

ISTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS
HISTORY MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

**REVISITING AN OTTOMAN DYNASTIC CELEBRATION: PRINCELY
WEDDINGS AND CIRCUMCISIONS IN EDİRNE, 1675**

Muhammet Fatih TORUN
116671006

Prof. Dr. Suraiya FAROQHI

ISTANBUL
2019

REVISITING AN OTTOMAN DYNASTIC CELEBRATION: PRINCELY
WEDDINGS AND CIRCUMCISIONS IN EDİRNE, 1675

BİR OSMANLI HANEDANLIK KUTLAMASINI HATIRLAMAK: 1675 YILI
EDİRNE SALTANATLI DÜĞÜN VE SÜNNETLERİ

Muhammet Fatih TORUN

116671006

Thesis Advisor: Prof. Suraiya FAROQHI *Suraiya Faroghi*

İstanbul Bilgi University

Jury Member: Asst. Prof. Murat DAĞLI *Murat Dağlı*

İstanbul Bilgi University

Jury Member: Prof. Tülay ARTAN *Tülay Artan*

Sabancı University

Completion Date of the Thesis: *29 May 2019*

Total Pages: *246*

Keywords (Türkçe):

- 1) Edirne
- 2) Sultan IV. Mehmed (Avcı Mehmed)
- 3) 1675 İmparatorluk Festivali
- 4) Sultan'ın Hayırseverliği
- 5) Hediye Verme

Keywords (İngilizce):

- 1) Edirne
- 2) Sultan Mehmed IV (The Hunter)
- 3) The Imperial Festival of 1675
- 4) Sultan's Charity
- 5) Gift-giving

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Suraiya Faroghi, for her guidance, support and advice. She made me see Edirne and thus inspired my thesis topic: a late seventeenth-century imperial festival. She also deserves thanks for sharing her books. During my research and writing process, I collected many pleasant memories which I will never forget. I would also like to thank Sinem İřkorkutan for sharing her archival materials without any hesitation, and for taking her time with me for long academic discussions. I am grateful to Nalan Turna for her support whenever I needed it. Sinan Satar as well deserves special thanks. He helped me transcribe hard-to-read archival materials.

In addition, I would like to thank Zeynep Yelçe and Tülay Artan for their constructive criticism and advice. I am grateful to Semra Yalçınkaya for her support and inspiration during my writing stage. I owe a lot to my close friends, Bertuğ Çalışkan, Diana Quandour and Catherine Salter Bayar who were very helpful in improving my academic writing. I want to thank the Newberry Library employees in Chicago, as they provided the original copy of the diary of Thomas Coke, which made a unique contribution to my thesis. Likewise, I cannot forget Merve Dirken's help; she is the secretary to the Latif Mutlu Library at Istanbul Bilgi University. I would also like to thank the teaching members of l'Atelier du Français for the readjustment translation of the French diaries.

Last but not least, I owe a great deal to my dear family. My mother, Mine Torun, helped me understand the art of gift-giving. My father, İlyas Torun, contributed to my thesis in a different way. Because he knew the world of craftsmen and tradesmen very well, he explained the nature of the 'fair,' as proposed in the thesis. Finally, I would like to mention my sister, Eda Torun, for her help during my field research, in the several trips she and I made together to Edirne.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	IV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VII
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	XI
ABSTRACT	XIII
ÖZET	XIV
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 A WALKTHROUGH TO FESTIVAL STUDIES.....	7
1.2 HISTORICAL WRITING OF THE 1675 IMPERIAL FESTIVAL	18
1.2.1 Festival Books (<i>Sûrnâme</i>).....	18
1.2.2 Travellers' Diaries.....	19
1.2.3 State Chroniclers	22
1.2.4 Subsidiary Sources	23
1.3 SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH	25
CHAPTER 1	29
1.1 THE CONCEPT OF FESTIVAL.....	29
1.2 TRIUMPHAL 'SHEWS': FESTIVALS AS AN IMPERIAL TOOL	33
1.3 WHO RULED? THE SULTAN OR THE GRAND VIZIER?.....	36
1.4 THE PREPARATION OF THE FESTIVAL.....	41
1.4.1 The Kitchen of the Sultan	45
1.4.2 Circumcision: Real or Fraud	49
CHAPTER 2	53
2.1 FESTIVAL TIME AND SPACE.....	53
2.2 CONSTRUCTION OF THE FESTIVAL SITE.....	55

2.3 THE FESTIVAL CALENDAR.....	62
2.4 BEYOND THE FESTIVAL SITE.....	69
CHAPTER 3	78
3.1 AS A DEMONSTRATION OF BARGAIN: THE SULTAN’S TABLE	78
3.1.1 Daily Banquets and Making Hierarchies Official.....	83
3.1.2 Satiating Large Numbers	86
3.2 GIFT GIVING	89
3.2.1 Clash of Tributes	100
3.2.2 Artisans Pageantry	107
3.2.3 Guild’s Tribute	112
3.3 DISPLAYING THE SULTAN’S POSSESSIONS.....	116
3.3.1 The Setting of Royal Processions	118
3.3.2 Display of The Trousseau	122
CHAPTER 4	126
4.1 POPULAR STREET PERFORMANCES.....	126
4.2 STUNT MACHINES	134
4.3 SHADOW-PUPPET PERFORMANCES	141
4.3.1 Silent Agreements Between Participants	144
4.3.2 Marketplace Language	146
CHAPTER 5	152
5.1 NOCTURNAL SPECTACLES	152
5.2 THE FORMULA FOR GUNPOWDER.....	160
5.3 PYROTECHNIC DEVICES IN THE FESTIVAL	164
5.3 FIREWORKS MAKERS	177
5.3.1 Accomodation of the Firework Makers	185
5.3.2 Transportation of the Provided Items.....	190
CONCLUSION	192
BIBLIOGRAPHY	200

APPENDICES	216
A.1 <i>The Portrait of the Sultan Mehmed IV (The Hunter)</i>	216
A.2 <i>Fişeng Defteri</i> (BOA. DBŞM.d. 295)	218

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul
D.	Defter
MAD.	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, İstanbul

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1: Food supply route in the 1675 imperial festival (Red: Dishes, Blue: Utensils).	46
Illustration 2: Samples of İznik ware from the seventeenth-century (Ara Altun, John Carswell & Gönül Öney, Turkish Tiles and Ceramics).	48
Illustration 3: Samples of chinese porcelain dishes from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (John Carswell, Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum).	48
Illustration 4: A rosewater sprinkler and a cup from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (John Carswell, Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum).	49
Illustration 5: Lydia M. Soo's reconstruction of sırık meydanı (Soo, The Architectural Setting of 'Empire, 225).	57
Illustration 6: The plate produced by the latest excavations (Özer, DüNDAR, Uçlar, Ayhan, & Güner, Edirne Sarayı). Scratches show the author's own estimations (Red stars highlight the explored fountains).	57
Illustration 7: Approximate estimation of the sultan's encampment at the Hıdırlık site (Black stars point to Hıdırbaba Mezarı and Hıdırbaba Tabyaları. The line shows Hıdırlık Bağlık Yolu).	71
Illustration 8: John Covel's map of Edirne (Nutku, IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği, illustration 6). The arrow shows the bridge road.	72
Illustration 9: The first destination of the tournament: from Hıdırlık site to Svilengrad (Cisri Mustafa Paşa), 33 kilometres.	73
Illustration 10: Sight of Timurtaş field from the Hıdırlık Hills (Authors own photo).	74
Illustration 11: Superimposed maps of Timurtaş field, Hıdırlık hills and Covel's bridges.	75
Illustration 12: Possible route of the trousseau procession in the 1675 imperial festival (Authors estimation).	123

Illustration 13: Artificial animals as pyrotechnic devices from Levni's depictions of the 1720 imperial festival. 'Birds' spew out sparks (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 136 and 149).	131
Illustration 14: Ferris wheels for children (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).	135
Illustration 15: A basic swing (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).	136
Illustration 16: A professional swing (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).	137
Illustration 17: According to Covel, the configuration of acrobat's playground in the 1675 festival (Metin And, Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları, 70).	138
Illustration 18: The miniatures of a Ferris wheel and swing in the 1720 festival (Metin And, Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları, Illustration 117).	139
Illustration 19: Levni's swings in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 242).	140
Illustration 20: From Martinovitch, 1968 (First published in 1933). Because of the scene, the puppet of Karagöz may have been formed with a phallus.	145
Illustration 21: An evil genie (cin). An example of the degrading the official body. Head inverted to the lower stratum of the body (Metin And, Theatre D'Ombres Turc, illustration 72).	148
Illustration 22: A firework tower from the miniatures of Levni (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 296).	156
Illustration 23: A miniatures of a multi-headed creature in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 136).	165
Illustration 24: A similar pyrotechnic device from Levni's miniatures (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 327).	167
Illustration 25: Miniatures of the mortar mines in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 94).	169
Illustration 26: A representation of a 75 mm mortar mine (Russell, The Chemistry of Fireworks, 46).	170

Illustration 27: John Covel's pyrotechnic device depictions in his diary (Soo, The Architectural Setting of 'Empire,' 227).	172
Illustration 28: Different depictions of the same firework devices (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 136 and 271).....	172
Illustration 29: The miniatures of Catherine wheels at the 1720 festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 148).	173
Illustration 30: The images of different type of Catherine wheels at the 1720 festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 95).	173
Illustration 31: The scheme of small wheels (Lancaster, Fireworks, 264).	175
Illustration 32: Bird's-eye view of the building (Red signs pointed courtyard and entrance, stars points out the halls).	187
Illustration 33: The Ayiçe Hatun Hanı, from the courtyard, looking toward the entrance (Authors own photo).....	188
Illustration 34: One of the halls of the Ayiçe Hatun Hanı (Authors own photo).	189
Illustration 35: Main body of the Ayiçe Hatun Hanı, below the dome (Authors own photo).	189

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Number of Master's theses and PhD dissertations in related topics which were published by Turkish scholars in time. The search does not include studies after 2017.	11
Table 2: Daily programme of the circumcision festival.	63
Table 3: Scheduling mistakes in Abdi's festival books (circumcision festival). ..	69
Table 4: Scheduling mistakes in Abdi's festival books (wedding festival).	69
Table 5: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute in the 1675 imperial festival.	95
Table 6: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute to Prince Mustafa in the 1675 imperial festival.	96
Table 7: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute to Prince Ahmed in the 1675 imperial festival.	97
Table 8: Some of the high ranked officers' tributes in the 1675 imperial festival.	98
Table 9: Retired officers' tribute in the 1675 imperial festival.	101
Table 10: Governors' tributes in the 1675 imperial festival.	103
Table 11: Tributes of judges in the 1675 imperial festival.	104
Table 12: The list of participating artisans in the 1675 imperial festival.	109
Table 13: The gifts (atiyye) of the court to the guilds in the 1675 imperial festival.	114
Table 14: The inventory of the Egyptian firework makers (Beceheti mühimmatı fişengciyan-ı Mısır).	158
Table 15: An inventory for rebuilding a firework fortress (Nev sahteni kala-i fişek).	159
Table 16: The inventory of Musli Ağa the Bombardier in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.	176
Table 17: The inventory of Emine in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.	179
Table 18: The inventory of Yusuf Çelebi in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.	180

Table 19: The inventory of Müezzîn Ali Çelebi in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.....	180
Table 20: The inventory of Seyid Emir’s making of the artificial galleon.	181
Table 21: Number of the participant and their requirements in the firework makers companies.....	182
Table 22: Wages of the firework makers according to expense registers of the 1675 festival.....	183
Table 23: Wages of the other labour groups according to expense registers of 1675 festival.....	184

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a contextual examination of the 1675 imperial festival which took place in Edirne (Adrianople) during the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687). It intends to present a holistic approach to the festival, after the study of Özdemir Nutku in 1972. Distinctively, this study manifests the grounds of the Ottoman court's affairs for a festival gargantuan in scale at the late seventeenth century, as well as show many unseen layers of the festival. For the first time in the field, it introduces the firework expenses of a state-sponsored festival, revealing previously unexamined phases of such pyrotechnics broadly.

Each section of this work crosschecks textual narratives of the primary sources, including the most known as well as unfamiliar festival books, eyewitness diaries, and state annals, taking into consideration the context of the authors. In addition, this study investigates ignored dimensions of this event, such as the construction of time and space in the festival. Hence this thesis presents a renewal of the conventional narration regarding this princely festival.

ÖZET

Bu tez, 1675 yılında Edirne’de (Adrianople), Sultan IV. Mehmed’in (r. 1648-1687) döneminde düzenlenen imparatorluk festivalinin bağlamsal incelemesini sunmaktadır. Amacı, Özdemir Nutku'nun 1972'de ki çalışmasından sonra söz konusu festival üzerinde bütüncül olarak düşünebilmektir. Bu çalışma farklı olarak, geç dönem on yedinci yüzyıla ait bu devasa ölçekli festivalin temellerini, festivalin devletle ilişkisini göz önünde bulundurarak, birçok görülmemiş katmanını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez aracılığıyla, festivalin havai fişek harcamalarının tutulduğu defter tanıtılmakta ve fişek gösterilerinin daha önce bahsedilmemiş aşamalarını ayrıntılı olarak ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, içindeki her bir bölüm için, festival kitapları, görgü tanıklarının günlükleri ve devlet kronikleri de dahil olmak üzere bilindik ve bilinmedik birçok birincil kaynak, yazarların bağlamı göz önünde bulundurularak, metinsel anlatımları çapraz olarak sorgulanmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tezde, festivalde zaman ve mekânın inşası gibi daha önce göz ardı edilmiş boyutları da incelenmektedir. Dolayısıyla söz konusu tezin sunduğu çalışmayla, bu gösterişli festivalin geleneksel anlatımı uzun bir zaman sonra yenilenmektedir.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary Turkish scholars studying Ottoman festivals today demonstrate a new perspective on the sources in use, including (presumed) eyewitness accounts, literary and pictorial descriptions and especially, official documentation. Earlier scholars had taken the primary sources as merely sources of raw data. Put differently, they considered travellers' accounts and pictorial descriptions as 'undisputed facts.' In contrast, when analysing festivals, scholars of a previous generation rarely considered archival documents as a primary source, and moreover narrowly focused on just one aspect. Thus, when explaining the gift giving that took place during court festivals, they have not presented a satisfactory narrative.

To challenge this point of view, we must trace its roots in history. Metin And was the first scholar who envisaged Ottoman festivals as a field of study. His book, *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece*, was published in 1959. In this study, and other studies published in the following years, Metin And's main intention was to establish the study of theatre and performing arts as a discipline. He followed the path of performative arts while using many diplomats' accounts, travellers' diaries and festival books.¹ In the following years, Özdemir Nutku made a significant contribution to the festival studies in the Ottoman Empire, thanks to his detailed work on John Covel's diary for the 1675 imperial festival.² Inevitably, because Nutku referred to Metin And's studies, consciously or unconsciously, he directed Turkish scholars wishing to build festival studies on Metin And's work. Metin And connected Ottoman festivals to the performing arts as practised in modern Turkey.

¹ Metin And is the first historian who travelled and researched different libraries to find festival books of the Ottoman imperial festivals and presented the literature in his book, Metin And, *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece* (Ankara: Taç Yayınevi, 1959). 1-8. He introduced John Covel to this Ottoman literature as well.

² Özdemir Nutku's book, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, was first published in 1972. A striking point about Nutku's work is his linguistic approach to Covel's diary. He also compiled a list, parts of which were used while other parts were missing from its very first publishing in French.

To this day, Metin And's work is the starting point of festival studies in the Ottoman Empire. It is obvious that many pioneering studies have similar references to the diaries of diplomats and travellers and festival books. Apart from Metin And and Özdemir Nutku's studies, an interdisciplinary approach has not been conducted widely by many scholars into this literature.

On the other hand, the festivals of early modern Europe have attracted social and cultural historians, especially between the 1970s and the 1990s. Historians like Peter Burke, Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie, Edward Muir and Natalie Zemon Davis have carried out extensive research on the analysis of local traditions, customs and carnivals. These studies owe a great deal to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (*Rabelais and his World*, first translated into English and French in 1968), who studied an early modern French novelist named François Rabelais, and the latter's story, known as *Gargantua*. In these heterodox and often 'indecent' tales, Bakhtin found the spirit of a lower-class people who refused to buckle under when confronted by their social superiors. Bakhtin's study shifted historians' perspectives on analysing carnivals. He coined many original terms, such as 'carnival spirit,' 'carnival laughter,' 'grotesque realism' and 'prosaic metaphor.'³

Bakhtin viewed carnivals as street events, and included sexual transactions, banquets, sacred processions and rituals in the public sphere, which he called the 'marketplace.' Bakhtin suggested that carnivals were special occasions in the early modern era, naming them 'renaissance carnivals.' The renaissance carnival, dating back to medieval times, came under the control of local authorities and turned into an annual event, a continuous holiday in the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century.⁴ As a result of Bakhtin's work, historians began to define carnival culture in a more complex frame.

³ Alastair Renfrew, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2015), 306.

⁴ Ibid., 290-320.

In the following years, Peter Burke published a general work on European popular culture, entitled *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* in 1978. In the book, Burke aimed to discover differences between court culture and popular culture, and the transitions between these two layers. In this regard, he contributed to local customs and layered tissues of popular traditions all over Europe. Peter Burke excited quite a few of his readers, as did Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie's *Carnival of Romans*, Edward Muir's *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* and *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, and Natalie Zemon Davis's *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Edward Muir worked on myth, rituals, carnival seasons and festive calendars in renaissance Venice. Natalie Zemon Davis studied the social and cultural history of peasants and artisans on a street level in early modern France, much like Juliusz Chrościcki's study on hierarchies in the ceremonial space of the court.⁵ These authors took a microperspective, which revealed local rituals and the behaviours of villagers and lower-class city dwellers. Indeed, a certain number of scholars followed this flow of study and aided in the creation of festival studies literature.

For a long time however, the previously mentioned studies (particularly those of Mikhail Bakhtin) did not arouse the interest of Ottoman scholars, who did not view this type of work as appropriate for a historian. Ottoman festivities were not taken into consideration as part of social and cultural approaches because these studies were regarded as 'non-academic' and 'unbecoming' to their dignity as scholars. In the tense atmosphere of the 1970s, Metin And was quite ready to admit the contribution of Armenian directors, composers, authors of librettos and above all, actresses; but other scholars adopted more narrowly nationalist perspectives. The nationalist approach, which generally ignored or rejected the work of non-Turkish scholars and their perspectives, focused on Turkish secondary literature exclusively, paradoxically on the works of Metin And. For this approach, Metin

⁵ Juliusz Chrościcki, "Ceremonial Space," in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. Allan Ellenius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

And's close involvement with French theatrical culture was irrelevant, although Metin And had never disguised his close engagement with this culture during his younger years.

Leyla Saz, who grew up in the imperial palace, attained close relations with the imperial harem and noblewomen. Leyla Saz published her memoirs, which included the inner workings of the harem and the palace. She kept an entire section devoted to royal wedding ceremonies and her first-hand impressions. She especially portrayed the attire of that time in explicit detail.⁶ The memoirs we have are the second version, based on a first version which was lost during a fire in her villa. However, she said that in compiling the first version, she was able to talk to people older than she, who had more detailed memories. It is possible that she remembered these very detailed descriptions from the first version, so she put them into the second one.

