'a* cild
- 4- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 5- Zencîr-baf 3
- 6- Putadârî 3
- 7- Badle 3
- 8- Destâr 6
- 9- Kutnî-yi Hindî 4
- 10-Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 11-Sof top 3

**Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan İstanbul
Kadısı Olan Abburrahimzade
Mevlana Mehemed Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Yevâkîtü'ş-Şa'rânî* cild 1 (?)
- 3- *Durer Gurer* cild 1
- 4- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 5- Zencîr-baf 3
- 6- Putadârî 3
- 7- Badle 3
- 8- Kutnî-yi Hindî 4
- 9- Sof top 3

**Pîşkêş-i Sofya Kadısı Mevlana
Mehemed**

- 1- *Sadrü'ş-şerî'a* cild 1
- 2- Atlas Frengî donluk 2
- 3- Hatâyî donluk 2
- 4- Kutnî-yi Hindî 2

**Pîşkêş-i Belgrad Kadısı
Mevlana Seyyid Abdu'lbaki:**

1. *Kuhistân* cild 1
2. Atlas Frengî donluk 2
3. Kutnî-yi Hindî 2
4. Kemhâ donluk 2
5. Destâr 2

**Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan Rumeli
Kazaskeri Olan Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Mesâbih-i Şerîf* cild 1
- 3- *Külliyât-ı Şeyh Sa'dî* cild 1

- 4- Murassa' billûr kabzalı yelpaze
1
- 5- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 4
- 6- Zencîr-baf 3
- 7- Putadârî 3
- 8- Badle 3
- 9- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 6
- 10-Kutnî-yi Hindî 5
- 11-Atlas-ı Frengî donluk 4
- 12-Sof top 3

(fol.24)

**Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan İstanbul
Kadısı Olan Mevlana Bâlizâde:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Buharî Şerhi* cild 1
- 3- *Durer ve Gurer* cild 1
- 4- Zencîr-baf 3
- 5- Putadârî 3
- 6- Badle 3
- 7- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 8- Destâr 5
- 9- Lebeddâr (?) 3
- 10-Kutnî-yi Hindî 2
- 11-Sof top 2

**Pîşkêş-i Sabıkan İstanbul
Kadısı Olan Mehemed
Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Kitâb-ı Buharî* cild 1
- 3- Zencîr-baf 3
- 4- Badle
- 5- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 6- Destâr 5
- 7- Putadârî 3
- 8- Kutnî-yi Hindî 3
- 9- Sof top 2
- 10-Atlas Hindî donluk

**Pîşkêş-i İstoni-Belgrad
Sancağı Beyi İbrahim Bey:**

- 1- Münakkaş seccade 5
- 2- Ma'den-i cedid şamdan 2

- 3- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 4
- 4- Hâre donluk 4
- 5- Kumaş donluk 4

**Pîşkêş-i Budin Defterdârı
Musallî Efendi:**

- 1- Sade kadife donluk 2
- 2- Telli hâre donluk 2
- 3- Atlas Frengî donluk 2
- 4- Atlas Hindî donluk 2
- 5- Destâr 4
- 6- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 2

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Mûytâbcıları:

- 1- Sîm rikâb 1
- 2- Sîm kemer-i raht 1

**Pîşkêş-i Edirne Okcuları ve
Yaycıları:**

- 1- Keman kabza 2
- 2- Ok deste 2

**Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Okcuları ve
Yaycıları:**

- 1- Yay-ı kabza 2
- 2- Ok deste 2

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Arpacıları:

- 1- Sîm raht 1
- 2- Sîmli Fağfûrî gülabdân ma'a
buhûrdân 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Mûytâbcıları:

- 1- Sîm rikâb 1
- 2- Sîm kahve ibriği 1
- 3- Sîm merbend 1
- 4- Sîm gülabdân ma'a buhûrdân
1

(fol.25)

Pîşkêş-i İstanbul Çakşırcıları:

- 1- Sîm gülabdân ma'a buhûrdân
2
- 2- Sîm şamdan 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Hayyâtları:

- 1- Sîm şamdan 1
- 2- Sîm kahve ibriği 1
- 3- Sîm buhûrdân ve gülabdân 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Hayyâtları:

- 1- Dîbâ -yı mak'ad 2.
- 2- Sîm buhûrdân ma'a gülabdân
1
- 3- Sîm kahve ibriği 1
- 4- Sîm maşraba 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne ve Edirne Çadırcıları:

- 1- Mükemmel sâyeaban 1
- 2- Sîm bâdiye-i kebir 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Berberleri:

- 1- Sîm leğen 1
- 2- Sîm satıl 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1
- 4- Sırmalı berber peşkiri ma'a
makreme 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Arpacıları:

- 1- Sîm şüng (?) 1
- 2- Sîm rikâb 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Nalçacıları:

- 1- Sîm şamdan 1
- 2- Sîm kahve ibriği 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1
- 4- Sîm na'lça 4

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Aşçıları:

- 1- Martabânî tabak
- 2- Martabânî kase

Pîşkêş-i Kudüs-ü Şerîf ve Gazze Sancaklarına Mutasarrıf Emîr El-Hac Musa Paşa:

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 10
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 10
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 10
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 10
- 5- Frengî atlas donluk 10
- 6- Kutnî-yi Hindî 10
- 7- Destâr 10

(fol.26)**Pîşkêş-i İstanbul Patriği:**

- 1- Simlice billûr maşraba 1
- 2- Sîm sürâhî 2
- 3- Sîm maşraba 2
- 4- Sagîr ve kebir tebsi 4
- 5- Leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 6- Sîm şamdan 2
- 7- Sîm sandûk 1
- 8- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 2
- 9- Kemhâ donluk 8
- 10-Atlas Frengî donluk 8

Pîşkêş-i Sayda-Beyrut Beylerbeyisi İsmail Paşa:

- 1- Sîm maşraba 4
- 2- Sîm sürâhî 4
- 3- İstanbul serâseri 4
- 4- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
- 5- Telli Hatâyî 4
- 6- Atlas donluk 4
- 7- Şâl-ı Keşmirî aded 4
- 8- Hindî kutnî 4
- 9- Destâr aded 4

Pîşkêş-i Bazergânân-ı Mısır:

- 1- Londrina çuka zırâ' aded 800

- 2- Mütenevvi'a kumaş zırâ' aded 500

**Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Eski
Bezestânlı:**

- 1- Telli atma 3
- 2- Sîm sürâhî 3
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Semercileri:

- 1- Sîm maşraba 3
- 2- Sîm ber-bend 2

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Sarraçları:

- 1- Sîm leğen mea ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm maşraba 1
- 3- Sîm kemer-raht
- 4- Sîm kelbedan 1
- 5- Sîm çiçek bardağı 2
- 6- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Na'İçacıları:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm maşraba 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Aşçıları:

- 1- Sîm maşraba 1
- 2- Sîm kahve ibriği 1
- 3- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Semercileri:

- 1- Sîm sagîr semer 1
- 2- Sîm maşraba 3
- 3- Sîm tebsi 3

(fol.27)

**Pîşkêş-i Yanova Defterdârı
Mehemmed Efendi:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3

- 2- Zencîr-baf 3
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 4- Atlas Frengî donluk 3
- 5- Destâr 3

**Pîşkêş-i Diyârbekir Voyvadası
Abidin Ağa:**

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 2- Taraklı atlas donluk 3
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Frengî atlas donluk 3
- 5- Çiçekli kadife donluk 3
- 6- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 7- Hindî Kutnî 3
- 8- Destâr- ı Hünkârî 3

**Pîşkêş-i Üsküdar Kadısı
Mevlana Mustafa Efendi :**

- 1- *Kitâb- ı Hidâye* cild 1
- 2- Kutni- yi Hindî 2
- 3- Atlas Frengî donluk 2
- 4- Kemhâ donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Kayseriyye Kadısı
Mevlana Şaban Efendi:**

- 1- *Kitâb-ı İnâye* cild 1
- 2- Destâr aded 2
- 3- Telli hâre donluk 2
- 4- Sade atlas donluk 2

**Pîşkêş-i Budin Vâlisi Vezîr
İbrahim Paşa:**

- 1- Semmûr kürk tahta 1
- 2- Vaşak tahta kürk 1
- 3- Saat kıt'a 1
- 4- Sîm kova-yı kebir 9
- 5- Sîm keşkül 1
- 6- Devetabanı sim kadeh 2
- 7- Sîm nemekdan 2
- 8- Sîm kumkuma 2
- 9- Sîm buhûrdân 2
- 10- Sîm gaddare 9
- 11-Altun kılıç kabza 1
- 12-Sîm topuz 9

- 13-Zirh 9
- 14-Tulga 9
- 15-Serâser donluk 27
- 16-Mukaddem 9
- 17-Kutnî-yi Bağdâdî donluk 9
- 18-Tavâşî Ağa 2
- 19-Gulâm nefer 10
- 20-Sansun 3

**Pîşkêş-i Sâbikan Anadolu
Kazaskeri Olan Feyzullah
Efendi:**

- 1- *Mushaf-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- *Buharî* cild 1
- 3- *Letaifü'l- İşârât* cild 1
- 4- Putadârî 3
- 5- Kutnî-yi Hind 5
- 6- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 5
- 7- Zencîr-baf 3
- 8- Badle 3
- 9- Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 10-Destâr 6
- 11-Sof top 2

(fol.28)

**Pîşkêş-i Rakka Beylerbeyisi Ali
Paşa:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 5
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 5
- 4- Frengî hâre donluk 5
- 5- Frengî atlas donluk 5
- 6- Mukaddem aded 5
- 7- Hindî kutnî 5
- 8- Destâr 5

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Ekmekçileri:

- 1- Sîm şamdan ma'a mikraz 2
- 2- Sîm tebsi 2
- 3- Sîm buhûrdân 1
- 4- Sîm gülabdân 1

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Berberleri:

- 1- Sîm tas ma'a kapak 1
- 2- Sîm buhûrdân ma'a gülabdân 1
- 3- Sîm ustura kit'a 10
- 4- Sîm mikrâz 1
- 5- Münakkaş berber peşkiri 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Kalaycıları :

- 1- Sîm buhûrdân 1
- 2- Sîm gülabdân 1

Pîşkêş-i Âsitâne Kazancıları :

- 1- Sîm maşraba 3
- 2- Sîm buhûrdân ma'a gülabdân 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1

Pîşkes-i Âsitâne Yorgancıları :

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 2- Sîm kapaklı tas 1
- 3- Sîm tebsi 1
- 4- Tefârik yorgan 4

Pîşkêş-i Tokat Voyvodası:

- 1- Dîbâ -yı Acem donluk 3
- 2- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 3- Taraklı atlas donluk 3
- 4- Sade atlas donluk 3
- 5- Merre-yi Bağdâdî donluk 3
- 6- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 3
- 7- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 3
- 8- Mukaddem aded 3

Pîşkêş-i Kaniye Beylerbeyisi :

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 5
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 5
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 5
- 5- Frengî atlas donluk 5
- 6- Hindî Kutnî 5
- 7- Destâr 5

Pîşkêş-i Peçu Sancağı Beyi :

- 1- Sîm tebsi 2
- 2- Sîm maşraba 2
- 3- Sade kadife donluk 3
- 4- Frengî atlas donluk 3
- 5- Çeşm-i bülbül 3

(fol.29)

Pîşkêş-i Haleb Kadısı:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 3- Kutnî Hindî 4
- 4- Kemhâ donluk 3
- 5- Destâr 3
- 6- Zencîr-baf 3
- 7- Mukaddem 3

**Pîşkêş-i Bağdad Kadısı
Mevlana Ahmed Efendi:**

- 1- *Kitâb-ı Bûstân* cild 1
- 2- Zencîr-baf 2
- 3- Beyaz kemhâ donluk 2
- 4- Destâr 2
- 5- Hindî kutnî 4

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr-ı Bağdâdî:

- 1- Zencîr-baf ve kaldâri 4
- 2- Atlas Hindî ve kutnî 4
- 3- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 2
- 4- Mukaddem aded 2
- 5- Destâr 4

Pîşkêş-i Şehrizer Beylerbeyi:

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 5
- 2- Sîm maşraba 5
- 3- Sîm tebsi 5
- 4- Şamî dîbâ donluk 5
- 5- Putadârî 5
- 6- Hindî kutnî 5
- 7- Sade Hatâyî donluk 5
- 8- Destâr 5
- 9- Alaca kutnî 5

Pîşkêş-i Birecik Sancağı Beyi :

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 3
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 3
- 3- Sade Hatâyî donluk 3
- 4- Frengî atlas donluk 3
- 5- Hindi-yi kutnî 3
- 6- Mukaddem 3
- 7- Destâr-i Hünkârî 3

Pîşkêş Boğdan Voyvodasının:

- 1- Sîm şamdan 1
- 2- Sîm huni 1
- 3- Sîm leğen ma'a kapak 2
- 4- Sîm hoşab tası ma'a kapak 1
- 5- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 1
- 6- Sîm sürâhî ma'a kapak 2
- 7- Sîm sini 1
- 8- Sîm şamdan 2
- 9- Sîm maşraba ma'a kapak 2
- 10- Sîm kadeh ma'a kapak 12

(fol.30)

**Pîşkêş-i Şâm-ı Şerîf Yeniçeri
Ağası:**

- 1- Mütenevvi'a dîbâ donluk 4
- 2- Zencîr-baf 4
- 3- Kutnî-yi Hindî 4
- 4- Destâr 4

Pîşkêş-i Diyârbekir Kadısı:

- 1- *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* cild 1
- 2- Destâr 3
- 3- Kutnî-yi Hindî 3
- 4- Settâre 1

Pîşkêş-i Hakkari Hakimi:

- 1- Sîm leğen ma'a ibrik 2
- 2- Sîm maşraba 4
- 3- Sîm tebsi 4
- 4- Zencîr-baf 5
- 5- Putadârî 4

- 6- Hatâyî donluk 4
- 7- Atlas Frengî donluk 9
- 8- Hindî kutnî 9
- 9- Şâl-ı Keşmirî 4
- 10-Destâr-ı Hünkârî 18

Pîşkêş-i Basra Defterdârı:

- 1- Şâl-ı kuşak 4
- 2- Zencîr-baf ve putadârî 4
- 3- Hindî kutnî 4
- 4- Atlas Frengî donluk 4
- 5- Destâr-ı Hünkârî 4

Pîşkêş-i Edirne Esircileri:

- 1- Londrina elvan çuka donluk 100
- 2- Frengî atlas zırâ' 50

Pîşkêş-i Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn Ser-esircileri:

- 1- Zertari çekmedonluk 5

Pîşkêş-i Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn

.....