In addition, the newspaper article of Legationsrath Tietz, which is thought to record the circumcision celebration of the son of Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) in 1836, was published in the daily newspaper *Das Ausland*. Later on, the author admitted that the story was based on the imperial festival of 1582.⁷ In any case, his article described the circumcised princes and the celebrations surrounding their ceremonies. These records of these ceremonies allow scholars to compare late Ottoman ceremonies with earlier traditions.

In the 1990s, scholars such as Mehmet Arslan, Sevim İlgürel, Ali Öztekin, Gisela Prochazka-Eisl and Hatice Aynur contributed to festival studies by

⁶ The memoirs of Leyla Saz were published for the first time in *Vakit Newspaper* and Paris in 1925. After these publications, her book was published after her death. Şair Leyla (Saz) Hanım, *Anılar: 19. Yüzyılda Saray Haremi* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000) and Leyla Sâz, *Harem'in İçyüzü*, (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974).

⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Parades of Ottoman Guildsmen: Self-assertion and Submission to the Sultan's Command," in *Material Culture – Präsenz und Sichtbarkeit von Künstlern, Zünften und Bruderschaften in der Vormoderne/ Presence and Visibility of Artists, Guilds, Brotherhoods in the Premodern Era*, ed. Andreas Tacke, Birgit Ulrike Münch, Wolfgang Augustyn (Munich-Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2018), 158.

transliterating festival books from Ottoman Turkish. In the first volume of Arslan's collection of *sûrnâmes* (festival books), named *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*,⁸ Arslan identified three significant sources of the 1675 imperial festival, and listed gifts given during this event. This work gathered all festival books into one source, also including several poets and background information. This compilation of festival books presented scholars with all known written works in a sequence of volumes, and therefore simplified the accessibility to primary sources. It is worth noting that Arslan's studies maintained the integrity of the festival books' narrative in textualization, and thus was unable to evade those listed above. None of these scholars showed any interest in examining the true intentions behind the festival scene.

Ali Öztekin transliterated the 1582 imperial festival's book by Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî, entitled *Câmi'u'l-Buhûr Der Mecâlis-i Sûr*. Öztekin analysed the festival book textually, mainly focusing on the language and expressions of the author. Öztekin compiled a long list of gifts given from the festival book; nonetheless, he did not attempt to compare this data with archival documents. Gisela Prochazka-Eisl translated the copy of the 1582 festival in Vienna, including a comparison of the festival books regarding a document in Topkapı Palace. Furthermore, Hatice Aynur used archival documents in her detailed description of wedding ceremonies, not content with just one aspect of the event. Nevertheless, the authors of these studies were not concerned with the analysis of documents, and in particular, did not pay sufficient attention to the carnival aspect of Ottoman festivals.

On the contrary, scholars who had studied abroad evaluated these translations and transliterations with modern approaches. The nationalist approach to Ottoman festival culture was eroded only after these scholars' studies had

⁸ Mehmet Arslan, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnâmeler: Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri* (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 1999).

appeared. Gülru Necipoğlu and Derin Terzioğlu were rare examples of these modern scholars. They published their studies before the millennium, introducing brand-new concepts about Ottoman festivals and viewing imperial festivals with new perspective.⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu even emphasised the connection between Ottoman court ceremonies and the architectural form of the Topkapı Palace.

Another concept that Derin Terzioğlu suggested was the Bakhtinian perspective, the view of the ‘marketplace,’ providing a ‘powerful conceptual tool’ with which to approach Ottoman festivals. Bakhtin’s analysis of the 1582 imperial festival impressed Ottoman historians and introduced a fresh perspective into Ottoman festival studies. Because of this pioneer study by Terzioğlu, scholars have become aware of this perspective, and henceforth, have paid more attention to the varied meanings of the festivals, rather than limiting their studies to just one single consideration.

However, after Terzioğlu’s work, there has been no direct reference to Bakhtin’s study, as one can only glimpse a trace of the Bakhtinian notion in the revisionist studies of Daryo Mizrahi and Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan. Daryo Mizrahi focused on the analysis of shadow plays in the Ottoman context; one could consider their relevance to the Bakhtin’s street-level studies. Likewise, İşkorkutan offered a closer look to the 1720 festival in the light of newly emerging archival sources. She disapproved the traditional approach, and particularly illuminated the festival preparations to include street-level organisations, such as the provision of acrobats and the distribution of food. Historians thus have attempted to provide the contextualization of Ottoman festivals and of the sources that have recorded them. Some have been called ‘revisionists,’ though they have opened new horizons, such as reading the impermanent architecture set up as festive sites, the symbolism of

⁹ See Derin Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation,” *Muqarnas*, no.12 (1995): 84-100.

the materials used in creating these sites, and the implications of seating orders and types of foods served at banquets.

1.1 A WALKTHROUGH TO FESTIVAL STUDIES

Why have Turkish scholars shown so little interest in cultural studies? Since the time of Metin And, ‘real’ historians in Turkey did not regard festivals as suitable topics for research. They saw history as being concerned essentially with the economy and politics of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ Metin And complained that, ‘Unfortunately, Ottoman historians worked on politics, military campaigns, economics and foundation of the state, on the other side ignored popular culture and daily life of the people.’¹¹ That is to say, conservative attitudes were still prevalent. However, scholars from neighbouring fields such as art history have worked with images depicting festivals.

Art historian Sezer Tansuğ’s *Şenlikname Düzeni: Türk Minyatüründe Gerçekçi Duyuş ve Gelişme* seemed to be the first attempt in both the textualization and visual analysis of Ottoman festivals. Tansuğ discussed the position of sultans within the festival site. The balcony of the İbrahim Paşa Palace was an observing and offering chamber for the sultan during the 1582 imperial festival. Tansuğ pointed out that the Sultan had represented himself as a ruler on a continuous track with Roman Emperors by showing himself standing in the same spot as the Hippodrome’s emperor lodge, as shown carved into the obelisk in the middle of the adjacent *at meydanı* (Hippodrome).

¹⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi named these historians as ‘straight Ottomanists’ who did not want to waste their time on ‘frivolous’ topics such as feasts and popular performances, Suraiya Faroqhi, “Research on Ottoman Festivities and Performances,” in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 32.

¹¹ And, *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece*, 3.

Thus, Nurhan Atasoy's *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration*¹² and Esin Atıl's *Levni and the Surname: the story of an eighteenth-century Ottoman festival*¹³ focused on two illustrated volumes of miniatures, the only works concentrating entirely on festivals. Both of these scholars remarked on the festival book authors' skills, especially, the artistry and composition in the miniatures. As Atasoy stated in her book, the main object of study was to touch upon the visual material of the festival book, not much examined until that time.¹⁴ Atıl discussed artistic production and painting customs of the time and asserted hierarchies inside the guild's pageantry, as depicted by the miniatures.

Similarly, Gül İrepoğlu also contributed to the 1720 imperial festival from an art historian's perspective in *Levnî, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*.¹⁵ Written sources, by contrast, were of less interest. Each of these studies appeared in the late 90s; in the new millennium, historians became interested in imperial festivals as well.¹⁶ Since all of these were pioneer studies, coming from mostly art and literary historians, they created the perception that Ottoman festivals contained only popular entertainment. Indeed, acrobat performances, sports games and illuminations framed the content of previously mentioned studies. For this reason, revisionist scholars realised the handicap of this judgment. Some of these scholars stated that they had influenced these thoughts in re-evaluating Ottoman festivals, as works that were of an 'appropriate topic.'¹⁷

¹² Atasoy, *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration*.

¹³ Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*.

¹⁴ Beside textual analysis of the festival book, Atasoy also mentioned some of the expenditure registers in the preparations of the festival, but she did not deeply analyse these registers, Atasoy, *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration*, 21.

¹⁵ Gül İrepoğlu, *Levnî, Nakış, Şiir, Renk* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ni Sevenler Derneği; T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999).

¹⁶ One of the publications involved in art historians' studies was *Kumaş'k*. See details in Şennur Şentürk, *Kumaş'k: Yapı Kredi İşleme Koleksiyonundan Örnekler* (Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999).

¹⁷ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "Chasing Documents at the Ottoman Archive: An Imperial Circumcision Festival Under Scrutiny," *The Medieval History Journal* 22, no.1 (2019): 156-181.

After the millennium, Suraiya Faruqi studied various fields, such as the history of ordinary people, the use of fireworks, production and consumption of other products, and the monetary contribution of the guilds. The visibility of women during festivals was one topic questioned by Faruqi. She strove to illustrate the imperial officers' concerns about financing food and feasts, and the circumstances of sustaining the imperial treasury.¹⁸ Textile gifting, gift giving and receiving, and other preparations for sultanic festivals were one of Faruqi's initial approaches in contributing to Ottoman festival literature.

In 2003, Zeynep Yelçe translated Peter Burke's *Eyewitnessing: The uses of images as historical evidence*, contributing to the introduction of modern approaches by Turkish scholars. Yelçe's studies on Ottoman festivals continued after 2010. Her article entitled 'Evaluating three imperial festivals: 1524, 1530 and 1539' is based on the analysis of three familiar imperial festivals during the reign of Sultan Suleiman (r. 1520–d. 1566).¹⁹ In the article, Yelçe focused on social order, formation, and demonstration of power as noted in Peter Burke's and Edward Muir's studies. In a sense, Yelçe contributed to the adaptation of modern approaches by publicizing them to Turkish scholars.

Since 2010, Turkish scholars have challenged the static and essentialist view of festivals. Daryo Mizrahi, Efdal Sevinçli, Hakan Karateke, Sinem Erdoğan, İşkorkutan, Tülay Artan and Tülün Değirmenci are included in these scholars, to name but a few. Meantime, non-Turkish scholars such as Hedda Reindl-Kiel, Jeroen Duindam, Linda Komaroff, Méropi Anastassiadou and Tim Stanley have assisted Ottoman festival studies through modern approaches via referencing and communicating with these Turkish scholars in their studies.

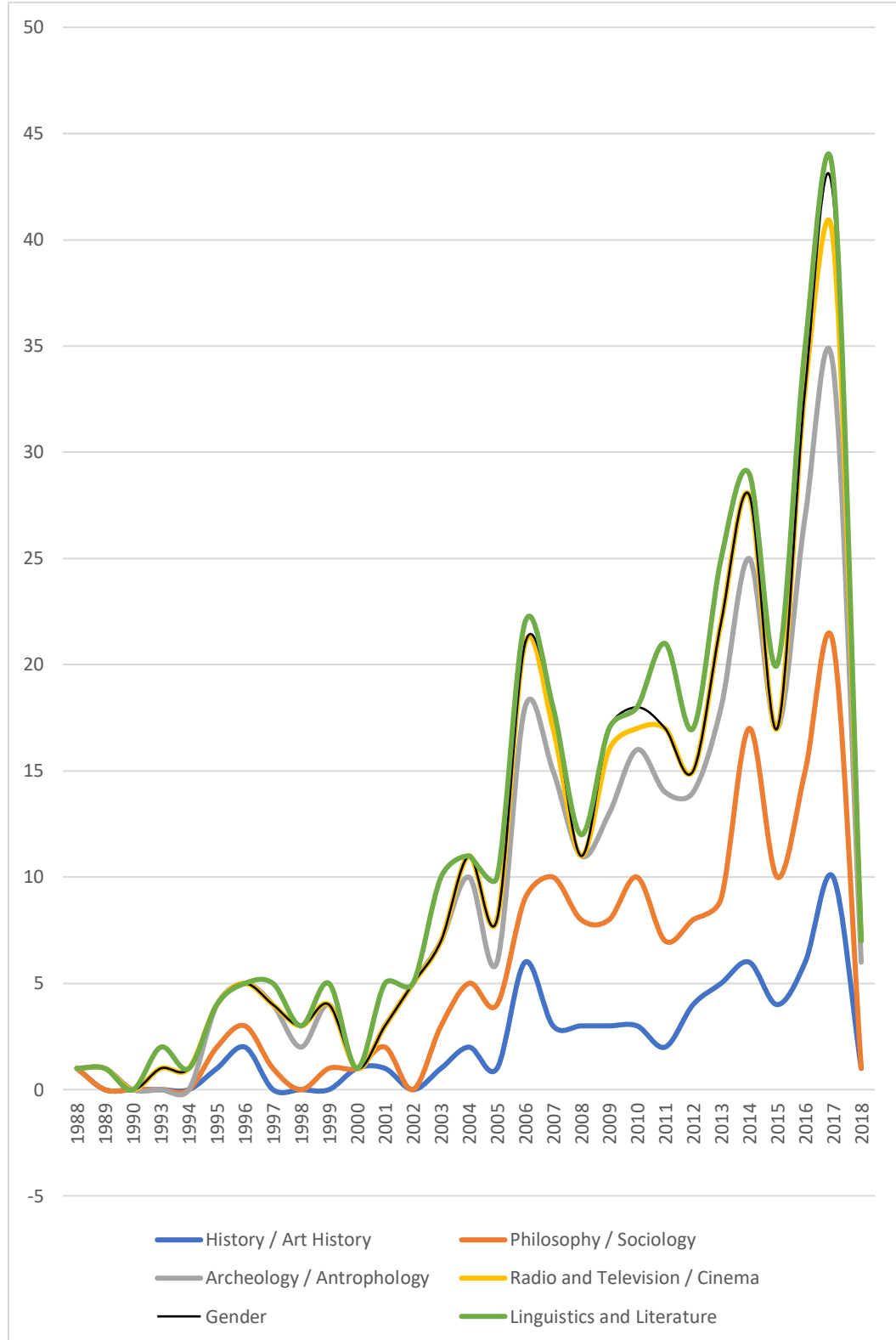
¹⁸ Suraiya Faruqi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, Was Everyone in a Festive Mood? Or, Who Worked on the Preparation of Sultanic Festivals and Who Paid for them?" in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faruqi & Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 208-224.

¹⁹ Zeynep Yelçe, "Evaluating three imperial festivals: 1524, 1530 and 1539," in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faruqi & Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 71-109.

Thus, Ottoman festival studies started to interact with the world, and then shared its character and aspects with those of other cultures. Jeroen Duindam made a comparison between the Ottoman, Mughal and Safavid rulers' festival concepts in a global context. Safavid, Ottoman, Mughal and European examples brought to light the similarity of ceremonial space usage, such as the visibility and lavishness of the ruler, gift tributes and the procession of guilds. Tlay Artan portrayed the symbolic and institutional change over Constantinople during the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire. In 2003, Artan, in a presentation entitled 'Was Edirne a Capital and a Royal Court in the Second Half of the 17th Century?', re-evaluated contemporary military campaigns, political and social conditions, including the 1675 imperial festival, which occurred in Edirne.²⁰

²⁰ Tlay Artan, "Was Edirne a Capital and a Royal Court in the Second Half of the 17th Century?" paper presented at the *Voyvoda Caddesi Konuřmaları Series*, 16 April 2003.

Table 1: Number of Master's theses and PhD dissertations in related topics which were published by Turkish scholars in time. The search does not include studies after 2017.



The timeline in Table 1 shows the lack of Turkish media published before 2005.²¹ Throughout the years, interest towards festival studies increased especially after 2005, while many other disciplines came into focus, such as tourism, sports, journalism, cinema, business administration, and urban and regional planning. Thus, different approaches and aspects appeared after 2005. Furthermore, according to the graphic, an increasing number of studies in each discipline commands an attention questions which appears at this point: ‘Why were Turkish scholars interested in festival studies after 2005, and mainly, what was the primary motivation for increasing interest in 2012? Why did festival studies multiply after 2012, and why has this phenomenon continued until today? What was the main reason for the sharp break which occurred in 2015? In addition, how did studies from different fields fluctuate and flow together, or overlap each other throughout the years?’

As seen from the above chart, historical studies regarding Ottoman festivals were stable before the 1990s. There is a significant increase in the 1990s until the new millennium. They remained stable, with few ups and downs, until 2005 and afterwards, when published studies sharply rose. To explain this phenomenon, one needs to clarify the background process of the studies. Unlike the Turkish ones, social studies after the 1940’s continued to increase in not only the number of books, but in different approaches developing around the world. However, before 2005, only scholars who had studied abroad showed the courage to observe ceremonial and ritual space in the Ottoman Empire. Gülru Necipoğlu’s PhD dissertation evaluated the Topkapı Palace as a ceremonial meeting place that emphasised the palace’s rituals for the first time.²² Necipoğlu’s contributions made

²¹ I looked at Master’s theses and PhD Dissertations submitted to Bogazici University, The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History; Social Sciences and Humanities Database - TÜBİTAK ULAKBİM; YÖK Ulusal Tez Merkezi (The Council of Higher Education - National Thesis Center). In these institutions and databases, I counted the following words included in the heading: festival, carnival, karnaval, circumcision, sünnet, wedding, düğün, celebrat, şenlik, ceremony, tören, ritual, ritüel.

²² Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (MIT Press, 1991).

one of the most significant influence on the historians, and thus, many different scholars followed her way and opened new horizons. For instance, Derin Terzioğlu's article, 'The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation', was the first 'interpretation' to utilize the Bakhtinian concept towards the understanding of an imperial festival. To date, according to Google Scholar Citations, this article carries the most cited study of her works.²³ At the time Terzioğlu published this article, she was studying for her PhD at Harvard University. Terzioğlu took advantage of this position and made use of modern approaches in Ottoman history. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see any other critical analysis or attempt to contextualize Ottoman imperial festivals at that time.

As previously mentioned, Turkish scholars never saw Ottoman festivals as a separate field, and never attempted to evaluate these events in the same manner as Necipoğlu and Terzioğlu. They both became one of the few worldwide lecturing scholars among Turkish historians. In *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, Suraiya Faroqhi reserved a section for sultanic festivals in the Ottoman Empire with a similar attitude towards 'The Economic and Social Structure of the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Times.'²⁴ All of these contributions changed the previously traditional analysis of Ottoman festivals in Turkish historical writing.

In 2014, Suraiya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen edited a book, which is dedicated specifically to the Ottoman festivity culture, namely *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*.²⁵ The same year, Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz edited another book, entitled *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*.²⁶ This book is dedicated to the memory

²³ Electronic source: <https://scholar.google.com.tr/citations?user=iNjRWIUAAAAJ&hl=en> (last checked 24.04.2019)

²⁴ First published in 1995 as *Kultur und Alltag im osmanischen Reich*, Munich.

²⁵ *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen.

²⁶ *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen & Evelyn Birge Vitz (Brepols, 2014).

of Metin And. In the book, Daryo Mizrahi's famous article on shadow puppet performances in the Ottoman Empire is included,²⁷ plus Özdemir Nutku's 'Clowns at Ottoman Festivities', as well as many other important works of similar calibre. All of the articles in these books examined communication between the Ottoman world and the European world. In other words, Ottoman festival culture finally gained a place on the world stage and became a rightful member of festival studies.

According to the graphic, general interest on Ottoman festivities since 2010 had excessively increased, which meant that scholars took imperial festivals more seriously than ever. However, the increasing number of studies were also proof of the heightened number of the universities and related departments throughout that time in Turkey. Scholars who had studied abroad began their university careers as professors, and their students swiftly became connected to the outside world. In this way, social and cultural studies emerged because of the communication of modern approaches by Turkish scholars. In a sense, Ottoman festival studies became one of the most encouraged fields. This change of thought became a reality after even revisionist scholars began studying Ottoman festival culture.

Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan and Metin Kunt edited a book in 2011, entitled *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires*. In the book, Tülay Artan discussed early eighteenth-century royal weddings as a vehicle of recognition and approval of the marriages of the sultan's three daughters. As a historian, Artan made use of archival sources as well as festival books. From 2008 and onwards into the early 2010's, Ottoman festival literature gained more recognition from historians instead of remaining in the realm of art historians and Turkish literature professors.

²⁷ Mizrahi's work on shadow puppet performances from a different aspect was published in another book by Faroqhi and Öztürmen in the same year: Daryo Mizrahi, "Language and Sexuality in Ottoman Shadow-Puppet Performances," in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, & Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 275-292.

Like Faroqhi, Hedda Reindl-Kiel also contributed to gifting literature in Ottoman festivals during these years. Reindl-Kiel compared three imperial festivals and corrected gifting material registers from official archives, comparing the outcomes with festival books. This new approach to history writing can be found only after 2008. During this time period, in which traditional narratives about Ottoman festivals were also being produced, this new perspective became a renowned focus in world literature, familiar to involved scholars of both Turkish and non-Turkish origin.

On the other hand, there is another reason for the increase of general interest in these studies after 2010. Essen (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey) were each chosen ‘The European City of Culture’ by the European Capital of Culture Agency in 2010.²⁸ This designation made a significant impact on history-related exhibitions, academic writing and conferences, as well as social and cultural activities in Istanbul. After 2010, funds flowed into Turkey, carving the way for exhibitions with various collaborating museums. The visibility of museum materials increased, with the result that these collaborations were printed in great number after 2010. An exhibition in the Topkapı Museum’s Imperial Stables (*Has Ahırlar*), *Onbin Yıllık İran Medeniyeti: İki bin Yıllık Ortak Miras* was published in 2010 as an example of collaborative work. Gül İrepoğlu published records of the sultans’ jewellery in a book entitled *Osmanlı Saray Mücevheri: Mücevher Üzerinden Tarihi Okumak*. İrepoğlu presented various jewels gifted from the sultan to foreign governors. Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin published collections of ceremonial dinnerware belonging to Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), including the images of gold-plated dinner services, containers, tea glasses and cutlery.²⁹

²⁸ This programme had three main objectives: developing cultural activities (1), promoting the European dimension of and through culture (2) and supporting the social and economic development of the city through culture (3). Ed. Rampton, J., McAteer, N., Mozuraityte, N., Levai, M., & Akçalı, S. (2011, August). Ex-post evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture: final report for the European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture. Electronic source: https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/files/capitals-culture-2010-report_en.pdf (last checked 24.04.2019)

²⁹ Özge Samancı & Arif Bilgin, “II. Mahmud Dönemi İstanbul ve Saray Mutfağı/Ottoman Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II,” in *II. Mahmud: Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecinde*

With the support of the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, Linda Komaroff, curator of Islamic art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, organised an exhibition in 2011. The exhibition presented gift-giving as a universal tradition, and compared different pieces using various media. Through luxurious and rare objects, the exhibition signified patronage and its central role in the Islamic world and the world beyond. Eventually, the presentation was published in one volume, *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*.³⁰ Tim Stanley's introduction, *Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take*, compared Ottoman *kaftans* (robe of honour) with the Safavid archetype. Stanley also made mention of Ottoman gifts welcomed by Russia in the seventeenth century; these lavish donations helped the tsars present themselves as if they were Roman emperors.³¹ Stanley also mentioned that many of the gifts from imperial festivals 'had a relatively short life: the foodstuff was consumed, the horses died, and the furs and textiles were probably used until they were worn out', but other items withstood the test of time due to the nature of the materials used. For example, weapons and luxury items, mainly composed of jewellery, are still kept at the Topkapı Palace. İlber Ortaylı also implied that state gifts were kept at the Topkapı Palace at the time it was used as a royal residence.³²

In the years since, Turkish politics has changed, whilst the European City of Culture funds came to an end. The damage reached graphic scale in 2015, represented by the loss of communication and a difference in political outlook

İstanbul-Istanbul in the Process of Being Rebuilt, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti., 2010).

³⁰ Linda Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011).

³¹ In the article, Stanley shows a luxury item, a bowl, which came from Turkey in The State Historical-Cultural Museum Preserve, Moscow Kremlin. The bowl was dated within the first third of the seventeenth century. See details in Tim Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take," in *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 149-170.

³² İlber Ortaylı, "Gifts and the Topkapı Palace," in *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 167.

between museums and universities. Nonetheless, history and art history fields were less affected, and according to graphs, studies and works, continued to flourish. In 2017, Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan finished her PhD entirely about the 1720 imperial festival and its representation. İşkorkutan discussed the distribution of food, the sultan's beneficence through charity, as well as patronage and codicology of the manuscripts via the use of archival documentation.³³ One of the main focuses of İşkorkutan's study reminds the reader that the miniatures and pictorial narratives of the 1720 festival were representations, and should not be seen as reality.

In the following year, Kaya Şahin analysed the 1530 festival, calling it 'an Ottoman circumcision ceremony as cultural performance.'³⁴ Şahin's study stressed state-sponsored festivities' performative worth, and their political clout. Both İşkorkutan's and Şahin's studies developed an understanding of Ottoman festival-related literature, which the English scholar Peter Burke called 'performative turns' in historiography.

Thanks to these scholars' great efforts, the traditional view of Ottoman festivals has ultimately changed. They put forth new explanations and modern aspects regarding the historical subject at hand: sultanic festivals were used as a legitimisation tool as well as an image-making instrument by the court. The festivals functioned to portray the hierarchical relationships of the court through the distribution of food and gifting, demonstrating and creating the dynamic of power between the sultan and his subjects. Conclusively, the court maintained social order and hierarchy whilst issuing silent agreements with the participants via popular cultural instruments.

³³ Erdoğan İşkorkutan discussed festival food more largely in "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no.50, 117-152.

³⁴ Kaya Şahin, "Staging an Empire: An Ottoman Circumcision Ceremony as Cultural Performance," *The American Historical Review*, no.123(2), 2018, 463-492.

1.2 HISTORICAL WRITING OF THE 1675 IMPERIAL FESTIVAL

1.2.1 Festival Books (*Sûrnâme*)

So far, the topic of Ottoman festival literature has been introduced, and now I will address the 1675 imperial festival in detail. Prior to the pioneering studies of Metin And, Agâh Sırrı Levend first introduced Nabi's *sûrnâme* (festival book), in 1944. In 1959, Metin And introduced several copies of Abdi's *sûrnâme* from different libraries.³⁵ In 1963, Salih Zorlutuna published a simplified version of the translation of *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne* which included another *sûrnâme* from an unknown author. Twenty years later, Aslı Göksel's master thesis was published at Boğaziçi University.³⁶ This thesis, approached Abdi's *sûrnâme* as classic Turkish prose and analysed Abdi's literal features and the demonstration of his qualifications. In 1972, Özdemir Nutku utilised Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's (d. 1103/1691) and Abdi's *sûrnâmes* in *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*. Thus, Zorlutuna's unknown author was found, and even Özdemir Nutku did not even mention that the copy in *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne* was from Abdi's *sûrnâme*.³⁷

Nutku analysed the 1675 festival textually and categorised each festival element accomplished. For example, Nutku divided dances into five sections: religious, war, talent, artmimicry and erotic. These categories were composed as a result of the analysis of Nutku's managed *sûrnâmes*, official chronicles and travellers' diaries.

There were three festival books written about the 1675 imperial festival: Abdi's *sûrnâme*, entitled *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's

³⁵ A copy was presented at Austrian National Library, another one in National Library of France with two French translation by E. Robolly and François Pétis de la Croix, as well as in Istanbul University Library.

³⁶ Aslı Göksel, "The 'Surname' of Abdi as a Sample of Old Turkish Prose" (Master thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1983).

³⁷ This *sûrnâme* has few copies, Nutku used the handwritten copy from Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Kitaplığı.

sûrnâme inside the *Telhîsü'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn Âl-i Osman*³⁸ and Nabî's *sûrnâme* named *Vakaayi-i Hitân-ı Şehzâdegân-ı Hazret-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gaazi Li Nabî Efendi*.

1.2.2 Travellers' Diaries

Some of The Levant Company members, such as John Covel, Thomas Coke and Dudley North, presented the 1675 festival in their published memoirs when they returned to England. Özdemir Nutku included all of these witnesses in his study, but mainly utilised John Covel's diary. Nutku's research also included such French travellers as François Pétis de la Croix, Marquis de Nointel, and Antoine Galland. In 1892, James Theodore Bent published Covel's diary from Hakluyt Society. Nutku compared his original diary with this volume, and found that many of the festival depictions and writings were indeed missing. For this reason, Nutku's work became essential for understanding Covel's diary.³⁹ Due to a lack of information about these travellers at that time, it was supposedly difficult to obtain access to these diaries. Perhaps this was the reason why Nutku did not go further analysing of this text, even though he successfully distinguished his perspectives from other contemporary scholars. Another extracted edition of Covel's diary, published in 1998, included English and French translations. This book, *Voyages en Turquie, 1675-1677*, was edited by Jean-Pierre Grélois. Unfortunately, it did not include comprehensive portrayals and details of the imperial festivals.

³⁸ Nutku used Bibliothèque Nationale de France's copy. Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998). Hezarfen Hüseyin was a contemporary of the 1675 imperial festival. His book has great importance for the 1675 imperial festival because of his statements concerning vast information as an eyewitness and information about gifting materials which were taken from official documents.

³⁹ A partial translation of Covel's diary (at least given parts of the Edirne section) from Hakluyt Society Version was published in Turkish in 2011. Nevertheless, the book did not mention Özdemir Nutku's comparison. See in John Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü* (Original name: Extracts From The Diaries of Dr John Covel 1670-1679 ed.), trans. N. Özmelek (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2009).

Lucy Petica Pollard uncovered different layers of Covell's diary in her PhD thesis, published in 2010.⁴⁰ All of the English-speaking travellers between 1603 and 1688 were distinguished, including Covell (the final chapter was entirely assigned to him), regarding their attitudes to antiquities, ancient sites and different ethnic groups, the focal points of Pollard's study. Pollard's research, entitled *Curiosity, Learning and Observation: Britons in Greece and Asia Minor, 1603-1688* showed that Covell's unpublished diaries and other papers have a nuanced discourse. In particular, Covell was interested in depicting Greek inscriptions whilst travelling around Asia Minor, including historical materials such as entertainment devices and other remarkable objects during the 1675 imperial festival. In this regard, Covell had built the bridge between the Ottoman and European world while exploring foreign lands.⁴¹

In 1920, George Frederick Abbot published the records of The Levant Company members in a book entitled *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy, 1674-1681*. Problematically, he referenced specific statements, not entirely in quotations, which proved challenging in determining to whom these expressions belonged. Luckily, members of the company published their own diaries. One of the members, Thomas Coke, mentioned by Özdemir Nutku and Metin And, had offered his observation of festival sites and dated some of the significant events that took place within the festival. Also, his diary recorded many unique interpretations and personal arguments regarding what he witnessed during the festival. For instance, he developed empathy for a bridegroom and shared his opinions of him.⁴² Dudley North, another member of the company, shared a significant vision on gift giving, describing the appearance, as well as the order of

⁴⁰ Lucy Petica Pollard, "Curiosity, Learning and Observation: Britons in Greece and Asia Minor, 1603-1688" (PhD diss., Birkbeck College, University of London, 2010).

⁴¹ See more detail about connecting Ottoman and European world via travellers in Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴² Thomas Coke, *A true narrative of the great solemnity of the circumcision of Mustapha Prince of Turkie eldest son of Sultan Mahomet present emperor of the Turks. Together with and account of the marriage of his daughter to his great favourite Mussaip at Adrianople, as* (London: Printed by James Cottrell for William Crook, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar, 1676), 5-6.

the candles and fireworks. One of North's exclusive remarks was an explanation of participation on foot and by horse.⁴³

In addition, as the British consul at Smyrna, Paul Rycaut was on duty when the festival took place in Adrianople. We do not know if he actually witnessed the event, but his first-person narrative gave some of the most unique details of the gift-giving ceremonies during the festivities.⁴⁴

Other traveller accounts include the letters of François Pétis de la Croix and the French ambassador, Marques de Nointel. Pétis de la Croix, secretary of the Nointel, participated in the festival in person and related his experience to the ambassador. According to Nointel's accounts, Pétis de la Croix moved to Edirne along with two painters to observe the city's ambience.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, there are no illustrated accounts of these painters. Interestingly, the letters of Pétis de la Croix presented his observations solely as a festival book; he recorded events from day to day, included a list of gifted items, and thus he had a similar form as other festival book authors regarding patronage, prestige and popularity. Nointel noted that he was located in Pera, Istanbul during the festival of 1675. He indicated his curiosity towards the festival and noted that he had waited for the 'overall narration' to come.⁴⁶ In that case, he was not only an actual witness, but also managed to publish his brief account of the festival, largely based on Pétis de la Croix's letters. Nevertheless, their records enable scholars to cross-check the claims of festival books and other records. Interesting comments mentioned in these written works include, for instance, Nointel stating the ingredients of the offered desserts in the

⁴³ Roger North, *The life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North, knt. ... : and of the Honourable and Reverend Dr John North ...* (London: Printed for the editor and sold by John Whiston, 1744), 217.

⁴⁴ Richard Knolles & Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History, Comprehending the Origin of That Nation, and the Growth of the Othoman Empire, with the Lives and Conquests of Their Several Kings and Emperors*, Vol II (London: Printed for Isaac Cleave, Abel Roper, A. Bosvile and Rie Basset, 1701).

⁴⁵ Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur: les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel, 1670-1680* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1900). 196.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

guests' marquee, and Pétis de la Croix depicting different descriptions of puppet show makers and combat artists in the festival.⁴⁷

1.2.3 State Chroniclers

The records of state chroniclers first appeared in the study by Aslı Göksel. Özdemir Nutku did not use these records in his pioneer study. There are four chroniclers who mentioned the 1675 festival in their studies, either at length or briefly.

One of these chroniclers is a state officer named Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha (?-1692). His annal of festival narrative (*vekâyi'-nâme*), was constructed day-by-day as a typical festival book. Another is Râşid Mehmed Efendi's annal, entitled *Târîh-i Râşid*, the final account that noted the 1675 imperial festival day-by-day. An additional officer, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha, related more than the two other annalists, and in further detail. For instance, he mentioned that the city quarters had been cleared of both people and protruding structures such as awnings, so that the procession of *nahıls* (festival trees) and candy garden processions could pass. His claims agreed with eyewitness accounts, similar to John Covel's statements. Thereby, Sarı Mehmed Pasha's annal became one of the primary sources of the festival.

Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa's *Silahdar Tarihi* is the last record which included the festival within an annal. In his younger years, he served one of the closest friends of the sultan, thereby entering the inner circle of the palace.⁴⁸ When the festival took place, he was seventeen years old. Similar to other chroniclers, Silahdar Mehmed recorded the festival day-by-day, and saved a significant space for the layout of dinner tables. In addition, he recorded some of the most important

⁴⁷ Ibid., 195; François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur, Cy-Devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople* (Paris: Seconde Partie, 1684), 102 and 147.

⁴⁸ Betül İpşirli Arıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, 1640-1715* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 100-101.

events, such as the day of when a hail storm incident occurred, and the entertainment by opium addicts.

Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân (1637-1695), an Armenian subject of the sultan, lived in Istanbul and wrote several books in his lifetime. He even established a printing press in the city, and published two of his works there.⁴⁹ Except for his well-known book *Istanbul Tarihi*, it appears that the other works of the author were not transliterated from Armenian to Latin, nor translated to any other language at all. Most likely however, his works *Badmutyun Hamarod 400 Darva Osmantzotz Takavoratz* (*Dört Yüz Yıllık Muhtasar Osmanlı Padişahları Tarihi*) and *Daracrutyun* (*Vekāyi'nâme*) included the time period of the 1675 festival, and presumably he would have mentioned the celebrations. Hopefully, future studies will clarify and confirm this prediction.

1.2.4 Subsidiary Sources

As previously mentioned, Tülay Artan presented a paper at the Voyvoda Caddesi Konuşmaları Series, entitled *XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Edirne Başkent miydi?* (Was Edirne a Capital and a Royal Court in the Second Half of the 17th Century?). In this presentation, Artan noticed that the Venetian blockade at Gallipoli, during the Cretan War in 1645-1669, caused the grand vizier to make the decision to move the Royal Palace to Edirne, where the imperial festival was being celebrated. After the war, according to Artan, the great success of the Ottoman campaign against the Polish frontier in 1672 constituted the main motivation for the 1675 imperial festival. However, while Metin And noted the conquest of Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle (*Kamaniçe Kalesi*) in 1672, he did not go further, so did not attempt to form

⁴⁹ Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988).

a connection between the campaign and the organisation of the festival.⁵⁰ In other words, for the first time, Artan dealt with the imperial festival within the contextualization of Ottoman politics, in the case of the 1675 imperial festival.⁵¹

Efdal Sevinçli highlighted the 1675 imperial festival with the 1724 wedding festival, which was organised during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) in ‘Şenliklerimiz ve Surnamelerimiz: 1675 ve 1724 Şenliklerine İlişkin İki Surname,’⁵² despite the *sûrnâme* of the 1675 festival, which had already been presented prior by the previously mentioned scholars. Sevinçli textually compared these documents. Consequently, he arrived at the idea that festival books are rich sources for the studies of scholars from varied fields, although he did not question the narratives of previously mentioned *sûrnâmes*. However, in a revised article in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, Sevinçli revisited his prior work and presented questions on distinctive topics, such as opium-eaters, and amusements in the evenings, such as fireworks, as well as preparations at the festival square.⁵³

In 2011, Şaduman Tuncer attempted the ‘historical contextualization’ of the imperial festival with archival sources. Tuncer transliterated one of the account books (*masraf defteri*) and one of the gift registers (*hediye defteri*) of the 1675 imperial festival. She discussed the total expenditures of the festival in light of expense registers. Unfortunately, she did not mention the complexity of

⁵⁰ Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982), 22.

⁵¹ Furthermore, Artan showed that after the late seventeenth-century, the vizierate as a habit used royal weddings and ceremonies for their political interest, such as Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha, Hafız Ahmed Pasha (provincial governor), Genç Mehmet Pasha, Tevki’î Ali Pasha and Damad İbrahim Pasha. See detail in Tülay Artan, “Royal Weddings and The Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

⁵² Efdal Sevinçli, “Şenliklerimiz ve Surnamelerimiz: 1675 ve 1724 Şenliklerine İlişkin İki Surname,” *Journal of Yaşar University*, no.1(4), 2006, 377-416.