- 1- Fağfûrî gülabdân ma'a tabak 1
- 2- Sîm maşraba 2
- 3- Sîm sürâhî 1
- 4- Sîm sağîr tebsi

(fol.31)

Pîşkêş-i Musahib Mustafa Paşa'nın Nişan Günü Rikâb-ı Hümâyuna virdiğüdür:

- 1- Murassa' çaprazlı semmûr dîbâ fethiyye kit'a 1
- 2- Elmas ile murassa' sorguc kit'a 1
- 3- Şamî ve Acem dîbâsı donluk 16
- 4- Telli sade Hatâyî donluk 20
- 5- Çiçekli sade kadife donluk 4
- 6- Akmişe 40

- 7- Boğça 10

Pîşkêş-i Sadrazam Ahmed Paşa, der yevm-i mezbûr:

- 1- Elmas ile murassa'sorguc kit'a 1
- 2- Semmûr tahta kürk 1
- 3- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
- 4- Acem dîbâsı donluk 4
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 7- Telli atlas donluk 4
- 8- Sade kitresiz atlas donluk 4

Pîşkêş-i Defterdâr Hazret-i Ahmed Paşa der yevm-i mezbûr:

- 1- Semmûr tahta kürk 1
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 9
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 5- Telli atlas donluk 4
- 6- Kitresiz donluk 9

Pîşkêş-i Ağa-yı Yeniçeriyân Dergâh-ı Ali:

- 1- Semmûr tahta kürk 1
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
- 3- Acem dîbâ -yı donluk 4
- 4- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4
- 5- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 6- Telli atlas donluk 4
- 7- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4

(fol.32)

Pîşkêş-i Hazret Musâhib Mustafa Paşa Sûr-i Hümâyûn Tamama Erdiği Gün Şevketlü Hünkârımız Saraylarına Teşrîf Buyurdularında Virdiğüdür:

- 1- Kırmızı şâl-ı üşek kit'a 1
- 2- Şamî dîbâ donluk 4
- 3- Telli Hatâyî donluk 4

- 4- Sade Hatâyî donluk 4
- 5- Telli sade donluk 4
- 6- Sade hâre donluk 4
- 7- Telli atlas donluk 4
- 8- Kitresiz atlas donluk 4
- 9- Çukadanlık donluk 4

**Pîşkêş-i Şâm-ı Şerîf
Beylerbeyisi Hasan Paşa**

.....:

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 2- Sîm maşraba 9
- 3- Sîm tebsi 9
- 4- Destâr 18
- 5- Şamî dîbâ 9
- 6- Çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 7- Telli Hatâyî donluk 9
- 8- Kemhâ-yı Frengî donluk 9
- 9- Def'a kemhâ donluk 9
- 10-Atlas donluk 9
- 11-Şamî mukaddem 9
- 12-Def'a mukaddem 9
- 13-Miyân-bend 9
- 14-Kutnî-yi Bağdad 9
- 15-Mütenevvi'a yemeni 9

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Haleb Hazret-i
Vezîr İbrahim Paşa-yı Serdar:**

- 1- Sîm sürâhî 9
- 2- Sîm maşraba 9
- 3- Sîm tebsi 9
- 4- Destâr -ı mütenevvi'a 18
- 5- Telli Hatâyî donluk 9
- 6- Sade Hatâyî donluk 9, çiçekli kadife donluk 9
- 7- Kemhâ-yı Frengî donluk 9
- 8- Mütenevvi'a sof donluk 9
- 9- Def'a kemhâ donluk 9
- 10-Atlas Frengî donluk 9
- 11-Mukaddem kuşak 9
- 12-Miyân-bend 9
- 13-Şamî mukaddem 9
- 14-Mütenevvi'a kutnî 9
- 15- Yemeni aded 9

**Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Vilâyet-i
Cezayir**

- 1- Mercan tesbih
- 2- Tüfenk ma'a silâh aded 2
- 3- Surh ihrâm 2
- 4- Surh velençe 5
- 5- Mukaddem kuşak 6
- 6- Mukaddem sarık 6

(fol.33)

Pîşkêş-i Vâli-yi Vilâyet-i Tunus:

- 1- Sîm alem 3
- 2- Sahan 3
- 3-1
- 4- Velençe-i surh 8
- 5- Surh ihram 10
- 6- Harîr ihram 10
- 7- Hârîr mukaddem kuşak 20
- 8- Sîm rikâb added 3
- 9- Yıldızlı rikâb added 3

Pîşkêş Şerîf'den gelmiştir.

.....:

- 1- Destâr-i Hünkârî 20
- 2- Destâr-ı köse 20
- 3- Destâr-ı sadkezî (?) 20
- 4- Telli badle 4
- 5- Zencîr-i bâb 4
- 6- Telli sûsî 10
- 7- Def'a telli sûsî 10
- 8- Beyaz sûsî 10
- 9- Alaca sûsî 10
- 10-Alaca Burûcî 10
- 11-Def'a alaca Burûcî 10
- 12-Sade kutnî 20
- 13-Dülbend-I haşibe (?) 10
- 14-Şâl-ı cumâdâr (?) 4
- 15-Şâl-ı omuz (?) 4
- 16-Anber-i hâm dirhem 250
- 17-Ûd-ı mâverdı kıt'a 7

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES FROM ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

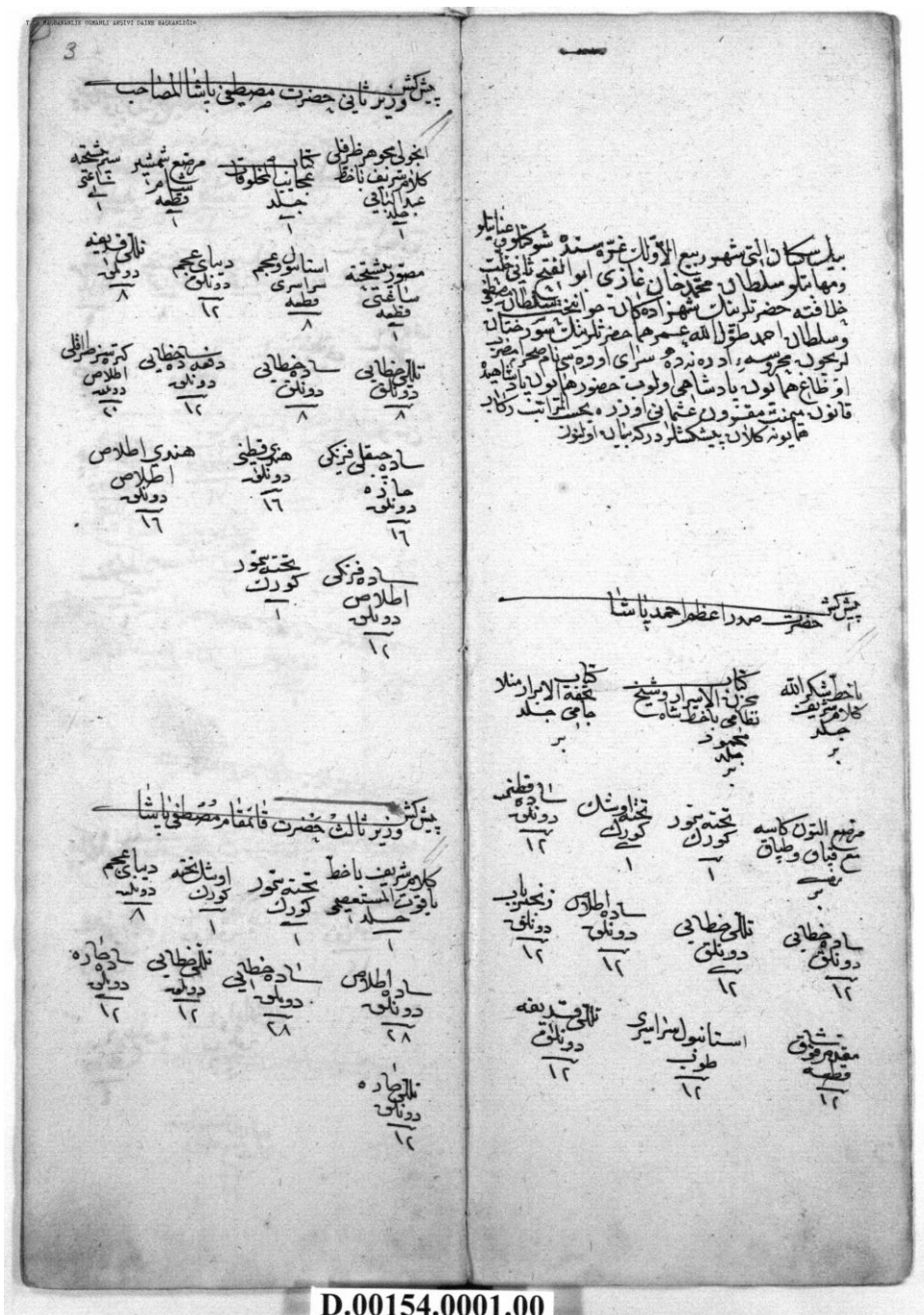


Figure 1: TSMA, D.154 fol.3: The document which lists the gifts offered to the Sultan by the grand vizier, the second and the third viziers.

پیشکش وزیراعلیٰ حضرت داور احمد پاشا

مرصع صوفی	مرصع خشت	مرصع کسک
قطعه	قطعه	قطعه
مرصع باران	تختخورد اوسانجه	دو قطعی
۱	۱	۱۲
دستار	لاله مطای	تالو و دونه مطای
۸	۸	۲۸
چهارمین	دو جاده	دو ایلان
دو قطعی	۱۲	۲۴
منه قطعه		
۱		

پیشکش وزیراعلیٰ حضرت یوسف پاشا

شاهی و عجم	دو قطعی	دو قطعی
دو قطعی	۸	۱۲
دو جاده	دو ایلان	دو قطعی
۴	۴	۴

پیشکش شیخ الاسلام دران صلیب و یحیی انیر

صاری سفینور	کاسه معطوب
۱	۱

پیشکش فضیلتو شیخ الاسلام

مخمس شریف	کاسه چای	کشمش
جلد	جلد	۱
صوف	تعمیر کمازی	تعمیر کمازی
۲	کاسه طبار	تعمیر کمازی
	۱	۱

پیشکش وزیراعلیٰ حضرت نورمحمد پاشا

کاشی	کاشی	کاشی
۱	۱	۱

پیشکش وزیراعلیٰ حضرت تارینه

مخمس شریف	تقسیم قاضی	کاشی
جلد	جلد	جلد
۱	۱	۱

D.00154.0001.00

Figure 2: TSMA, D.154. fol.4: The document which lists the gifts offered to the Sultan by the fourth, fifth and sixth viziers together with the old and new şeyhülislams.

بیتک استانبول ادرنه
 سیم نعل ۴۸
 سیم نمد ۱
 سیم تپسی ۱

بیتک استانبول قلمچاری و طلاکاری
 نغ فتنه نامی ۲
 النورچین فلزانش ۴
 طران بجانی ۴

بیتک قلمندار استانبول
 سیم طابع سیم تپسی ۱
 سیم نعل ۴
 سیم نغ ۴

بیتک برستان ادرنی
 مرطانی صفور قطعه سیم کرخت صفور کوی
 طبع مع قین ۸
 مع ایزد ۱

بیتک استانبول ده لاکر یهودی بار
 اطلاع
 زرغ ۳۰۰

بیتک اسکریستالی استانبول
 مجور قه صفور خطای جوقه درون
 مجور دان درون ۲
 اطلاع ۲
 درون ۲

بیتک ادرنه یهودی بار
 اطلاع
 زرغ ۳۰۰

بیتک ادرنه چشتر بار
 سیم کلید سیم مجور دان سیم شریه
 سیم کلید ۱
 سیم مجور دان ۱
 سیم شریه ۱

بیتک ادرنه طلاکاری
 سیم سر قع سیم شمشک سیم تپسی
 سیم سر قع ۱
 سیم شمشک ۱
 سیم تپسی ۱

بیتک مرغینچیان استانبول
 سیم مرده
 اطلاع
 زرغ ۳۰۰

بیتک ادرنه طلاکاری
 سیم کاب سیم کر سادانی
 سیم کاب ۱
 سیم کر ۱
 سادانی ۱

D.00154.0001.00

Figure 3: TSMA, D.154 fol.20: The document which lists the gifts offered to the Sultan by various artisan guilds of Edirne and Istanbul.