⁵³ Efdal Sevinçli, “Festivals and their Documentation: Surnames Covering the Festivities of 1675 and 1724,” in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 186-207.

preparations of the festival, banquets and gift-giving in the same manner. Also, Tuncer mentioned '*fişenklere ait defter*' as 'agents of various artisan guilds' but did not realise that the register did not belong to any one guild.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, her attempt to use archival documents while 'filling the gaps' of festival books was considerable for the 1675 imperial festival. Furthermore, Merve Çakır highlighted the preparations of dinner tables and the expenses of the endowment through the help of expense registers and a trousseau account (*çeyiz defteri*). Çakır also gave a complete translation of the trousseau account.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH

My primary aim is to follow in the footsteps of the revisionist scholars. I will analyse the 1675 circumcision festival of the sons of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687), which took place in Edirne (Adrianople) and as previously noted, included the wedding celebration of a princess as well. In my discussion, my objective is to revise the existing traditional narrative by studying the carnival aspects of the festival, with the help of the newest contributions to this subject matter. This thesis proposes that the 1675 festival contains the court's political affairs and grotesque images, reminiscent of the Renaissance carnival, and that the same observation applies to the 1582 and the 1720 imperial festivals. For example, I will discuss the significant role of shadow-puppet performances as popular entertainment in Ottoman festivals. All classes of people, including women and children, participated in such performances, laughing at the manner in which hierarchies collapsed and the figures in these plays transcended, negotiated or blurred social, cultural and gender boundaries. While such occurrences rarely became visible in the depiction of everyday Ottoman life, it is arguable that shadow-puppet performances illuminated the sub-conscious of the audience. After all, 'laughter is

⁵⁴ Şaduman Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675: An Attempt at Historical Contextualization" (Master Thesis, Fatih University, 2011).

a light amusement or a form of salutary social punishment of corrupt and low persons.⁵⁵ In this respect, I argue that the shadow-puppet performances, known as *Karagöz*, allow us to see criticism of the ruling class and the violation of otherwise sacrosanct social rules.

In this study, I used the three main *sûrnâmes* covering the 1675 festival. The first one is the work of Abdî Pasha (d. 1671 or perhaps 1686), who was one of the official scribes of Sultan Mehmet IV. The second text is the *Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan-ı Hazret-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gazi*, written by Nabi (1642-1687), who was a renowned poet at the time. The last account is a section within a book, named *Telhisü'l-Beyan fi Kavanin-i Ali Osman*, written by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600-1691). In addition to those references, I registered all chroniclers who mention the 1675 imperial festival, and although brief in context, these allow me to compare various data of the festival books. In conclusion, since the publication of Özdemir Nutku's studies, other travellers' diaries, chroniclers and archival sources referring to the 1675 imperial festival have appeared and have been transcribed. I have laboured to compare all of these narratives with existing literature, to enhance our knowledge of the excessive realm of Ottoman festivals.

Using archival documents as a guide, my proposed research will assess the reliability of these sources, and establish the purposes of the authors in writing their texts, and the positions that they took. Intriguingly, not one individual to date has taken the trouble to compare previously mentioned texts.⁵⁶ Thus, I have examined three main festival books, considered which aspects the different authors highlighted or else downplayed, and cross-checked these narratives with recently presented annals.

⁵⁵ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). 67.

⁵⁶ Hedda Reindl-Kiel compared 1675 imperial festival with 1582 and 1720 regarding gift giving. See details in Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries)," *Turcica*, no.41, 2009, 37-88.

I explored official records in the BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) in Istanbul. Gift registers and expense registers of the 1675 festival have already been transliterated by previously mentioned scholars. Additionally, I will introduce, for the first time, a full translation of firework expenses (*fışeng defteri*). At the end of the thesis, I present transliteration texts. Şaduman Tuncer made a significant contribution by transliterating an entire gift register as well as Merve Çakır's transliteration of the trousseau records.

Briefly, my research will cover many issues which have remained virtually unaddressed in Ottoman scholarship. Through the instrument of the latest excavations at the imperial palace in Edirne, I will present the actual festival site which Ottomans called *sırık meydanı*. I will discuss gifted items and pyrotechnic devices in light of newly introduced archival sources and the newest secondary-hand sources, such as Hedda Reindl-Kiel's 'The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans' and Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan's 'The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in The Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire.' In conclusion, my research will attempt a recontextualization of the festival in the Ottoman Empire. With this novel research, I aim to question such views and study the 1675 imperial festival in the light of new archival findings.

The first chapter will be a representation of the political image of the empire prior to the 1675 festival. Thus, my principal objective is to emphasise critical political events which had a high impact on the organisation of the festival, and eventually lead me to the conclusion that the entire process of the festival was an imperial instrument. In addition, the added preparations for the festival in this chapter will be mentioned due to the gathering of food provisions and required utensils, which began one year before the festival.

The perception of time and the construction of the festival space are important concepts, as well as gift giving and popular entertainments. In this

manner, in the second chapter a place is set for the creation of the festival schedule and the construction of the festival space. Furthermore, I will present my field research and the determination of some of the critical festival spaces, such as the route of tournaments and the configuration of fields.

The third chapter shall mention the gathering of some of the events which were organised and maintained by the court, such as the ceremony of gift giving, and the organisation of daily banquets and formal processions. In this vein, the story of the setup of dinner tables, distribution of food and food plunder are some of the main issues primarily presented. The chapter will follow the festival schedule in an orderly fashion and will present gift giving data after the first section. In the discussion of gift giving and the guilds parade, findings are offered on the quantitative analysis of recorded data. I believe that the review of data will create valuable conclusions. Lastly, I will present the route of the trousseau procession with the help of emerging studies.

The popular components of Ottoman festivals such as shadow-puppet performances, illuminations and firework displays as street-level performances will be mentioned in the fourth chapter. An evaluation of shadow puppet performances is depicted, using a Bakhtinian approach. In this case, I will have a close look at marketplace language at the festival. There is an attempt to reveal entertainment mechanisms such as stunt machines with the help of pictured representations of witnesses and professional artists.

Most importantly, the introduction of firework registers, in a literary aspect, will be analysed in the last chapter. The archival documents present unique information about firework makers' identity and their wages, the purchased items and the transportation of the inventories. Lastly, with the assistance of the field research, I desire to shed light upon the firework makers' residence in Edirne.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 THE CONCEPT OF FESTIVAL

Carnivals, festivals and other popular culture forms have been well-studied since the 1970s, especially with the new perspective on folkloric studies in the decades since. Scholars have attempted to re-contextualise these forms, evaluated as ‘performances.’ Scholars have explained that the roots of the word *festival*, which come from Latin *festum*, means ‘public joy and merriment.’ The term used the plural (*festa, feriae*), was comprised of more than one event, and occurred for many days.⁵⁷ Ottoman chronicles used the word *sûr* to indicate the same meaning. The word *sûr* originally comes from Persian (*sûr*) which has the same definition. In Ottoman Turkish, this word lexicalises the word *sûr* as *sûr-ı hutân* (circumcision festivities), *sûr-gâh* (circumcision place), *surre* (purse), *sûriyye/sûr-nâme* (festival book), *harc-ı suriyye* (festival fee). The word *sûr* translates to a joyous occasion such as a wedding or circumcision. If the word is suffixed with *-i hümayun*, it becomes a royal wedding or princely circumcision feast.⁵⁸ Words associated with *sûr*, such as *düğün* (wedding), *ziyafet* (feast) and *şenlik* (merriment), are also used in the same dictionary.⁵⁹ Thus, both modern English and Turkish words from Latin, Ottoman and Persian origins emphasise the similar types of gatherings: Festivities are determined as social occasions, perhaps a series of events in which the people participated directly or indirectly, as well as the display of cultural products in various forms, such as religious rituals and yearly proffers.

These special occasions, according to Bakhtin, were always connected to the ‘natural (cosmic) circle,’ and this loop was associated with breaking points and

⁵⁷ Alessandro Falassi, “Festival: Definition and Morphology,” in Alessandro Falassi, *Time out of time* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico, 1987), 2.

⁵⁸ *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük*, ed. V. Bahadır Alkım, Nazime Antel, Robert Avery, Janos Eckmann, Sofi Huri, Fahir İz, Mecdud Mansuroğlu & Andreas Tietze (First published in 1997).

⁵⁹ Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat: Eski ve Yeni Harflerle*, 2016 (First published in 1993).

moments of crisis within the society throughout the years.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, official feasts (sponsored by the imperial households) were supported as public festival forms, and never aimed to take the people out of their ordinary life circumstances, like yearly celebrated carnivals. Even though it took nourishment from seasonal rhythms, this circular reasoning was exactly like that of the cycle of rulership.⁶¹ Thus, official feasts had their own characteristics, reproduced their own features and confirmed official behaviours and hierarchies. For this reason, princely festivals did not simply mirror public joy, which created a common language and celebrated a common heritage. Instead, they demonstrated the ideal form of existence, as performed explicitly by officials. In fact, demonstrations such as gift giving and food service principally were based on the hierarchical ranks' rule. In this vein, to make a maximum state appearance, existing high-tech shows such as firework display or staging exotic animals were crucial exhibitions in every state sponsored event.

Songs and ballads also played an important role to persuade the crowds. Florentine key-makers sang 'Our tools are fine, new and useful/We always carry them with us/They are good for anything/If you want to touch them, you can.'⁶² Similarly, in the Ottoman context, artisans sang and danced on carts while parading before the sultan.⁶³ In one of these parades, mace and shield game players (*matrakçı*) paraded while shouting out their couplets, twisting the words 'Şeyhzâde kimler ajısın' (who would pity me, my Prince) with 'Şeyhzâde si.im ajısın' (my

⁶⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 9.

⁶¹ About courtly rituals see *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jeroen Duindam; Tülay Artan; Metin Kunt (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

⁶² Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Harper Torchbook, 1978), 186. In the original Italian:

'E bella a nuova ed util masserizia

Sempre con noi portiamo

D'ogni cosa dovizia,

E chi volesse il può toccar con mano.'

⁶³ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, ed. Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri 4-5: Lebîb Sûrnâmesi, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi (Hazin) Sûrnâmesi, Abdi Sûrnâmesi, Telhîsü'l-Beyân'ın Sûrnâme Kısmı* (Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2011), 500.

d.ck hurts, my Prince).⁶⁴ In both realms, people parading in public, also seen by spectators from the balconies, participated in an officially sanctioned event while performing in a carnival spirit of the street, generating challenging and sometime profane behaviour and discourse of which officials did not approve.

Loyalty and commitment between subjects and the court were other aspects of the courtly festival. In both European carnivals and Ottoman festivals, artisans paraded in front of the sultan with their songs and flags, keeping their side of the bargain by offering gifts to the king or sultan. In this sense, the states in both realms wanted subjects to show their agreement by performing commitment and loyalty in public. Thus, each state successfully integrated artisans into its political structure and made it easier to control public and legitimately taxed labour. This hierarchy was demonstrated on the artisans' side as well. Levni's festival illustrations show that guild masters wore more costly cloth than their assistants during the 1720 imperial festival.⁶⁵ The artist clearly showed both state and subject demonstrating different social positions. Besides, this integration could reverse at times, with artisans cooperating with troops settled in the city, using a shared connection to show discontent with the states' politics and economic pressure. After all, military corps, merchants, guilds, religious leaders, palace servants and so forth all shared festivals which established a common ground and integrated everyone into the political structure of the court.⁶⁶

Guilds had several options to advance their social position: making their own hierarchy within was the first choice; demonstrating satisfaction and gratitude via the presentation of offerings to the sultan was the second, while the third was to

⁶⁴ According to Evliya Çelebi, Taslak was the last name of a well-known *matrakçı*, Taslak Kaptan. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: İstanbul* (Vol. 1), ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, & Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 587. Original verse:

‘Jeldi Taslak verdi matrak benim aldım şaşısın
Bir açtırmazdır size Şeyhzâde kimler ajısın.’

⁶⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (Munich: Tauris, 2005 (Org. Pub. in 1995)). 168-174.

⁶⁶ Kaya Şahin, “Staging an Empire,” 490.

rebel against the state. For instance, artisans supported the janissary rebellion in 1730, which eventually ended in the death of the grand vizier. The final and most devious option was to stay in the agreement, as ultimately the very existence of many Ottoman artisans was beholden to the palace due to its requirements for support through allegiance to the state.⁶⁷ On the other side of this agreement, the state needed these artisans in order to tax and obtain its financial and other requirements, as the preparation of the imperial festivals needed instruments and tools which only artisans could supply.⁶⁸

A distinction between European and Ottoman imperial festivals in the early modern era was the control mechanisms used during organisation. Traveller diaries mostly verbalised the authors' fascination with how the Ottomans controlled crowds during a feast. John Covel was amazed when he witnessed disciplined order and a 'strange silence' in the 1675 festival.⁶⁹ European pageants featured parodies, risqué allusions and harassments, to which the authorities in state and church did not react with approval. Eventually, these authorities attempted to stop public festivities altogether because of this behaviour. Faroqhi connected this situation with the European travellers' statements (if we assume the accounts are correct) by claiming that 'This is why European observers of Ottoman public festivals, all of whom belonged to the nobility or the bourgeois élite, often praised the restraint and high level of order demonstrated, as they saw it, by the public.'⁷⁰

⁶⁷ According to Evliya Çelebi, many of the Istanbul artisans were developed through necessities of the imperial palace (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 170).

⁶⁸ Regarding the 1720 imperial festival, Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan had shown items borrowed from Istanbul artisans by the imperial palace. In the 1675 festival, the imperial palace also benefited local artisans in the same way. I will have a closer look at this topic in the following chapters.

⁶⁹ *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant: I.- The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600. II.- Extracts from the Diaries of Dr John Covel, 1670-1679. With Some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, ed. James Theodore Bent (Farnham: Ashgate, 1892), 204.

⁷⁰ She also describes the similar character of decorating streets at festival time in both the European and Ottoman realms (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 179).

1.2 TRIUMPHAL ‘SHEWS’: FESTIVALS AS AN IMPERIAL TOOL

In this section, Ottoman political acts are emphasised and considered as a motivation for the organisation of the 1675 imperial festival. I see the political framework of the time as just as important as the organisation itself, since festivals were sponsored and organised by the palace. According to Zeynep Yelçe’s study, the author articulated that Ottoman imperial festivals compensated for military failures.⁷¹ However, Kaya Şahin analysed the political rivalry between two empires, the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and suggested that the celebration came into existence within the political and martial context developed over time.⁷² From this point of view, the similar nascence of the 1675 festival should be analysed and observed.

As an influencing factor, the empire’s political movement or military campaigns, which the Ottomans accomplished at the Polish frontier only two and a half years prior to the festival, as well as the conquest of Crete in 1669, demonstrates the festival’s political value. The Ottoman-Venetian War started in 1645 and ended with the fall of Castle of Candia (Kandiye Kalesi) in 1669. During the Venetian war, the Venetians *flotta* demolished the Ottoman navy at the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı) in 1656 and blocked its passage twice. This strait served as the main supply route into Istanbul, thus had significant impact on the capital and further military and political actions of the empire.

A short while after taking office, Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (In office 1661-1676) declared war against the Austrian Empire to continue the conquest of Hungary in 1663. The Ottoman armies soon took Uyvar Castle (Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky). The war proceeded simultaneously with the conquest of Crete. The fast and ‘unexpected’ reaction of the Austrian Emperor and even France’s troops

⁷¹ See Zeynep Yelçe, “Evaluating three imperial festivals.”

⁷² Kaya Şahin, “Staging an Empire,” 467-468.

pushed the Ottomans to make a truce within a year. The castle was mentioned in the peace treaty, and remained on the Ottoman side. Scholars stated that the heavy loss suffered by the Ottomans at the Battle of Saint Gotthard forced the empire to make peace.⁷³ The grand vizier did not insist on Austrian ambition and took advantage of the occupied territories. A truce continued for twenty years, which meant both sides had 'other' business to take care of.

Moreover, Ahmed Pasha did not deal with a support request by the Transylvanian nobility, who organised a revolt against Austrian dominance between 1667 and 1668. The Ottomans yet could not complete the conquest of Crete; thus, Ahmed Pasha put his interest in Crete at a later date. Five years after since the Austrian truce, Ottoman troops controlled the final resistance of Crete, including Kandiya Castle, and had annexed the island entirely. While the grand vizier Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Pasha was involved the conquest of Crete, the deputy of the grand vizier (*kaimmakam*), Kara Mustafa Pasha, administrated state affairs and made contact with the Polish king.⁷⁴ In 1670, a Polish emissary warned the Polish king that the Ottomans desired to seize Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle within the Commonwealth.⁷⁵ In the following years, the grand vizier campaigned to Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle indeed. In 1672, the Pasha ultimately captured the castle and sealed a truce with the Commonwealth of Poland.⁷⁶ A year later, the renewed army of John Sobieski defeated the Ottoman army at Hotin (Xoytn). Thus, the victory brought the Polish Crown to Sobieski.⁷⁷

⁷³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi: 1600-1914* (Vol. II), ed. Halil İnalcık, & Donald Quataert (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004 (First published in 1994)), 557.

⁷⁴ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681), Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamañçe, Part 1: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 4.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1-10.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 7.

Eventually, all of these military experiences echoed in the 1675 imperial festival.⁷⁸ During the circumcision festival, Ottoman military forces conquered castles in mock battles again and again. According to The Levant Company delegations, at some time during the first two weeks of the festival, the organisers dexterously hung two galleys with two or three men on board, discharging fireworks against each other with mock guns. Consequently, the show demonstrated a sea battle scene between the Venetian and Ottoman fleets.⁷⁹ Ironically, the mock battle renewed Ottoman naval strength, which had perished nearly twenty years before. Moreover, the delegation stated that a pasteboard model castle representing Candia Castle in Crete illustrated the capture of the castle through discharged fireworks and rockets from the battlements, which burst into flames at one point. Eventually, whole structure collapsed and burned to ashes.⁸⁰ Considering that the conquest of the island took almost twenty years, the Ottomans' explicit demonstration of so-called military achievement during the festival was a great motive for the organisers.

Mock battles were routine plays in early modern festive occasions. In these battles, the main intent was to demonstrate the state's military dominion while the military forces' participation was to bring a sense of contentment. Previous studies showed that Ottoman imperial festivals also functioned to refute military, political and social problems.⁸¹ The Levant Company supported the idea of sultanic 'mirth and jollity' which was planned as a triumphal show. Moreover, The Levant

⁷⁸ For the impact of the state's political affairs on the organisation of the imperial festivals, see the example of 1530 festival in Kaya Şahin, "Staging an Empire."

⁷⁹ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy, 1674-1681* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 94. Abdi stated that one of the galleys belonged to heretics, 'kâfir', and the other one was an Algerian galley, 'Cezayirli çekdirme,' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sūr-i Hümayûn*, 501). Nabi stated that the ships were generally galley and galleon (Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi: Vakaayi-i Hitân-ı Şehzadegân-ı Hazreti-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gaazi Li Nabi Efendi*, ed. Ağâh Sırrı Levend (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1944), 61). Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi mentioned two ships, a European galleon and a galley (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân* (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), 211).

⁸⁰ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 94. Nabi mentions a similar event (Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 53).

⁸¹ For a discussion of the 1582 imperial festival, see Zeynep Yelçe, "Evaluating three imperial festivals."

Company realised the importance of the planning the imperial festival after the complete annexation of Crete.⁸² If it is true, in that case, festival tasks were considered after 1669, approximately five years before the preparation of the 1675 imperial festival. For that matter, the 1675 imperial festival did not emerge suddenly; the requirement for such a great event seemed to take shape with organizers after the previously mentioned victories. Maybe the members of The Levant Company discussed the timing of the festival because the Ottoman officials had inspected festival requirements, and perhaps even planned them in detail, so that festival thought was spread widely. Besides, timing was another critical problem for organisers. Eventually, they agreed the year 1675 was favourable to organise an imperial festival. The timing and the scheduling of the festival will be discussed in a future chapter. However, organisers were undoubtedly aware of the function of the festival, therefore one of the main motives of planning such a grand scale event appeared to be a political act indeed.