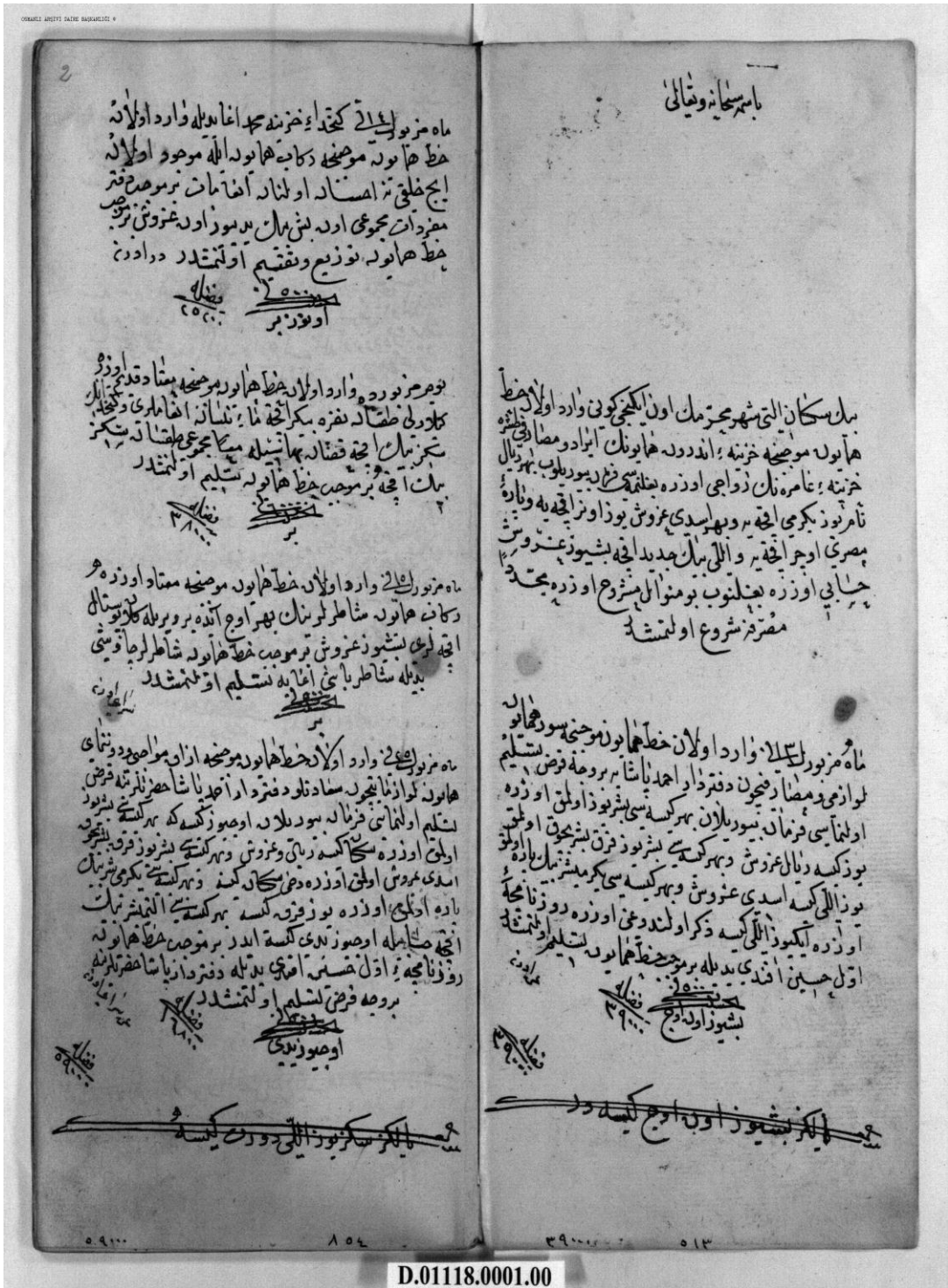


Figure 5: TSMA, D. 1118 fol. 2: A part of the account book of Inner Treasury (*Enderun Hazinesi*) documented the amount of money that given to the Defterdar Pasha for the expenditures of the festival.

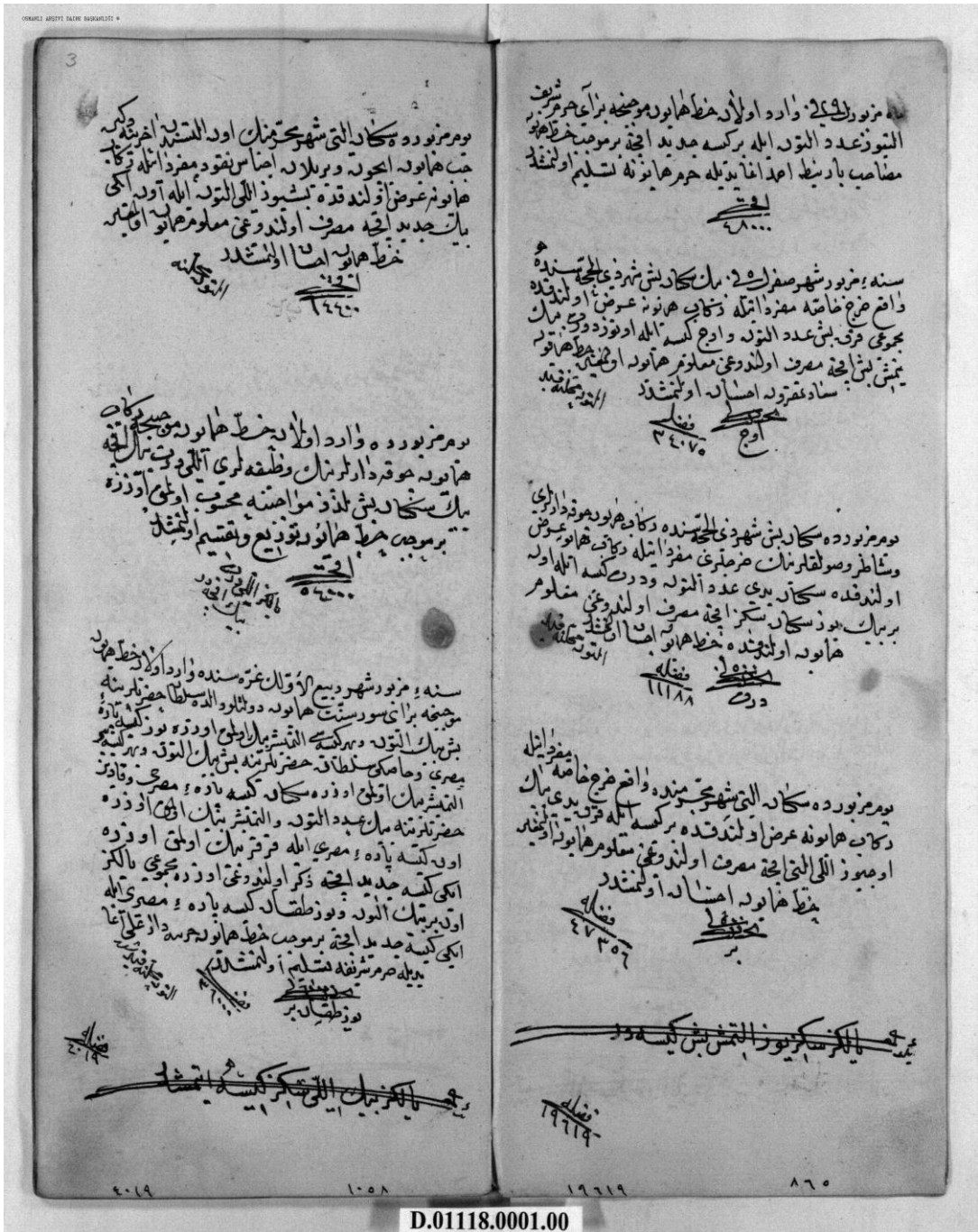


Figure 6: TSM, D. 1118 fol. 3: A part of the account book of Inner Treasury (*Enderun Hazinesi*) documented the amount of the money given to the women members of Ottoman Household to use during the preparations of the festival.