1.3 WHO RULED? THE SULTAN OR THE GRAND VIZIER?

In the course of the seventeenth century, the rules governing succession to the throne changed, and by the late 1600s, the oldest male member of the dynasty automatically succeeded to the throne. Five years later, the cage system was brought into practice. The cage system established that younger heirs were kept alive, albeit in detention for the benefits of administration, so that the reigning sultan could rule peacefully.⁸³ Thus, the imperial administration made a clean break with the practice of fratricide.

⁸² George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 68.

⁸³ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984), 12.

As the oldest male member of the family, Mehmet IV ascended to the throne, even though he was a child.⁸⁴ For this reason, female members of the dynasty and dignitaries dominated imperial management. The administrative authority continued even when the sultan was full grown. In fact, the *ekberiyet* practice played a vital role in the transition of power of grand viziers and other households. According to Donald Quataert, ‘sultans were needed less and less as warriors or administrators but remained essential as symbols and legitimators of the ruling process itself.’⁸⁵ Eventually, royal women played an essential role in making alliances, due to royal marriages into the grand vizirate and other households.⁸⁶

Leslie Pierce described the central position of the valide sultan (the mother of the sultan) in royal processions between Edirne to Istanbul. According to Pierce, in these ceremonies, there were two separate parades: Mehmed IV was leading one, while the valide sultan was at the head of the other.⁸⁷ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj stated that the sultan's mother conducted herself as his regent during his early childhood.⁸⁸ In other words, the queen mother was one of the important political agents in Mehmet IV's reign. Therefore, the queen mother appeared as a central agent among the organisers of the 1675 festival.

However, after the Ottoman navy was destroyed by the Venetian armada in 1656, securing the imperial palace in Istanbul became a higher concern of the central administration, hence the decision to move the palace to Edirne (Adrianople). Tülay Artan described three main motivations for this outcome: First, primary sources indicated that grand vizier Köprülüzâde Mehmed Pasha solely decided on this verdict. Secondly, after the successful Venetian naval battle, the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁸⁵ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Second ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 (First published in 2000)), 90-93.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 92-93. Later samples of this practice, see Tülay Artan, “Royal Weddings and The Grand Vizirate.”

⁸⁷ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 194.

⁸⁸ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 51.

possible conquest of Limnos (*Limni*) and Tenedos (*Bozcaada*) islands became a highly potential danger to the imperial palace. There were not enough sea forces left, thus there was no defence for the capital. The final reason was the high expenses of the palace, necessitating a move to a less expensive area.⁸⁹

Artan wrote that this final reason came from an official chronicler named Naima. In his narrative, the high expenditures required moving the palace from Istanbul to Edirne to reduce costs. Considering the reliable narrative of Naima, one can ask if the Ottoman court was able to waste such a colossal money just one time only in the 1675 festival, perhaps the complaint about palace expenditures could not be the only reason. Thereby, only two options remain: The Venetian threat and the grand vizirate's decision to move the imperial palace to Edirne. A French jeweller and traveller, Jean Chardin, was in Istanbul in 1671 and attended ambassadorial chambers several times. Chardin and many others claimed that the grand vizier believed keeping the sultan away from the capital would avoid possible riots.⁹⁰ The grand vizier desired the sultan to be present at the military campaigns, and thus, permanently relocated him in Edirne.

During the Polish expedition in 1672, Mehmed IV went to war himself, in the company of the grand vizier. It was the first military campaign of the sultan in person.⁹¹ Even though the sultan did not actually fight, beyond any doubt, his presence brought prestige and legitimacy to the sultanate and increased the strength of the viziers. During the campaign, the sultan's great preacher Vani Efendi also accompanied him, sermonising on behalf of the sultan. He depicted the sultan as a defender of Islamic lands and a protector from sinners.⁹² After the conquest of the

⁸⁹ Tülay Artan, "Was Edirne a Capital and a Royal Court in the Second Half of the 17th Century?", 1.

⁹⁰ Jean Chardin, *Chardin Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul, Osmanlı Toprakları, Gürcistan, Ermenistan, İran 1671-1673*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 84 and 86.

⁹¹ The sultan also carried his harem into the campaign. See the details, Halime Doğru, *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed'in Kamanice-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri* (Istanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2005).

⁹² Marc David Baer, *At Meydanı'nda Ölüm: 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Hoşgörü ve İhtida* (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 137-138. With other details, see Marc

Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle, seven churches became mosques.⁹³ The sultan appointed Hacı Ali to write his Polish campaign. Hacı Ali's book, called *Fethname-i Kemanica* (Conquest of Kamianets) was completed in the same year. Hacı Ali highlighted the sultan's bravery and warrior skills in his book.⁹⁴ The same objective had been pursued after the conquest of Crete. Official records depicted the sultan as the warrior of the faith and a conqueror (*gazi fatih*) after the conquest of Crete.⁹⁵ Depicting the sultan as a warrior of the faith and a conqueror was supposed to legitimise his legal rule and accelerate his power in his younger years.

However, creating the sultan's image continued in his later reign. In 1675, the preparation for the imperial festival started in Edirne, two and a half years after the campaign. The festival was organised in honour of the circumcision of two of the sultan's princes, and included the wedding celebration of a princess as well. Thus, the independent festivity motivations for each of the three celebrations (the circumcisions of two sons and the wedding of a daughter) were gathered into one great imperial festival organisation. It was not unusual to combine these events, as seen in the 1582 and 1720 imperial festivals, since both of these great feasts included circumcisions and weddings as well. The secretary of the French ambassador also claimed that organisers aimed to renew old customs with very exact ceremonies.⁹⁶ In other words, the 1675 imperial festival overlapped with the customary feasts and invented new advantages to be used for the benefit of both the sultan and his supreme householders.

David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 109-113.

⁹³ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681)*, 6.

⁹⁴ According to Baer, the sultan appointed Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha. They met twice in a week to settle on what kind of narrative was to be written in the official chronic. The book emphasised the sultan's hunting skills and warrior ability. In adherence to Islam, the sultan also glorified with his masculinity (Marc David Baer, *At Meydanı'nda Ölüm*, 134).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁹⁶ 'Ils voulurent se conformer aux anciennes coùtumes, dont ils ont des cérémoniaux fort exacts ausquels ils eurent recours' (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 91).

In the 1675 imperial festival, the sultan organised daily banquets for invited dignitaries, military forces, religious leaders and the Ottoman élite.⁹⁷ Eating at the sultan's table was intended to be an honour. The sultan did not attend these daily banquets regularly, but only presented himself on the first day of the festival and on the circumcision day. The sultan also appeared when accepting dignitaries and artisans' offerings in the kiosk. At daily banquets, the grand vizier welcomed the guests until the sultan arrived in the mid-afternoon. Thus, the grand vizier's prestige was advanced by making himself visible to subjects and eating with them at the same table. When the dinner finished, the guests prayed, honouring the name of the sultan as well as the grand vizier. Thus, the grand vizirate shared in the sultan's benefaction through the serving of food to his subjects.

Consequently, the deposition of the sultan's power through his viziers and dignitaries could be traced to the 1675 imperial festival over the long run. Eventually, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, one of the authors of the festival books of the 1675 imperial festival, was hired by the palace to write of the magnificence and glory; ironically, he did not even mention Mehmed IV. A careless reader would probably consider the festival organised on the behalf of the grand vizier. Nevertheless, festival books were supposed to praise the sultan's name and his reign. On the contrary, Abdi, who was hired by vizier Yusuf Pasha, mentioned the vizier's name and the sultan at the same time in each day in his festival book. The secretary of the French ambassador, François Pétis de la Croix, also stated that the grand vizier and the head of the finances were both in charge of the provisions for the festival.⁹⁸ Inevitably, their aims and intentions became visible in the setting of the festival.

⁹⁷ Lydia M. Soo, "The Architectural Setting of "Empire": The English Experience of Ottoman Spectacle in the Late Seventeenth Century and Its Consequences," in *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Keller, & J. Irigoyen-García (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 238.

⁹⁸ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 90-91.

In conclusion, palace households mirrored the sultan's image, with ceremonies and rituals legitimising their ruling power. The transition of power from the single-centred patrimonial administration to several households' oligarchic administrations was achieved in the 1675 imperial festival. The arrangement of seating plans in daily banquets, the gift giving ceremonies between superior and inferior, processions and all the other festival elements combined to demonstrate the empire's political portrayal.⁹⁹

1.4 THE PREPARATION OF THE FESTIVAL

Arrangements had started six months before the grand festival's commencement. Governors, town officers, voivodes, artisans and others had been informed about their offerings before the festival.¹⁰⁰ Şehremîni Mehmed/Mehemmed Efendi was appointed as a principal officer of the festival.¹⁰¹ During preparations, the principal officer's primary duty was to arrange supplies. There were several tasks to complete, one of which was to compile the bride's precious jewels, listed one by one in the bride's trousseau. The sultan's precious stones, gems and jewels were delivered to craftsman to clean and polish before wearing. Thus, these items would be presented to the people and to dignitaries in the procession of the trousseau. After the work had been done, the jewels were protected by the chief harem eunuch (*Dârüssa'âde Ağası*) Yusuf Ağâ in the sultan's treasury.¹⁰² The other tasks were preparing princely festival trees (*nahıls*) and candy displays for the princes'

⁹⁹ A brief discussion about the transition between the patrimonial structure of the empire and several imperial households, see Christoph K. Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50-51.

¹⁰⁰ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488; Abdurrahman Abdi, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi: Osmanlı Tarihi (1648-1682)*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), 439.

¹⁰¹ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât, Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116-1656-1704)*, ed. A. Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), 58; Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488.

¹⁰² Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488; Râşid Mehmed, *Târîh-i Râşid*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır & Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli: Râşid Mehmed Efendi ve Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi (1071-1141/1660-1729) (Vol. I)* (Istanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013), 190.

circumcision celebrations. The sultan ordered two large-scale *nahıl* and forty smaller ones for the use of the princes' cavalcade. Two silver *nahıl*, not as big as the princes', but of course bigger than the smaller ones, were ordered for the princess.

Moreover, animal-shaped candy displays, magnificent candy gardens and a big candy castle were ordered.¹⁰³ The large commercial building of Sultan Selim Waqf in Edirne was commissioned for these tasks. The building was loaned to the *nahıl* and candy garden makers until their preparations were finished, on the twelfth day of the festival, when princes' procession came to take the ordered items.¹⁰⁴ The building provided a secure place to manage the artisans for building the large-scaled *nahıls* and candy gardens. However, there is no detailed information about how this appointed building was used and returned to its former routine afterwards. Similarly, the Âyişe Hatun Han (a caravanserai) housed the preparatory work of firework makers, fire acrobats and performers.¹⁰⁵

Another big task was to organise all the required groups, such as acrobats and dancers, and to manage these guests. Indeed, different parts of the empire served to fulfil these requests. The palace administrators in Edirne tasked the Governor of Egypt to supply the necessary acrobats, water-bearers and other groups. The capital city, Istanbul, also served to complete requests. Organisers summoned existing entertainment groups such as the *Ahmed* and *Cevahir* groups to Edirne, as well as individual puppeteers, shadow-puppet artists, dancers, actors and so on. The secretary of the French ambassador also stated that organisers brought ingenious craftsmen from Arabia, and the most skilled carpenters, carvers and candy makers of Istanbul were brought to Edirne.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 489; Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 36. Sarı Mehmed Pasha remarked that the building that was given to *nahıl* and candy makers was located close to *haffaflar* (shoemaker and sellers) in the city (Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 58).

¹⁰⁵ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488-489.

¹⁰⁶ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 92.

In addition, the French ambassador stated that the grand vizier wanted to import an entertainment group from Venice, although it was not possible to convey this request to the artists in time, so the arrangements for Venetian comedians and singers were cancelled.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, accommodations were arranged in Edirne and many buildings were granted to house these performers. All of the palace community in Istanbul, retired palace dignitaries and Ottoman elite were invited to Edirne. According to Abdi, servants were appointed to the elderly and people who were unable to walk.¹⁰⁸ Accommodations for every visitor, from the performers to the elite guests, were arranged in Edirne.

Therefore, city artisans must have been quite happy with all of these orders requirements to supply a large number of items and luxury goods. According to Nabi, artisans rejoiced when the festival preparations started.¹⁰⁹ Inevitably, some necessities such as woodenware and bedding were required in order to accommodate the high number of guests for the first time. Craftsmen and artisans such as carpenters, sewers, and embroiderers satisfied these needs. Besides their royal jewellery, the sultan ordered a newly-made silver horse carriage for the princess. The carriage tasks were assigned to the second stable officer, Ahmed Ağa.¹¹⁰

In reality, an astonishing amount of preparation was required to organise a grand festival. The palace had to supply each dish, server and water-bottle for the daily feasts. Unfortunately, there is no surviving document which shows how many dishes were obtained by the palace in total, as İşkorkutan had showed for the 1720

¹⁰⁷ Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 196-197.

¹⁰⁸ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489.

¹⁰⁹ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 36.

¹¹⁰ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489. In the second siege of Vienna, Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, the mother of the bride, used the silver carriage on the way of Belgrade in 1683 (Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, 146). Apparently, the mother of the bride had taken procession of this carriage from her daughter to for her own use.

imperial festival.¹¹¹ İşkorkutan demonstrated the high distinction between borrowed items and what was to be given back to people and artisans. This division indicated that artisans and householders did not profit from the festival. On the contrary, present documents speak for the discontent of the people themselves. In 1675 as well, the palace in Edirne received both goods and workmen from Istanbul, as not everything required for the preparation of the festival was available locally.¹¹² According to Abdi, the palace purchased 2,000 plates and 200 kettles. Conversely, Edirne's artisans lent 1,100 plates and 30 large-scale kettles to the palace. Additionally, the head of the financial department appointed '*azimli kişiler*' (determined people) to gather required items from Istanbul's neighborhoods.

Valuable items, such as İznik tableware and silver water-bottles, were used for dignitaries only, whereas inexpensive ones, such as wooden dishes, were used for the crowds. The use of these items seemed identical with 1720 imperial festival for practical purposes. As İşkorkutan's assumed, the court paid great attention to look after these items in both festivals. That explained why all of the festival books have a common point to note which officers and pashas were charged to obtain and protect what items. Names only appear when someone presents offerings or protects an item (the sultan's jewellery or princess' carriage, for instance). Defterdar Ahmed Pasha, head of the financial department, was in charge of the princess' silver carriage. The task of fireworks was assigned to Turmuş Ağa.¹¹³ Also, vizier Ahmed Pasha was appointed as a groomsman, according to customs.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ See Table 4: "Items Borrowed from the Imperial Treasury and Returned Amounts" in Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no.50 (2017), 83.

¹¹² Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 36.

¹¹³ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489. I found the name of Turmuş Ağa in firework expenses, and he was mentioned in three different sections of the account. One of them is recorded that a jew delivered three rolls of black and red coarse woollen cloth (aba) to Turmuş Ağa. D.BŞM.d.00295, fol. 1.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 489.

1.4.1 The Kitchen of the Sultan

Abdi stated some of the names of the foodstuff, and from which provinces they were supplied. Unfortunately, neither the number of dishes nor the names of the provinces were even mentioned by Nabi nor Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. State chroniclers did not record the preparations at all. Therefore, I assume that Abdi gave approximate numbers, even though these figures were quite reasonable when considering the number of daily banquets that were part of the festival. Abdi wrote that he was summoned by vizier Yusuf Pasha to write a festival book. Other festival books were not in accordance with Abdi's claims in some cases. For instance, the number of gifts presented agreed with Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's inventory. Thus, Abdi probably used official accounts when preparing his book. Moreover, these figures agreed with those on record for the festival of 1720. From other sources as well, we know that an existing register in 1720 documenting the 1675 celebrations was considered normative, but it has not survived.¹¹⁵

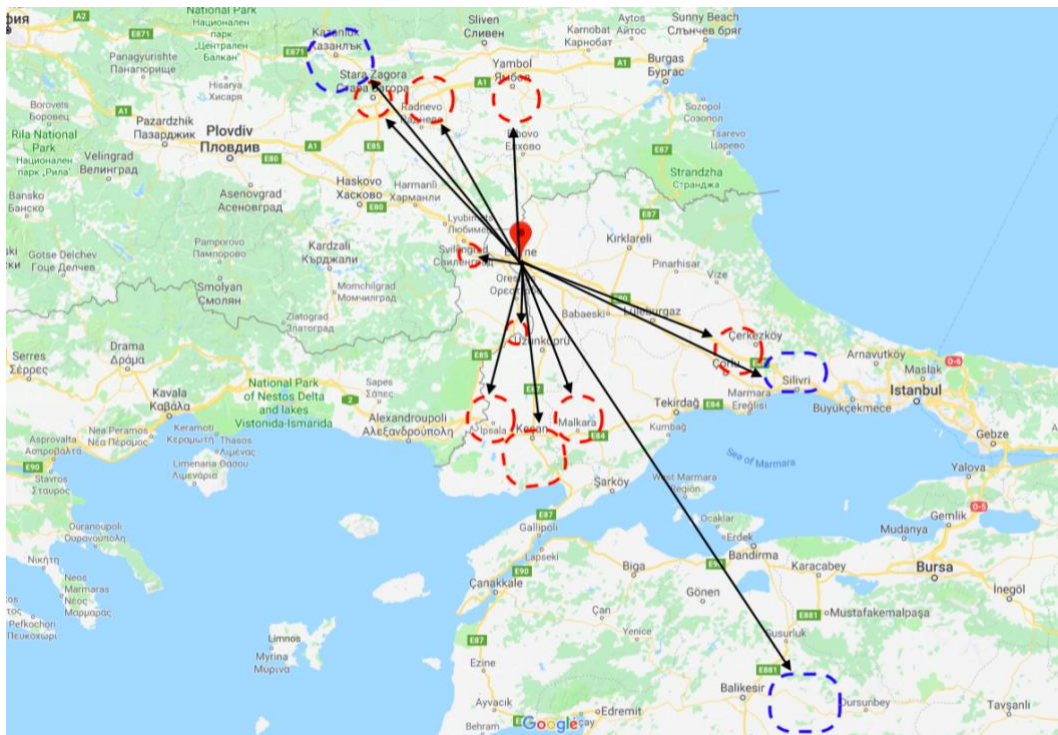
The chief cook, Merzifonlu Hüseyin Ağa (*El-Hâc Hüseyin Ağa*), was summoned from Istanbul and appointed to the sultan's kitchen. According to Abdi, Hüseyin Ağa served as a kitchen officer a few times, and as a master chief's officer in Istanbul.¹¹⁶ In 1675, his primary duty was to arrange feasts and to plan the dinner tables. One hundred fifty cooks from the palace, 300 cooks from the provinces, cooks within the army, 200 tray carriers, 150 Egyptian water-bearers, more than a thousand torch-bearers, and 300 servants from the dockyards were supplied to be responsible for food service.

¹¹⁵ Faroqi mentioned a register documenting the complaints of sellers of *çuha* (woollen cloth). In this register, the complainants demanded that the task had to be done according to both records of the judge and *Defter-i sur-ı Hümayun* (registers of the festival of 1675) in the previous festival (Suraiya Faroqi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, Was Everyone in a Festive Mood?", 214-215).

¹¹⁶ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489.