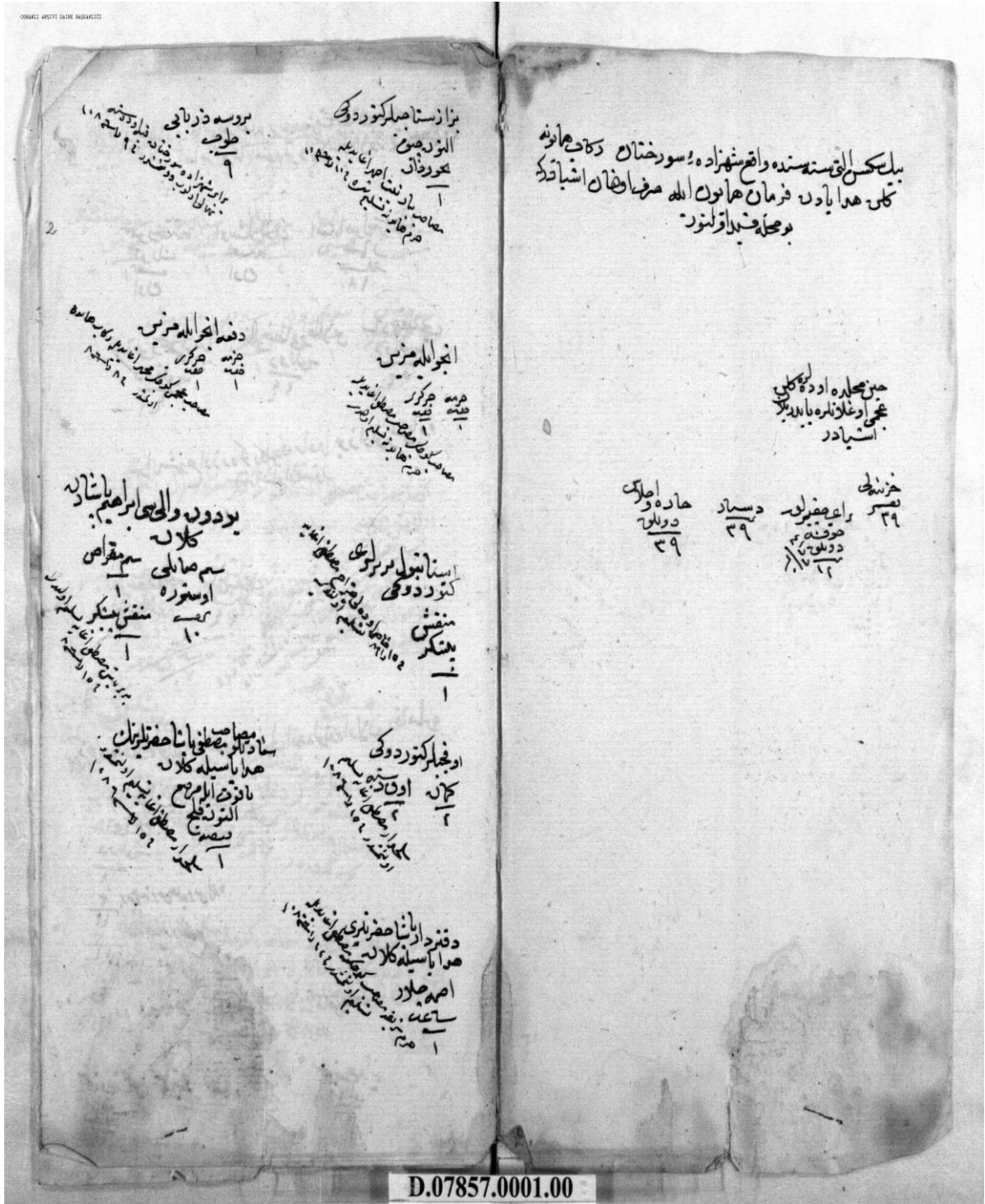


Figure 7: T.S.M.A, D.7857 fol.2: The document shows how the gifted items were redistributed by the order of the Sultan amongst the Ottoman officials or institutions.

APPENDIX C:

THE MINIATURES AND PICTURES ABOUT THE FESTIVALS²²⁹



Figure 8: The hand writing and drawings about the festival of 1675 by John Covell, a European traveller account who wrote an eye witnessed account.

²²⁹ The pictures and miniatures about the festival of 1582 and 1675 are taken from Metin And, 40 *Gün 40 Gece*, Istanbul: Toprakbank Yayınları, 2000 (1st published in 1959) while the entire miniatures of 1720 festival are taken from a website, <http://www.os-ar.com/levni/>

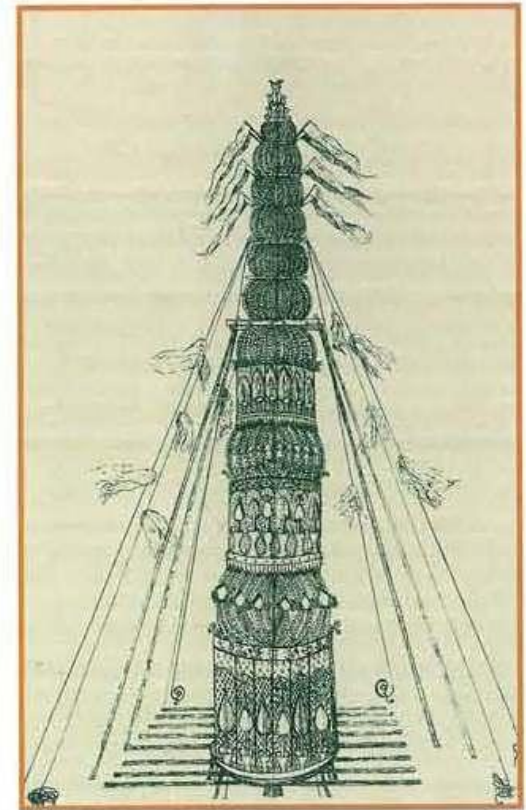
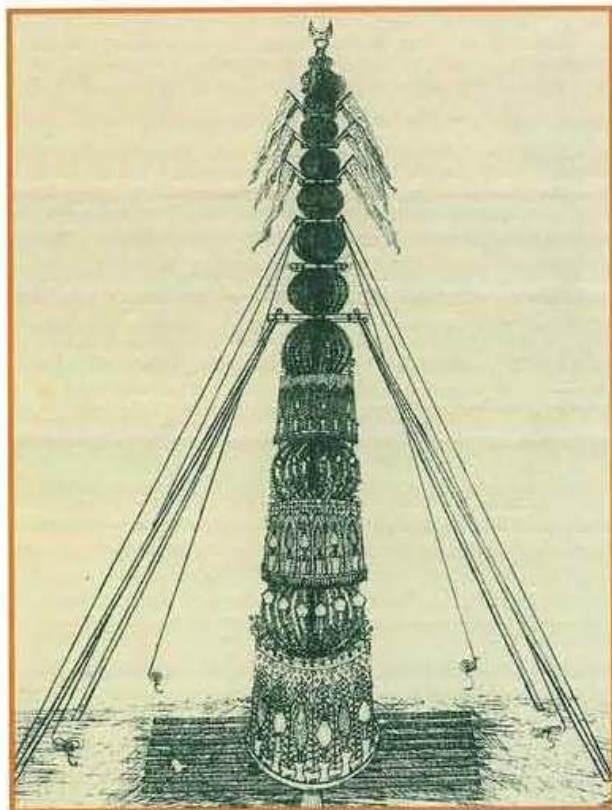
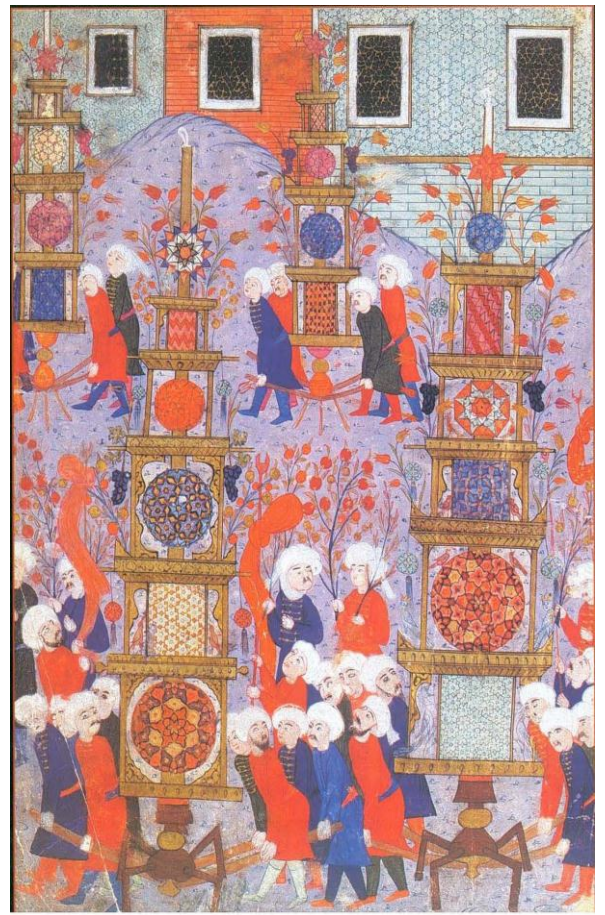
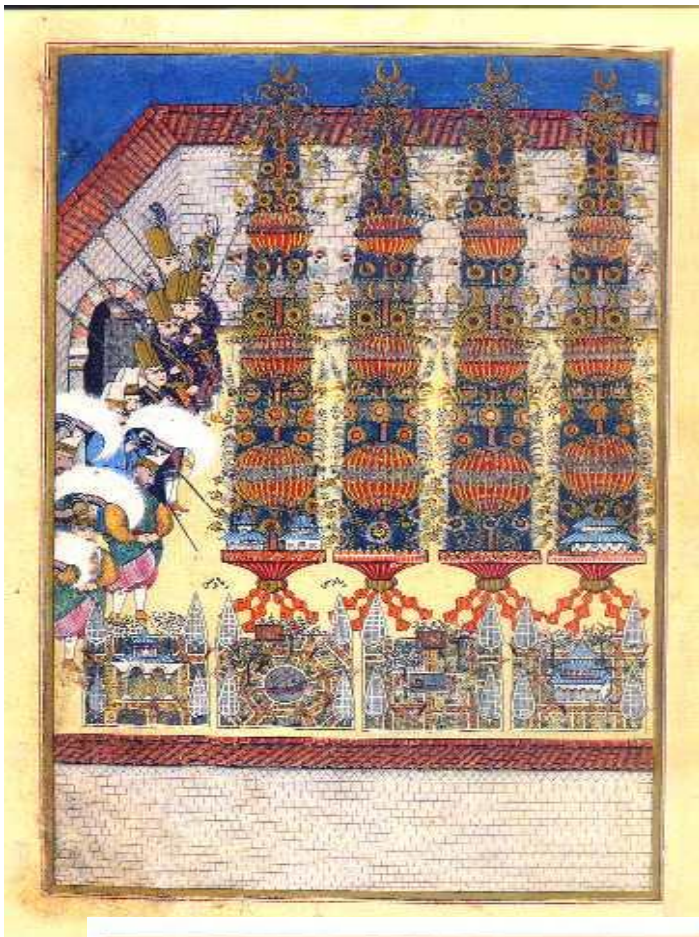