Required meat products, such as chickens, geese and ducks, were gathered from the nearest provinces: Cisir-i Ergene, Dimetoka, İpsala, Malkara, Derecik, Keşan, Nevâhî-i Yanbolı, Çirimen, Zagra-i ‘Atik and Cedîd. In total, Abdi wrote that 37,000 chickens, 5,000 geese and 6,000 ducks were delivered to the imperial cattle-shed (*Şâz-ı Revân Âhûrı*).¹¹⁷ The officials collected 4,000 wooden dishes, brought in from Silivri, Kızanlık and Kebsut provinces, to serve the guests. The supply routes of the imperial kitchen are demonstrated in the first illustration. As seen from the illustration, the palace mostly utilized the resources of the nearest villages and towns.

Illustration 1: Food supply route in the 1675 imperial festival (Red: Dishes, Blue: Utensils).



¹¹⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 490. Betül İpşirli Arğıt had followed the career of el-hac Hüseyin Ağa: He was an old officer of the customhouse and advanced to Chamberlain of the mother of the sultan, Hatice Turhan Sultan. After the death of the queen mother, he became the Chamberlain of a sultanic wife (*Haseki Sultan Kethüdası*) and endowed offices from Silistre and Basra: Betül İpşirli Arğıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, 34 and 60.

The head of the financial department also purchased 7,000 plates, 3,000 *mevlûd* plates (special for religious days), 1,500 jars, 1,600 water-bottles. Apart from these tableware, other items were also included, such as 3,000 pieces of İznik tableware specially ordered from İznik. Abdi stated that the head of the financial department sent the porcelain chief (*çinicibaşı*) to İznik to manage these items.¹¹⁸

In the archaeology and art history sections of the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul, there is quite a variety of İznik tableware, dated from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. According to the museum's catalogue, Mustafa, the Chief of the Potters/Tilemakers, was still living at İznik in 1680.¹¹⁹ The writer of the catalogue, Ara Altun, stated that Mustafa's presence in İznik supported the idea that İznik remained as the centre of porcelain manufacture at the end of seventeenth century.¹²⁰ Perhaps the examples of the late seventeenth-century İznik ware in the museum look similar to those ordered by the imperial palace in 1675 (See illustration 2, 3 and 4).¹²¹ Festival books indicated that İznik ware were used at dinner tables in the banquets and for the treats after dinner that took place each day, at both the circumcision and wedding festivals. For this reason, seeing tableware from the same century is crucial in order to have a better understanding of the arrangement of these banquets.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 490.

¹¹⁹ Ara Altun, John Carswell & Gönül Öney, *Turkish Tiles and Ceramics*, trans. Tülay Artan (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 1991), 10.

¹²⁰ It is commonly accepted that the manufacture of İznik pottery lived its glorious time in the sixteenth-century (Ibid., 10-11).

¹²¹ I have searched for the late seventeenth century tablewares in Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul. See the catalogue, John Carswell, *Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum* (Istanbul: The Vehbi Koç Foundation-Sadberk Hanım Museum, 1995).

Illustration 2: Samples of İznik ware from the seventeenth-century (Ara Altun, John Carswell & Gönül Öney, Turkish Tiles and Ceramics).



Illustration 3: Samples of chinese porcelain dishes from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (John Carswell, Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum).



Illustration 4: A rosewater sprinkler and a cup from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (John Carswell, Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum).



1.4.2 Circumcision: Real or Fraud

As an endowment by the sultan, the court organised a public circumcision without taking any payment from the people. Not surprisingly, thousands of people applied to participate in this ceremony. Abdi estimated that 3,500 children were circumcised in the festival.¹²² There was a large circumcision tent where these mass circumcisions took place. According to festival books, each day of the festival, hundreds of children were circumcised in the tent. This massive public event was recorded as a tradition in the festival books (*kanun-ı kadim*). Indeed, a similar number of boys were circumcised in the 1582 imperial festival in Istanbul. On this occasion, the sultan demonstrated his power to his subjects, to impress them with the sultan's 'benevolence.' When preparations for the 1675 festival began, people

¹²² The French ambassador, Marquis de Nointel, stated that 8,000 of children including 2,000 pages (*içoğlanı*) came from the provinces for the circumcision (Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 195). Since archival documents match with Abdi's estimation, Nointel was probably exaggerating the countless number of children.

registered their boys with the palace, to ensure that their children would be circumcised in the sultanic festival. The record book belonged to the head of the festival (*sur emini*). Thus, people were presumably supposed to go to an officer or his assistants in order to record the number of children circumcised.

The imperial palace rewarded children with expensive clothes for the honour of the circumcision. The clothes included shoes (*pabuç*), belts (*kuşak*), *kaftan* and quilted turbans (*kavuk*). According to Merve Çakır, 1,491,182 *akçe* were spent in preparation of the clothing.¹²³ Expense registers showed some newly sewn garments and some of the second-hand garment covered with new cloth altogether.¹²⁴ According to these expense registers, a child's body size was also recorded next to the purchased fabric. Perhaps there was a court where the people registered their boys as well as recorded their body size.

However, wealthy people also wanted to record their children in the registers of the 1675 festival. Considering the Ottoman élite who also wanted to record their boys, people esteemed that a circumcision during the princess' festival would bring them honour, even perhaps would not be forgotten. Abdi claimed that people from the lower classes were supposed to be recorded in the book. Instead, organisers allowed the children from wealthy families to be recorded. Abdi did not comment about the situation, but he noted the expectation was to keep and present the Ottoman élite in the festival.¹²⁵ It is interesting to see that the court stressed attracting the élite to the festival by giving them the honour of circumcision with princes. In this way, another motive was revealed by the organisation of the festival: organizers needed to include Ottoman aristocracy, maybe even to influence the empire's dominance by the aristocracy participating in the festival. Presumably valuable kaftans were prepared for the élite, whereas relatively cheaper or second-

¹²³ BOA MAD 3770, 9a-9b. See more detail in Merve Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü."

¹²⁴ BOA MAD 3770, 9a-9b.

¹²⁵ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 491.

hand kaftans were provided for others. Thus, to be on the sultan's circumcision list was definitely profitable for both the upper and lower classes.

Consequently, the Ottoman élite rejoiced in the sultan's legacy through circumcising their children and profiting from expensive kaftans while sharing the sultan's pride and honour during the festival. In Çakır's study, the circumcised boys' expense register demonstrated that 2,925 garments were sewn. Almost three thousand children were circumcised, the number close to the approximate number of Abdi. Çakır also stated that 682 kaftans were sewn for dignitaries.¹²⁶ Presumably, the boys registered from Ottoman aristocracy accounted for 42 per cent of the total register. Abdi would be surprised to see so many privileged people; therefore, he noted the intent behind the scene.

Moreover, many surgeons were required to circumcise a great number of boys. Abdi stated that three hundred surgeons including apprentices were gathered from Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne. Apprentices started with circumcision operations to gain experience in Defterdar Ahmed Pasha's palace. Each day, sixty boys were circumcised in the palace. At the end of the operation, the children were rewarded with specially prepared clothes.¹²⁷

As previously mentioned, aristocracy from Istanbul had been invited to Edirne before the festival started. Organisers assigned carts to collect individuals in Istanbul because they were responsible for the guests' comfort.¹²⁸ Organizers arranged for the accommodation of guests and assigned servants for them. Clearly, they took serious accommodating the élite while being thoughtful for them. However, they accommodated The Levant Company delegations in the 'Ghetto.'¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Merve Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü," 113.

¹²⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 491.

¹²⁸ To see The Levant Company delegation's story of demanding carts from *kaimmakam* pasha, George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 88.

¹²⁹ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 94.

Providing carts and accommodation were symbolic messages between parties; being deprived of such as well was another message indeed.

Besides, organisers declared that dignitaries invited to the sultan's marquee for daily banquets could not leave the dinner table before the sultan had moved to the kiosk.¹³⁰ We can see that organisers stressed both the presence of the élites and dignitaries by demonstrating the empire's social hierarchies in all aspects from accommodation to daily ceremonies. Including Ottoman aristocracy in the festival served the organisers' intent when the festival's ultimate objective was to include all social levels of society. Ultimately, as Kaya Şahin stated, the 'public ceremonies allowed elements of the ruling elite as well as urban communities to appear as constituent parts of the imperial polity, and to perform their identities in public environments, in the presence of one another and the sultan, through ritualised actions and activities.'¹³¹

¹³⁰ Râşid Mehmed, *Târîh-i Râşid*, 187.

¹³¹ Kaya Şahin, "Staging an Empire," 466.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 FESTIVAL TIME AND SPACE

The Turkish word *meydan* describes an open space where people assemble for a variety of purposes. During the Ottoman Empire, one such important usage was for imperial festivals, in which the meydan was transformed into festival space. More crucially, the meydan became a demonstration hall, where the sultan portrayed the hierarchy between himself, his court and his subjects, and the empire's power was made visible. For instance, in 1675, organizing officials planned an entire circumcision festival in the *sırık meydanı*,¹³² a strategic place for several reasons. The officials had to reinvent the meydan into festival space because initially, such festivals had taken place only in Istanbul. Therefore, I presume that the organisers used the imperial festival of 1675 to make the continuity of the sultanate visible, even though the palace had now moved to Edirne.

Sezer Tansuğ has shown that Ottoman sultans used earlier imperial symbols, following the model of the Eastern Roman Empire.¹³³ In the Roman Empire, the emperor appeared standing in the imperial lodge when festivals and games were held in the Hippodrome. His seat was higher than that of the attending citizenry, and his superiority became visibly obvious. In this way, the emperor established the hierarchy between himself and his subjects. Imperial lodges consistently highlighted the power of the ruler as depicted on the Obelisk of Theodosius in the Hippodrome in Istanbul.¹³⁴ Tansuğ has remarked that the sultan appeared in his balcony in 1582 in a way coresponding to the depiction of the

¹³² Festival books called the square *sırık meydanı*, diversely, Râşid Mehmed Efendi called it *sarây meydanı* (palace square), (Râşid Mehmed, *Târîh-i Râşid*, 187).

¹³³ Sezer Tansuğ, *Şenlikname Düzeni: Türk Minyatüründe Gerçekçi Duyuş ve Gelişme* (Istanbul: De Yayınevi, 1961), 26-33.

¹³⁴ Moreover, Tansuğ indicated that people in the same grounds were depicted in the 1582 festival book (Ibid., 30).

Eastern Roman Emperor on the foot of the obelisk. The sultan in his balcony stood in a place higher than his subjects, just as previous emperors had done.

Although there is no imagery documenting the 1675 imperial festival, in the textual records, such as festival books and chronicles, Mehmed IV appears sitting in the imperial kiosk. The descriptions of certain travellers tell us that not only the sultan but also the grand vizier was seated in an elevated place.¹³⁵ After evening prayer, the sultan came to his lodge almost every day of the circumcision festival.¹³⁶ The sultan and the dignitaries went to a kiosk to watch gift-giving ceremony after finishing a banquet in the sultan's pavilion.¹³⁷ After this ceremony, they used the same kiosk to watch entertainments and firework displays. Sometimes high dignitaries sat together with the grand vizier were on the seats in front of the tent.

Interestingly, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi never mentioned the sultan. Presumably, he never saw him. Instead, he described the grand vizier and the dignitaries at length. Perhaps he did not have a chance to see the sultan, or he wanted to emphasise the role of the grand vizier. I assume that Hezarfen Hüseyin was somehow between ordinary people and the élite. Thus, like outside visitors and European travellers, he discussed the acrobats and other entertainments extensively.

Thomas Coke also referred to the sultan, describing only what he saw at street level. Thus, Mehmed IV was not a ruler who was easily visible to his subjects. Conversely, his might and power were apparent from his higher position in the kiosk; although nobody could see or reach him, he was able to observe everyone in the field. For the organisers, the festival square should have been entirely visible in one glance. My conclusion is that the Ottomans made use of an older practice, in

¹³⁵ Thomas Coke, *A true narrative of...*, 2.

¹³⁶ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 46; Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 494, 497, 499 and 500; Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 225 and 229.

¹³⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 499.

that they did not allow people to see the sultan directly, but he was in a position to monitor the entire festival square.

2.2 CONSTRUCTION OF THE FESTIVAL SITE

So far, I have stressed the implications of situating the sultan's kiosk at a certain level. Given the citation, we will discuss the construction of the festival site in some detail. In secondary literature, with the exception of Özdemir Nutku, scholars did not try to ascertain exactly where the festival square was located.¹³⁸ For a long time, Rıfat Osman's detailed studies and his oil painting were the only images documenting the imperial palace complex (*Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire*). Recently, archaeological excavations begun in 2009 were completed in 2014.¹³⁹ They have shown the existence of two fountains next to the festival square.¹⁴⁰ One of these fountains had the same name as the festival square: *Sırık Meydanı Çeşmesi*.¹⁴¹ In every festival book, the field was called *sırık meydanı*.¹⁴² The name indicated that the festival square was a large open-air piazza. The excavations also brought to light the walls of the imperial palace. As a result, we know with certainty where the festival square was located.¹⁴³

John Covel, a member of The Levant Company, travelled around the empire and sought to promote the interests of English trade. He reached Edirne from Istanbul in 1675, accompanying a committee of The Levant Company. He

¹³⁸ See Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), 48-49.

¹³⁹ See the final analysis on excavations: Mustafa Özer, Mesut Dünder, Hasan Uçlar, Gökben Ayhan & Yavuz Güner, "Edirne Sarayı (Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire) Kazısı 2014 Yılı Çalışmaları," 37. *Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu. III* (Erzurum: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2015, 11-15 May), 595.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 606.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 614.

¹⁴² Nabi mentions as *saraymeydanı* (palace square), 'Evvelâ oldu Saraymeydanı/Madrib-i bârgeh-i sultânî' in Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 37.

¹⁴³ See the location of the imperial palace site in Mustafa Özer, *Edirne Sarayı (Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire): Kısa Bir Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 73.

witnessed both the circumcision and the wedding festival in Edirne. Moreover, throughout the festival, Covell drew whatever he found interesting. One of these drawings was the construction of the festival site. Recently, Lydia M. Soo has followed Covell's diary, just as Özdemir Nutku had done at least forty years before, to reconstruct the festival site according to Covell's illustration and to determine the location of *sırık meydanı*. Covell had drawn much classical architecture, as he was primarily interested in Greek and Roman structures, typical of an educated English traveller in the late seventeenth century. Soo has mined her visual and written data and limited her analysis to traveller observations. She has not used the Ottoman sources, but rather Covell's report and other European sources.¹⁴⁴

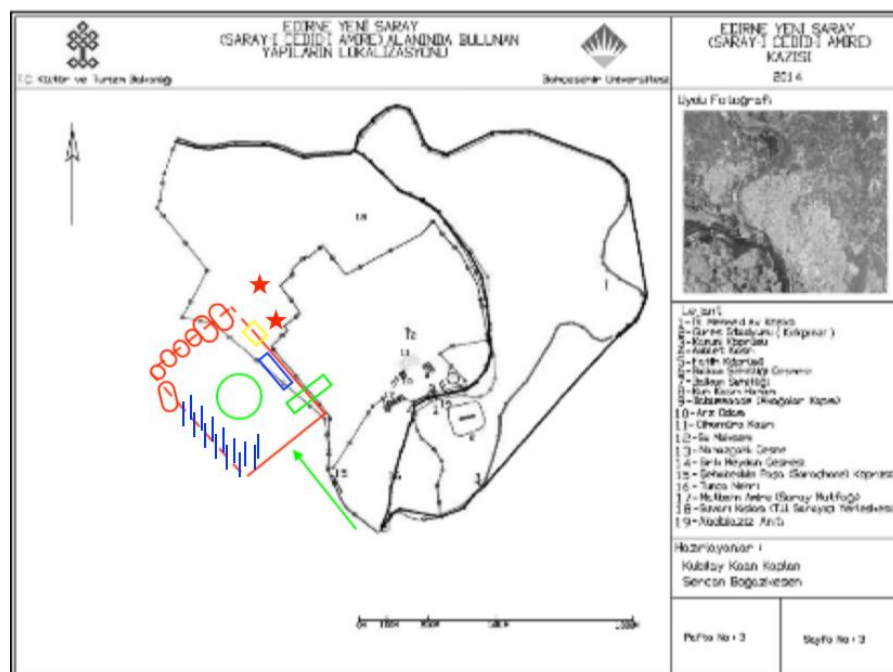
In illustration 6, I used festival books and also added the plate produced by the excavations. The outcome of my research matched Soo's reconstruction, and also the information given by Abdi, meaning we can be sure of having detected the location of the festival square of 1675 (See illustration 5 and 6).

¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Soo has claimed that there were no festival books about the 1675 imperial festival (Lydia M. Soo, "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire': The English Experience of Ottoman Spectacle in the Late Seventeenth Century and Its Consequences," in *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marcus Keller, Javier Irigoyen-García (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 238. Indeed, there was no painted book; however, there were several festival books. I think that Soo has missed the entire narrative Ottoman documentation, probably because her study is mainly concerned with architectural history.

Illustration 5: Lydia M. Soo's reconstruction of sîrk meydanı (Soo, The Architectural Setting of 'Empire', 225).



Illustration 6: The plate produced by the latest excavations (Özer, DüNDAR, Uçlar, Ayhan, & Güner, Edirne Sarayı). Scratches show the author's own estimations (Red stars highlight the explored fountains).



A high number of poles were erected on one side of the festival square. A significant number of these poles were garnished with candles.¹⁴⁵ While the festival books give different numbers of poles and candles, we can add that the models used in firework displays also appeared on the ropes suspended between the poles. Abdi described a circumcision tent established right next to the Egyptian firework makers, who had set up fifty ornamented poles (*donanma*).¹⁴⁶ Hezarfen Hüseyin claimed that twenty-two poles were erected on one side in the festival square. As these numbers are very different, we cannot be sure how many poles were installed, but presumably, the poles were ship masts.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, Abdi illustrated that the line of poles reached from the circumcision marquee to the gate of the palace.

In the second illustration, blue sticks indicate Hezarfen Hüseyin's poles. Between these poles are the lamps on ropes that Hezarfen Hüseyin mentioned as 'a thousand'.¹⁴⁸ According to Thomas Coke, several wooden figures of ships and buildings also hung from these ropes. He stated that the figures were changed every night.¹⁴⁹ Coke was reminded of his travels to Egypt, as he noted the Egyptians practised a similar *donanma* when they cut the dike of the river Nile.¹⁵⁰ Covell drew the lamps and firework models carefully.¹⁵¹ The reminder of the *donanma* in Egypt also could be seen in the travels of Evliya Çelebi. Similarly, Evliya mentioned the celebrations, and narrated the parades and garnished vessels in the Nile.¹⁵² As Coke

¹⁴⁵ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 208.

¹⁴⁶ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489. For more information about *donanma*, see Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu: Köylü ve Halk Tiyatrosu Gelenekleri* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1985), 101-121. Also see Suraiya Faroqi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 178.

¹⁴⁷ '... meydânın bir tarafına yirmi iki gemi sireni dikilüp ve envâ'-ı sînâ'ât ile her birine bin maddâr kandiller dizilüp, Sûr'un ibtidâsından âhırine varınca her gice çırağân olsun deyü fermân olundu.' (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 208).

¹⁴⁸ Exaggerated narration is a common point of festival books. Nevertheless, Hezarfen Hüseyin's festival book had the most realistic narrative of all of the festival books.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Coke, *A true narrative of...*, 2.

¹⁵⁰ However, Coke did not mention wooden stands in front of the marquees (Ibid., 2).

¹⁵¹ Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 109; Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 118; Lydia M. Soo, *The Architectural Setting of "Empire"*, 227.

¹⁵² Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (10. Kitap), ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, & Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 176-178.

recalled, Evliya took in the illuminations and the decorations of the vessels naturally, as he had witnessed those of the official ceremonies in Istanbul.

In her work, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Mona Ozouf stressed that objects such as pyramids and obelisks illustrate the contrast between high and low; ‘they are moral themes, not visual constraints.’¹⁵³ In the late eighteenth century France, ‘low symbolised the inherited past and antiquity’; by contrast, ‘high depicted the hoped-for future.’¹⁵⁴ Can we speculate on this theme for the 1675 imperial festival? Indeed, this festival featured plenty of vertical objects as well as horizontal models. In illustration 6, a green arrow shows the *Sarraçhane Köprüsü*, the bridge which connected the imperial palace with the city. People and processions came from this direction. Thus, when organising the site, the officials in charge made the square face toward the city, so that the illuminations became the first sight when viewed from afar. When Dudley North, one of the members of The Levant Company, noted his impressions concerning the construction of the festival, he stressed the prevalence of imperial marquees and the illuminations that caught the eye at first sight.¹⁵⁵

Seven marquees were installed on the back side of the *meydan*. These marquees were for the use of the sultan and dignitaries. The first and largest one was exclusively for the sultan, placed next to the wall of the palace. The grand vizier’s marquee was installed next to that of the sultan, followed by the treasurer, the representative of the grand vizier and the commander of the Janissaries. Thus, when visitors came to the festival site, they first saw the poles, then the inner circle within the *meydan* and beyond that circle, the imperial marquees. In this progression, the rectangle of the *meydan* ended with the marquees at the head of the square. François Pétis de la Croix, the secretary of the French ambassador,

¹⁵³ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. A. Sheridan (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988), 134.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 127-129.

¹⁵⁵ Roger North, *The life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North, knt. ...*, 210.

defined the square: 'the camp had the shape of a semicircle,' describing the marquees in the same order.¹⁵⁶ Each marquee had a wooden stand in front; This arrangement had a practical reason, as it allowed the dignitary to see the entertainments on display. On the other hand, this arrangement also showed the power of the dignitaries by positioning them higher than the others. The French ambassador stated that the formation of the marquees stood in majestic immobility.¹⁵⁷ The walls of the palace closed the other side of the *meydan*.

Thomas Coke described the sultan's kiosk on the top of the wall, indicating that women 'had the convenient feeling' in the kiosk.¹⁵⁸ This structure had a pathway leading directly from it to the imperial harem, so serving the royal women to watch the spectacles in the *meydan*. Abdi mentioned the kiosk as *Alay Kasrı* (pageantry kiosk), probably thinking of its practical use, for the kiosk stood on the route of parades and processions, where spectacles and offerings were presented to the sultan.¹⁵⁹ The organisers of the festival were indeed aware of the importance of the construction of the festival site. Ultimately, the poles and the marquees comprised a majestic scene. Thereby, the sultanate image provided a visual banquet across the Tuna River. With these installations, the organisers determined to show the court's image in all its glory and brilliance to the townspeople. In other respects, this settlement placed imperial marquees and the sultan's kiosk as beyond, also illustrating the social hierarchy between the state and its subjects.

However, a circle is drawn inside the *sırık meydanı*. The circle was reserved only for acrobats and firework makers, probably to prevent accidents. According to

¹⁵⁶ 'La disposition du Camp estoit en demi-cercle; la première pointe du côté du Sérail estoit occupée par les pavillons du xeïslar Aga & des Eunuques noirs destinez pour la garde de ces belles prisonnières, qui regnoient depuis la Porte du Palais jusques au coin de la muraille, où se terminoient les tentes Impériales, au devant desquelles il y a voit deux petits cabinets élevez de six pieds pour le grand Seigneur, & le Prince Moustafa' (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 94-95).

¹⁵⁷ 'Tous ces grands porte-turbans, entoures de leurs gardes, se tiennent dans une immobilité majestueuse.' (Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 197-198).

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Coke, *A true narrative of...*, 2.

¹⁵⁹ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489.

Pétis de la Croix, the crowds did not allow him to watch comfortably: there was ‘a wall of heads.’¹⁶⁰ He attended with the ambassador of Ragusa, Lord Pietro Marino Caboga. They were sitting in a tent, on carpets and cushions given by the grand vizier.¹⁶¹ Organisers may have been concerned about insecure firework machines; perhaps the reason for the inner circle was practical, mainly to avoid injuries. Thus, spectators were not allowed to cross the line. *Tulumcus*, a group of performers commissioned to protect the line, also functioned as clowns, and entertained people with mockery.¹⁶² According to Abdi, fifty-five *tulumcus* were employed around the circle.¹⁶³ They ruled as reminders of the festival, carrying an oily sack in hand. If one crossed the line, they were struck with these sacks.¹⁶⁴

The imperial band, called the *çalıcı mehterler*, was placed next to the entrance of the square. Starting from the sultan’s kiosk, the band’s marquees were set up to the gate of the palace (*divan-ı hümayun kapısı*).¹⁶⁵ *Çalıcı mehterler* were employed to play for several occasions. Mostly they played to announce the starting of entertainments.¹⁶⁶ They also played during ceremonial tasks, such as when the sultan came to the kiosk, or to announce the accomplishment of the prince’s circumcision. Another need was to place the military during the festival. The military was too big to place soldiers around the square, so their tents were placed behind the sultan’s marquees. Therefore, putting military forces behind the imperial marquees served three motives: to demonstrate the court’s military power behind the sultan, to separate the people from the military forces, and to illustrate the hierarchical difference between the citizens and the court.

¹⁶⁰ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 103.

¹⁶¹ ‘Les plus considérables trouvoient place le long des murailles des têtes assis sur le cul. J’y assistay avec le Seigneur Pietro Marino Caboga Ambassadeur de Raguse, le grand Visir nous avoit fait donner un tapis & des coussins, sous la tente du Kehaia Beig’ (Ibid., 103).

¹⁶² I discussed *tulumcus* employment in the following chapters.

¹⁶³ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 492.

¹⁶⁴ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, “Kimmiş Bu Tulumcular?” paper published in *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.297, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 492. Pétis de la Croix also depicted the same formation, see François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 93-94.

¹⁶⁶ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 97.

Military forces were also employed for the security of the palace and the sultan. Abdi stated that two thousand janissaries were employed inside the palace, on the back side of the sultan's kiosk, for as far as the imperial harem.¹⁶⁷ A canopy hung over them, which made forces relatively hidden, perhaps looking like a janissary corridor. The lines of military forces indicated that clearly, organisers counted the palace's security as an essential task, one that they took into serious consideration.

2.3 THE FESTIVAL CALENDAR

A French scholar once wrote that 'the calendar and the creation of festivals cannot be separated'.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, festival organisers in 1675 considered scheduling and timing seriously. They considered the calendar as a kind of talisman.¹⁶⁹ Abdi emphasized the miraculous coincidence of timing for the circumcision day, because the event took place on important dates by chance.¹⁷⁰ Emphasis through festivals of the sultanates's continuity was the desired goal. For this reason, organisers controlled time strictly during the festival and used religious holidays and collective commemorative places around the city. Pashas and guests were invited at a certain time; the grand vizier appeared at exactly the same time each day. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi stated that the grand vizier came to the sultan's pavilion at midday, meeting guests and receiving their praise. The sultan came into the kiosk after evening prayer and at the start of entertainments.

¹⁶⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 492.

¹⁶⁸ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 161. Originally, festivals followed the natural cycle or repeated events. In this sense, festivals and carnivals were bound closely to a yearly calendar. See the introduction of Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

¹⁶⁹ In one of the queen mother's mosque construction, the groundbreaking ceremony started with a blessed time determined by Müneccimbaşı (the head astrologer) Mehmed Efendi, Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, 143.

¹⁷⁰ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 510.

Table 2: Daily programme of the circumcision festival.

After 1200 o'clock. (Afternoon prayer)	1. Guests arrive. 2. Banquet. 3. Treats serving: coffee and sherbet.
Around mid-afternoon (After afternoon prayer)	1. Sultan and grand vizier arriving at the kiosk. 2. Circumcision children pageantry. 3. Guests and diplomats gift giving, <i>pişkeş</i>. 4. Artisan's pageantry and gift giving. 5. Acrobat shows start (around 4 o'clock).
Around sunset (After evening prayer)	1. Fire shows and illuminations start. 2. Firework display continues until midnight.
Arriving at midnight (Extended only on religious holidays)	1. Sultan goes inside the palace. 2. Festival site becomes empties.

The empire demonstrated its power and influence over its subjects by maintaining festival time strictly and most importantly, through practised timing. The control of time drew travellers' attention too.¹⁷¹ Interesting enough, a morning routine was not mentioned in any festival book.¹⁷² Presumably, the imperial kitchen prepared banquets in the morning, utilizing dinner tables on the marquees. Thus, in the mornings, there was nothing worth mentioning. In this way can we presume that

¹⁷¹ Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 38. John Covell was surprised by constructions and festival order.

¹⁷² Both Nabi's and Abdi's festival books give no clue about a morning routine or a morning event during the festival. Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha was interested in recording guests only, without any perception of time. Hezarfen Hüseyin's festival book was the most successful of all these accounts. Sometimes he detailed even hours, like '... on ikinci sâ'atde vezîr-i a'zam hazretleri teşrîf buyurupve bir sâ'atden sonra pâdişâh-ı âlem-penah hazretleri teşrîf buyurdular.' (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 233).

city households and guests took care of their own needs until the public celebrations started around mid-afternoon.

It is certain that the chef started to serve the food after guests had shown gratitude toward the grand vizier. Invitees blessed and prayed for both the sultan and the grand vizier at the end of the banquets as well. According to the festival books, coffee and sherbet were offered to guests before and after the banquet.¹⁷³ At the wedding feast, the groom demonstrated the same practice, by offering coffee and sherbet to daily guests after the banquet. Today, the same tradition can be seen in daily life in Turkey. Traditionally, a household offers Turkish coffee to guests after dinner. This practice may have given an official or proper feasting code of the Ottomans' daily life throughout the centuries, even to the present day.

According to the daily programme of the festival, the Egyptian and Istanbul firework makers and fire acrobats performed every evening; indeed, they started after sunset to make the display more apparent in the dark. Entertainments continued until the sultan returned to the palace in the evenings. Scholars stressed that there was a more relaxed and liberated atmosphere late afternoons and evenings in the Ottoman imperial festivals.¹⁷⁴ After sunset, the festival site was lit by lamps and illuminations, making the crowd's behaviours more relaxed and uncontrolled by officers.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ According to Abdi, treats were served twice, before and after the banquet. Contrarily, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi stated that treats were served after the banquet only.

¹⁷⁴ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800* (London: Continuum, 2008), 183. Also, for a changing perception of the night in the early modern Istanbul, see Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen, & Evelyn Birge Vitz (Brepols, 2014), 243-269.

¹⁷⁵ Kafadar stated that the transmission of coffee from Cairo to Istanbul had made an impact of opening coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul. The coffeehouses then became the place of exceeded gender boundaries and all sort of social customs (Cemal Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night...", 250-258 and 260). Additionally, the sales of candles and their production in the cities were already at its highest in the late seventieth century (Ibid., 259).

Moreover, with the wedding night exclusively extended, organisers did not remove people from in front of the vizier's palace, located in the heart of the city (next to the Sultan Selim Mosque). In other words, organisers consciously liberated people from formal boundaries that night. Why did organisers set entertainments free, particularly that wedding night? Abdi claimed that Egyptian and Istanbul illuminators had said 'Let's turn night into day!', and the annals of Silahdar Mehmed indicated that festival went until morning.¹⁷⁶ On the wedding night, sources stressed that the firework display and illuminations continued until the morning (Abdi claimed it continued until five o'clock).¹⁷⁷

Traditionally, light characterises folk grotesque; darkness replaces the light, much as night replaces morning, spring is overcome by winter.¹⁷⁸ This archaic ritual, which Bakhtin discussed in detail, becomes observable at night, thus, festival participants mimicked physical contact between the bride and groom. In other words, the crowd demonstrated the physical connection between bride and groom, the procreative force triumphing on the wedding night. According to all the festival books, the celebrations did not span the entire night; generally speaking, they finished when the sultan said 'Everybody is dismissed. The festival will continue tomorrow.'¹⁷⁹ In this way, the wedding night became the exception for everybody, including the sultan. Besides, the organisers held the wedding night on a Thursday.¹⁸⁰ Leyla Saz, one of the witnesses of a royal wedding ceremony in the late Ottoman period, stated that 'all weddings were settled on Thursday, which is before the religious holiday, Friday.'¹⁸¹ Leyla Saz was quite aware of wedding

¹⁷⁶ 'Bir safâ eyleyelim kim şebimiz rûz idelim.' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 495); See appendix A, Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa. *Silahdar Tarihi*, edited by Aslı Göksel, "The 'Surname' of Abdi as a Sample of Old Turkish Prose." Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1983.

¹⁷⁷ The administration of time in the 1675 festival recalls Cemal Kafadar's arguments; His point of different time perception between the 1582 and 1675 imperial festivals had indicated that the management of time was gradually charted, and thus, audiences had more control over time as can be seen in 1675 festival (Cemal Kafadar, *How dark is the history of the night...*, 260).

¹⁷⁸ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 45.

¹⁷⁹ 'Dagılın bî-çârelere çün kaldı dîvân irteye'' Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 495.

¹⁸⁰ Festival books and chronicles agreed on the day, check *Ibid.*, 527-528 and Râşid Mehmed, *Târîh-i Râşid*, 190.

¹⁸¹ Şair Leyla (Saz) Hanım, *19. Yüzyılda Saray Haremi*, 172.

customs, including the date. It would not be a coincidence to see the same day a hundred years earlier. Naturally, the organisers deliberately assigned the date of special occasions in the 1675 festival.

The circumcision of princes was another scheduled event during the festival. Organisers combined circumcision day with two religiously significant occasions.¹⁸² One was *mevlid*, the birthday of the prophet, the other was holy Friday. Indeed, holy days empowered the princes' circumcisions and created a spiritual atmosphere, especially considering the 'temporal culture' intertwining this divine order, and daily practices into an exclusive occasion. Abdi stressed the miraculous feat of this circumcision day, seeing a miracle in the situation; the prince was twelve years old, it was the twelfth day of the year, it was a *mevlid* day and a Friday at the same time.¹⁸³ Abdi seemed confused to think how all of these special occasions meshed into one day. For him, it was an oracle, only to be explained by the spiritual values of the sultan's character. The Second Vizier Yusuf Pasha hired Abdi to put the imperial festival down on paper. In this sense, Abdi also transcribed the organisers' intentions into the book.

Moreover, *mevlid* was supposed to be celebrated in the mosque. Usually, the ceremony takes place in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul. Because the palace had moved from Istanbul, the organisers needed to adapt this ritual to Edirne. The sultan and his dignitaries went to the Sultan Selim Mosque, the only landmark place of worship in the city that could be compared with the Sultan Ahmed

¹⁸² Avner Wishnitzer had discussed widely that the practices and the perceptions of time were relative and not standardised in the early modern Ottomans, and the 'temporal culture' requiring the divine order was embedded in daily practices and became inseparable parts, Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

¹⁸³ 'Mustafâ hazretlerinin sinn-i şerîfleri on ikisinde ve mâh-ı rebî'ü'l-evvelînin on ikinci gününe müsâdif olduğundan kat'-t nazar, yevm-i mevlûd-ı Hazret-i Risâlet-penâhî olup ve şeb-i âzînede vâki' olmuştur.' Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 510.

Mosque.¹⁸⁴ Since that time, an imperial order claimed that the Sultan Selim Mosque would replace Sultan Ahmed's objective ambition. Therefore, Edirne became the new centre of both imperial and religious ceremonies. In this spirit, candies and treats were distributed around the mosque just as was done in Istanbul.¹⁸⁵ It appeared that the adaptation of the *mevlid* ceremony was used as a trump card when the 1703 rebellion broke out in the capital city, and the sultan sent the nominees for high religious offices to Edirne in order to commemorate the *mevlid*.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the adaptation of official ceremonies elevated the position of the city of Edirne.

Today, the Sultan Selim Mosque (Selimiye Camisi) still dominates the urban space; it can be seen from almost every rooftop in the city. I believe that the organisers' choice was more than one of ritual adoption. In reality, Edirne connected with a Sunni religious movement. Sheikh Vani Efendi preached in the mosque, as well as other sheikhs who had gained the close favour of royal households. People were invited from all around the city. Coffee and sherbet were distributed to worshippers in the mosque. Thus, the palace merged with the most significant collective memory site in Edirne. Hezarfen Hüseyin found it notable that the sultan left the door of his lodge open for a while before he went into the 'cage' and saluted the dignitaries.¹⁸⁷ At this time only, he might have had the chance to see the sultan. Moreover, he claimed that a messenger from the holy lands, specifically from the Kaaba, came into the mosque during the sermon. The sultan's generosity to the messenger was exhibited in front of everybody present; after that,

¹⁸⁴ The city of Edirne developed around the 'Old Palace.' The Old Palace was demolished and Sultan Selim mosque built in the same area. Only the Old Palace's bathhouse survived (Mustafa Özer, *Edirne Sarayı (Sarayı Cedid-i Âmire)*, 6).

¹⁸⁵ Abdî, *Sûr-i pür sūrûr-i Hümayûn*, 507; Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 234; Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 62-63.

¹⁸⁶ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 74.

¹⁸⁷ 'Şevketlü pâdişah hazretleri, sa'âdetle kafese çıkup oturmadan, kafesin câmi'-i şerîfe nâzır olan kapuların küşâde etdirüp, vüzerâ-yı izâmı ve ulemâ-yı kibârı selâmladı. Ba'dehu yine kafesin kapuların kapadılar. Ve her biriyerlü yerinde karâr edüp, Eski-sarây ve Yeni-sarây baltacıları şerbet ve buhûr verüp ikrâm olundu.' (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 233-234).

the sermon continued. A message from the holy lands at that point must have greatly increased the holiness of the space.

In all of the primary sources, state chroniclers paid the most attention in their registers to timing and scheduling. Their main aim was to archive Mehmed IV's reign; thus, they produced the most accurate calendar. There was no mistake on the dates of the celebrations in the annals. On the other hand, festival book authors shared a different perception of time in their scheduling.

For instance, Nabi's poetic writing probably caused him to pay attention to the harmony of the arrangements, rather than to dating and recording every event in the festival. As a consequence, his calendar became utterly disorganised. There was no perception of time and space in Nabi's festival book, although his verses seem the most lyrical of all the festival books.

Abdi's perception of time only recounted prayer times, such as 'gifts came after evening'¹⁸⁸ and 'after midday, viziers went to their places to sit.'¹⁸⁹ Even though he attempted to write daily events, he was not successful in recording everything date by date. Aslı Göksel emphasised that he had not studied in a madrasah, based on his inability to use the Turkish tongue. According to Göksel, Abdi's letters demonstrated his inadequate knowledge of Arabic and Persian. Moreover, Göksel claimed that he did not witness the festival at all.¹⁹⁰ He recorded each day with its name, like Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and so on. On the ninth day, which was Monday, he did not note any date. He stated that the next day was Monday, mistakenly missing the previous day. In the following days, he continued with the wrong date, realised the mistake after three days, then finally corrected his

¹⁸⁸ 'Yine ba'de'l-'asr etrâflardan gelen hediyeeler 'arz olunup . . .' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 506).