Figure 9: The *nahils* of the festivals in 1720, 1582 and 1675 respectively.

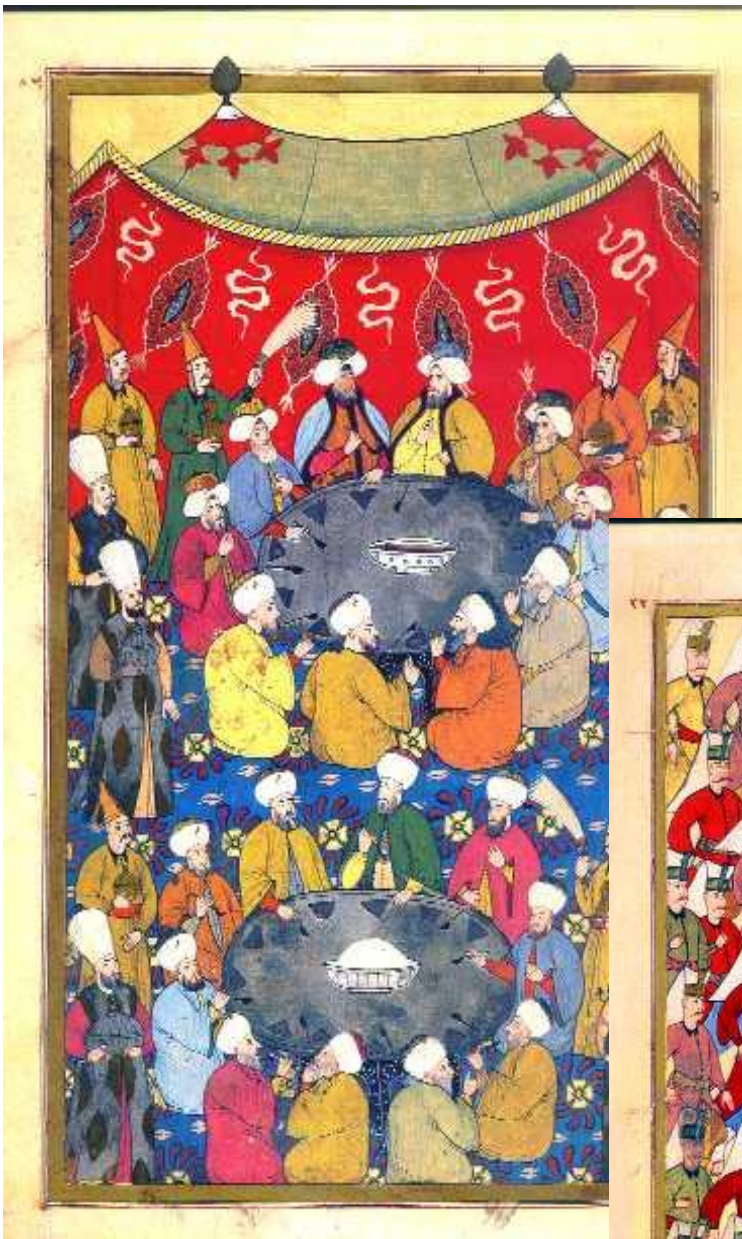


Figure 10: The first scene is about a special banquet and the second shows how the Janissaries sacked the food in the 1720 festival.



Figure 11: The miniature above is about the parade of sugar-made animal figures; and the below demonstrates a mock battle in the festival of 1720.



Figure 12: The scenes from the guild parades of candle-sellers and farmers in the festival of 1720.

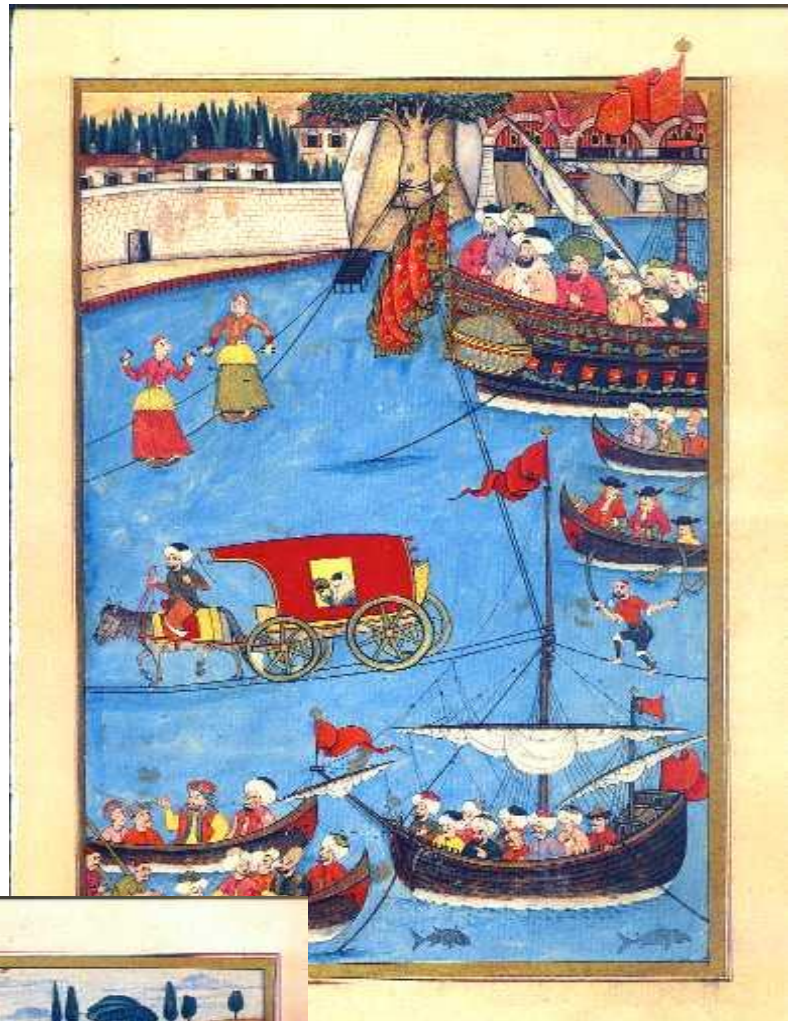


Figure 13: An entertainment at the sea as well as a performance of rope walkers in the festival of 1720.



Figure 14: The scenes from gift presenting to the Sultan in the festival of 1720 and cracker illuminations with three-dimensional descriptions in which the crackers were settled in the 1582 festival.

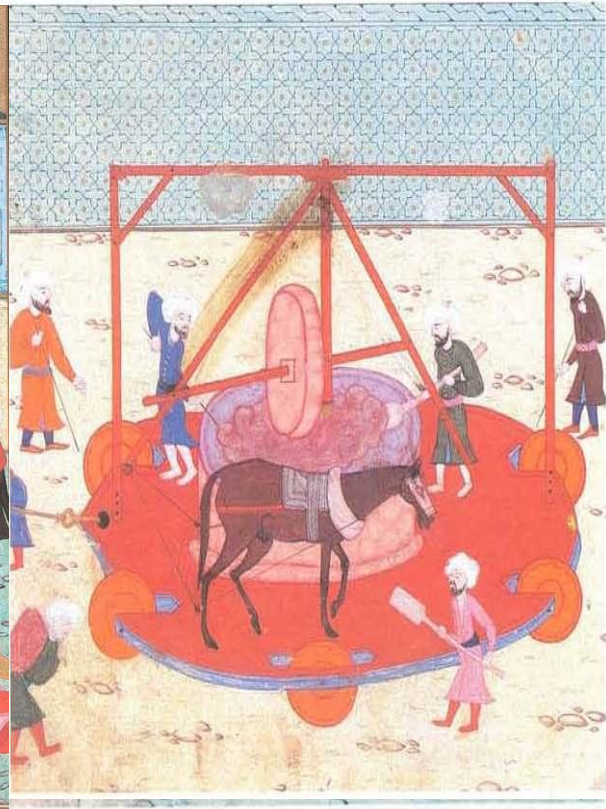
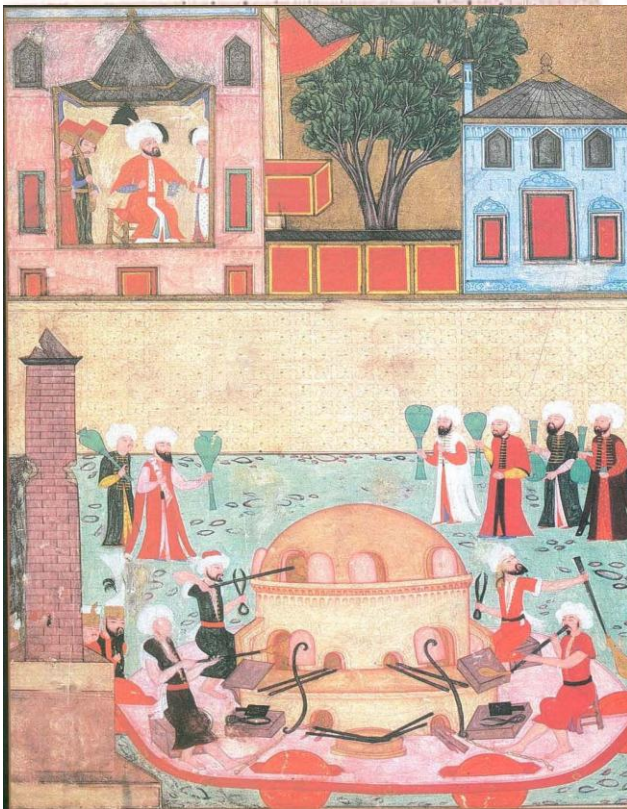
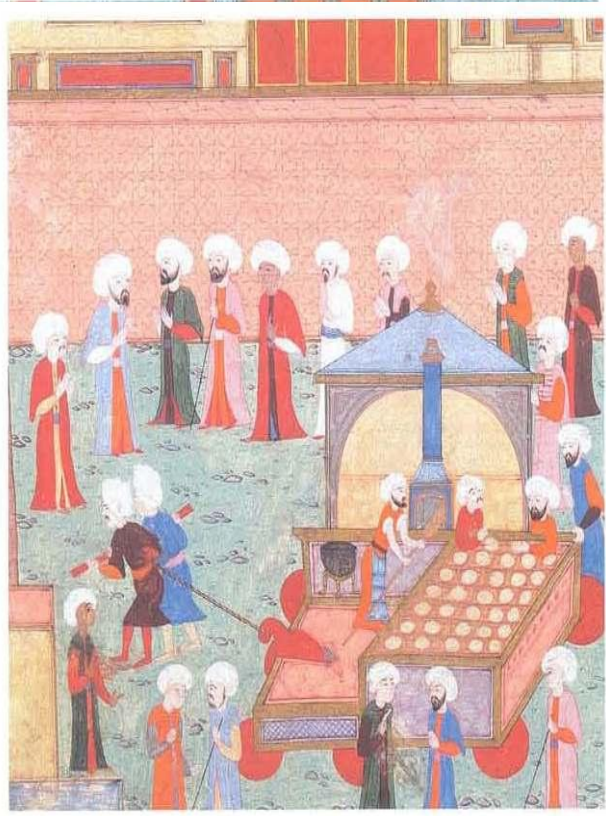
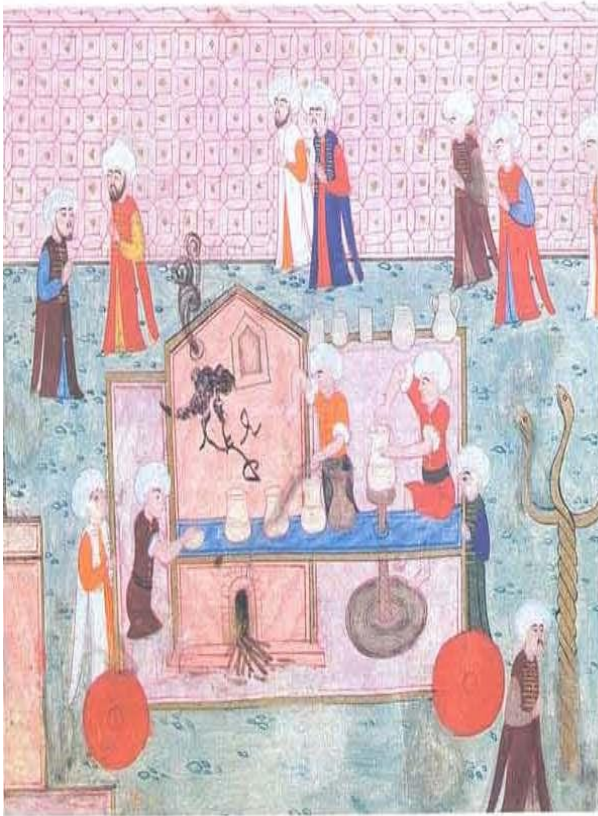


Figure 15: The miniatures of some guild parades in 1582: the potters, the bakers, the glasses-makers and the millers respectively.

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