¹⁸⁹ 'Vakt-i zuhrdan sonra vüzerâ nişîmenlerine varup . . .' (Ibid., 502).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 9.

error on the fourteenth day.¹⁹¹ Also, he mistook the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth days as wedding celebrations (See table 3 and table 4).¹⁹² All of these mistakes recall his inadequate accurate writing, as Göksel had remarked.

Table 3: Scheduling mistakes in Abdi's festival books (circumcision festival).

8 th Day	9 th Day	10 th Day	11 th Day	12 th Day	13 th Day	14 th Day
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	?	Yevm-i bâzâr-irtesidir (Monday)	Yevmi-i Salı (Tuesday)	Yevm-i çehâr-şenbe (Wednesday)	Yevm-i penc-şenbe (Thursday)	

Table 4: Scheduling mistakes in Abdi's festival books (wedding festival).

33 rd Day	34 th Day	35 th Day	36 th Day
Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
6 th day of the wedding feast	7 th day of the wedding feast	8 th day of the wedding feast	9 th day of the wedding feast
	Beşinci günü (Fifth day)	Yevm-i Sâbi (Seventh day)	

2.4 BEYOND THE FESTIVAL SITE

The festival took forty-five days in total. The first fifteen days were organised for the princes' circumcision festival; four days later, a horse-riding tournament was scheduled. In this tournament, the palace announced a contest in which those who

¹⁹¹ Göksel also found the same mistakes, and she indicated that he had been mistaken because of his second-hand information (Aslı Göksel, "The 'Surname' of Abdi as a Sample of Old Turkish Prose," 11-12).

¹⁹² I did not include the perceptions of witness accounts. If this must be mentioned, Pétis de la Croix stated that the grand vizier went to his 'amphitheatre' in order to observe 'games' usually after 4 o'clock (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 122). His attention seemed to be similar to Hezarfen Hüseyin's, who also uncommonly stated the precise time of events.

had proper horses should participate, while others were invited to watch.¹⁹³ The tournament was organised in the nearest convenient place, a *hıdırlık* site.¹⁹⁴ *Hıdırlık* is an open field, making it hard to locate the boundaries of the site. However, today I can locate a dervish grave, called *Hıdırbaba Mezarı*, next to the palace fields. There is an emplacement next to the grave, *Hıdırlık Tabyaları*, and both of these sites look toward a road by the same name, the *Hıdırlık Bağlık Yolu*. Still today, the hills have a view of the entire Edirne. In fact, it is the only hill near the city. Nabi claims that *hıdırlık* was an open space outside of the town, and this claim confirms my assumption.¹⁹⁵ Another supporting argument comes from John Covel, who witnessed the entire festival, and drew Edirne's plains. Nutku published the drawing in his book.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ It is interesting to see all the festival books agree that the riding tournaments were organised on the twenty-first day after the festival started (Abdurrahman Abdi, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi*, 443; Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 511-512; Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 237; Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 69-71).

¹⁹⁴ Hezarfen Hüseyin did not give the name of the tournament.

¹⁹⁵ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 69-71.

¹⁹⁶ Check the image 6 in Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği* (1675).

Illustration 7: Approximate estimation of the sultan's encampment at the *Hıdırlık* site (Black stars point to *Hıdırbaba Mezarı* and *Hıdırbaba Tabyaları*. The line shows *Hıdırlık Bağlık Yolu*).



Moreover, the imperial band (*çalıcı mehterler*) settled on top of the hills to announce horses coming from surrounding locations. The sultan's marquee was installed down part of the hill, with the grand vizier's and dignitaries' marquees settled below. Thus, the organisers used geographical terrain like the *hıdırlık* hills to make clear divisions between imperial households. Moreover, there must have been a bridge over the nearby river, so people looked toward the bridge's road in order to see horses coming.¹⁹⁷ Unfortunately, no bridge survives today, but Covel drew the entire zone of Edirne, and therefore drew bridges toward the *hıdırlık* hills in his map. Luckily his map showed the bridges in front of the hills.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, he gave a detailed description of these bridges, which had been constructed of

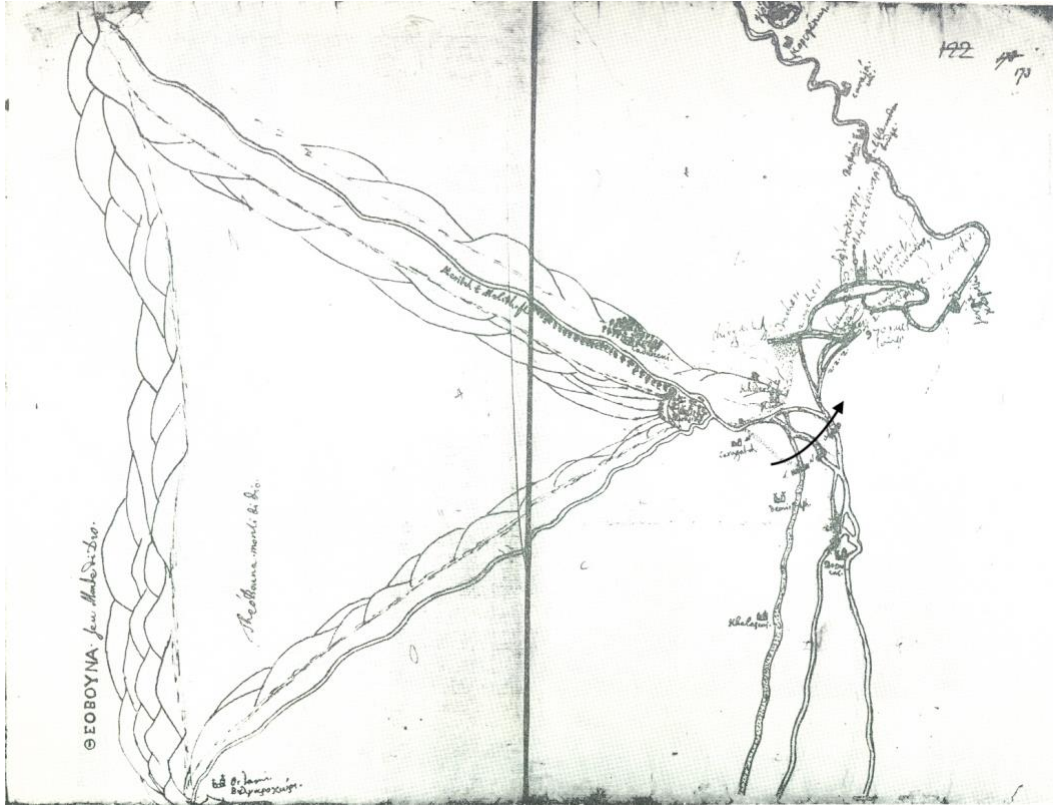
¹⁹⁷ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 69-71.

¹⁹⁸ Also, Soo published the map and identified Karaağaç village, the imperial palace and the city centre (Lydia M. Soo, "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire'," 228). One could check the second map of Edirne terrain in Covel's diary, Dr John Covel, *Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677*, ed. J.-P. Grégois (Paris: Réalités Byzantines, 1998), 78.

wood, which explained why they did not survive.¹⁹⁹ Presumably, tents and all other site placements were positioned along the bridge road to see coming horses.²⁰⁰

Illustration 8: John Covel's map of Edirne (Nutku, IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği, illustration 6).

The arrow shows the bridge road.



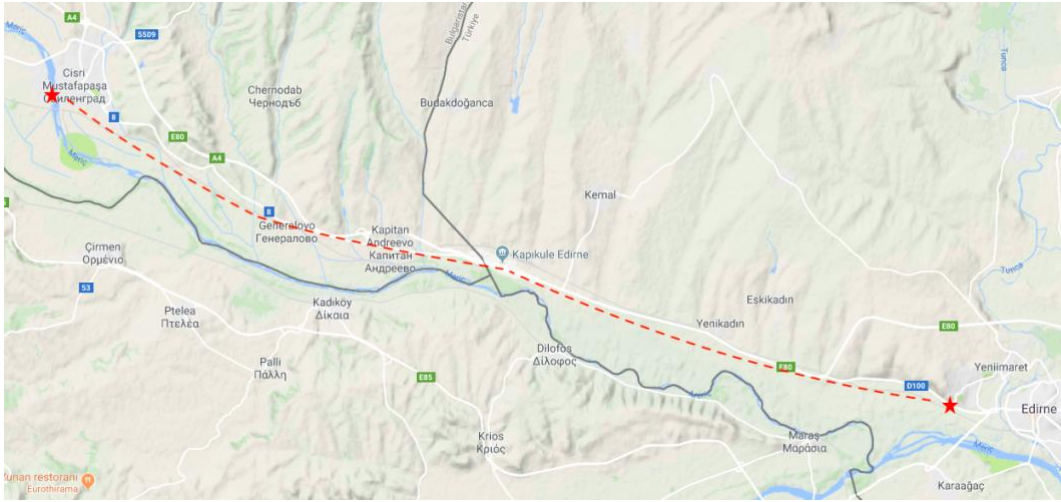
Three destinations were appointed for the tournament. The first one was Mustafa Pasha Bridge, which takes six hours to travel to round trip. Today, this bridge is in the city of Svilengrad in Bulgaria (*Cisri Mustafa Paşa*), 33 kilometres away from the estimated field. Horses approximately run 66 kilometres round trip. Consequently, horses headed for Mustafa Pasha Bridge directly, but returned on the other side of the river by crossing the bridge. So, they eventually used the river

¹⁹⁹ Dr John Covel, *Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677*, 96.

²⁰⁰ Abdi mentioned bridge road, see Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 511-512. Hezarfen Hüseyin did not mention bridge or road, only that the sultan's generosity to lead the horses (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 237). Surprisingly, Nabi stated they looked at bridge's road which goes toward Edirne (Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 69).

again to arrive at the *hıdırlık*. The second destination was Mustafa Pasha's grave. Unfortunately, I could not determine its position. According to Abdi, this destination took four hours. The final destination was to a 'well-known' dervish lodge.²⁰¹ Similarly, there is no way to determine its position today.

Illustration 9: The first destination of the tournament: from Hıdırlık site to Svilengrad (Cisri Mustafa Paşa), 33 kilometres.



The wedding festival of the princess began after the tournament. After preparations, the wedding festival took fifteen days, similar to the circumcision festival. Two days after the wedding festival, another riding tournament took place, this the final organization on behalf of the 1675 imperial festival.²⁰² Neither Abdi nor Nabi mentioned the tournament, but both finished their festival books at the end of the wedding festival. On the other hand, Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha claimed that a tournament was organised, for both on foot and by horse, two days after the wedding festival. Also, as did the other primary sources, Sarı Mehmed Pasha's and Silahdar Mehmed's annals confirm this claim.²⁰³ For this contest, people went to a

²⁰¹ 'Menzil-i Sâlis: Tekye nâm mahal, üç sâ'ardir.' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 511).

²⁰² Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha's chronicle confirms Abdi's. They both mention the second tournament after the wedding festival in the near plain in *Timurtaş Sahrası*.

²⁰³ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 68; Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 158.

completely different place, called the *Timurtaş Sâhrası* (*Timurtaş* field) to participate. In order to locate the tournament spot, I travelled to Edirne to explore the nearest fields and other dominant spots. There is a mosque that survives today named *Timurtaş*, in an open field next to the city.²⁰⁴ The field is flat as far as my eye can see, which makes it hard to determine the exact spot of the tournament. However, we can assume the approximate range of the field.

Illustration 10: Sight of Timurtaş field from the Hıdırlık Hills (Authors own photo).

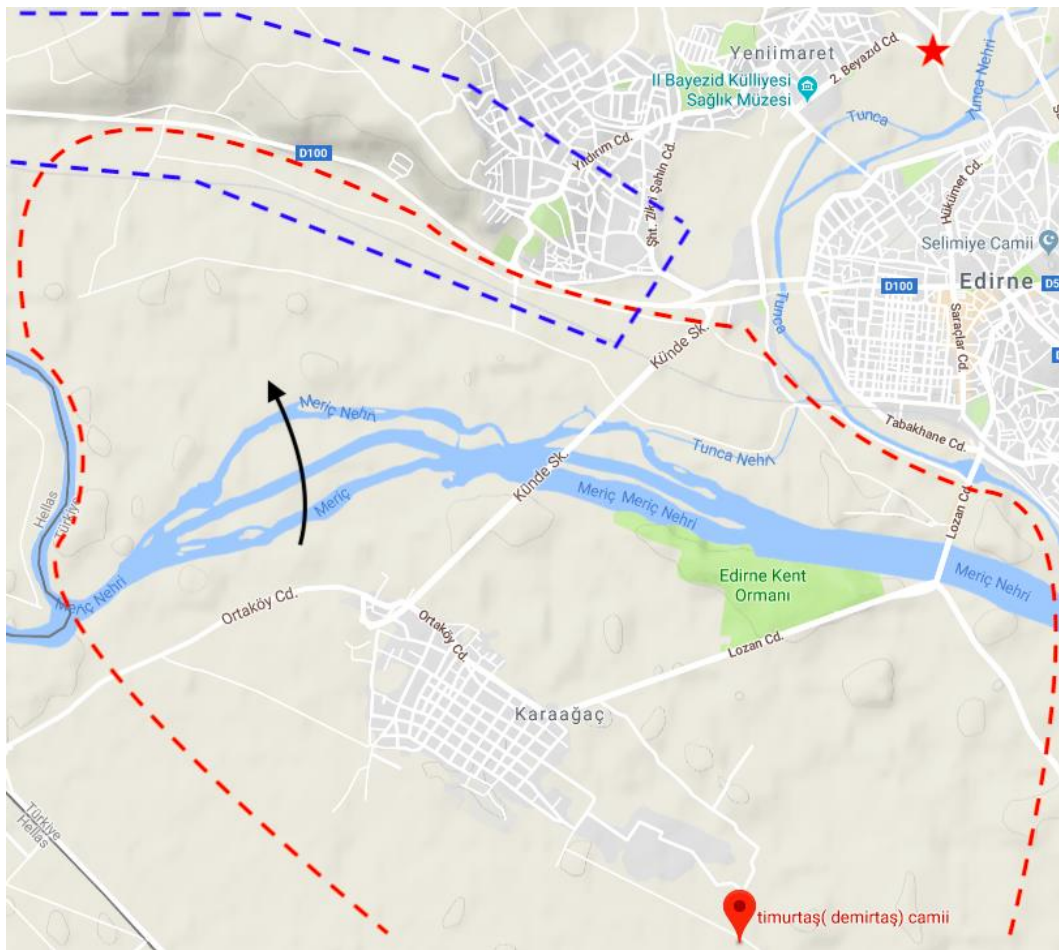


On the other hand, Sarı Mehmed pasha's account also claimed that the first tournament after the circumcision festival also took place on Timurtaş field. In other words, Sarı Mehmed Pasha claimed both tournaments took place on the same field, while the festival books and other chronicles stated two different places. Therefore, the only way out of the conflicting narratives of primary sources is to grasp the authors' way of understanding the concept of these spaces. Sarı Mehmed Pasha

²⁰⁴ The name *Timurtaş* became *Demirtaş* in time. According to the informative plate hanging on the outer wall, the mosque was constructed in the first quarter of fifteen-century by the military officer Timurtaş Pasha (*Subaşı Timurtaş Paşa*).

merged the Hıdırlık and Timurtaş zones, not surprising as these two spaces were very close to each other. In this way, perhaps we can also assume that the tournament area on the Timurtaş field was located close to the Hıdırlık zone, maybe around the Meriç River. It also connected Covel's bridges at the alluvial deposits in the middle of the river.

Illustration 11: Superimposed maps of Timurtaş field, Hıdırlık hills and Covel's bridges.



The question is; why did festival organisers spread events over all these spaces? They could merely have managed horse riding within the festival site, like their ancestors used to, in the *at meydanı* (Hippodrome) during the 1582 imperial festival in Istanbul. Why did organisers adapt formal ceremonies to natural spaces? Edirne's hills (*Hıdırlık*), fields (*Timurtaş*), rivers (*Meriç*) and streams (*Tunca*),

bridges (Mustafa Pasha Bridge, Cisri Mustafa Paşa/Svilengrad) and collective memory places (Mustafa Pasha's grave, dervish lodges, *Hıdırbaba Mezarı*) served the imperial festival in 1675 altogether. In this vein, the festival site exceeded its limits, while the sovereignty of the empire possessed Edirne's collective memory spaces.

Organisers selected natural spaces such as the Hıdırlık's hills and the Timurtaş field because these spaces were familiar to Edirne's residents. People might feel liberated from the overbuilt festival site, constructed in layers next to the imperial palace. In this vein, the 1675 imperial festival demonstrated an amplified natural connection with the ancient roots of folk culture, instead being boxed into a formal square. According to Ozouf, the openair indicated 'the dome of heaven', and it 'was clearly a theocentric space, ordered by the radiating gaze of an architect God.'²⁰⁵ Can we assume that organisers of the 1675 imperial festival also intended to demonstrate their celestial power to the empire's subjects? The answer may be hidden behind the divine; symbolically speaking, if open-air settings amplify unlimited heavenly power, then people located in a space without collective memory could experience a ceremony as an 'entry into a new world.'²⁰⁶

Above all, the organisers waited for the eldest circumcised prince to recover before announcing the first tournament. Festival books highlight that Sultan Mehmed IV and Prince Mustafa attended the tournament together.²⁰⁷ Therefore, the process of 'becoming a man' was fulfilled through the organisation of the tournament. In this manner, a twelve-year-old young prince entered the adulthood world.²⁰⁸ Only two years old, the second prince does not appear in any festival

²⁰⁵ Moan Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 129. Simon Werrett also highlighted nature as a stage or theatre in the eyes of early modern natural philosophers. Moreover, Werrett states that firework makers 'routinely looked to natural philosophy for inspiration, creating stage effects that imitated nature, or looking to the latest philosophical marvels to enhance their performances.' See Simon Werrett, "Watching the Fireworks: Early Modern Observation of Natural and Artificial Spectacles," *Science in Context*, no.24(2), 2011, 167–182.

²⁰⁶ Moan Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 129.

²⁰⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 511-512; Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 69-71.

²⁰⁸ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 176.

book; in his case, circumcision did not yet mean that he had moved into a new stage of his life.

Another reason was to emphasise the continuity of the sultanate. Organisers intended to stress the endurance of the sultanate through the use of collective memory spaces in the festival. In other words, the sultan and the sovereignty of the state were imposed on the people through sons' circumcisions and a daughter's wedding. Only two days after the princess's wedding festival, another tournament was organised. Keeping the power of imperial women in mind, one can interpret this similarly with the prince's tournament. The princess had also entered into a new world: a world in which women could hold power in an oligarchical administration, just as had been demonstrated by the prince's tournament. The age of puberty was deemed similar for both male and female children in this festival. As a consequence, the festival tournaments marked the end of childhood and the beginning of future rulers and ascendants.

In conclusion, the 1675 imperial festival was an auspicious time to integrate the continuity of imperial ceremonies in the new capital. The sultan and his household adopted ceremonial spaces from Istanbul into Edirne; the *sırık meydanı* replaced the *at meydanı* (Hippodrome), the *Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire* replaced the Topkapı Palace, the *Tunca* and *Meriç* Rivers replaced the Golden Horn and Bosphorus. For this purpose, the Old Palace in Edirne was repaired for use in displaying the princess's pageantry, to demonstrate the connection to the same previous practices at the Old Palace in Istanbul. Thus, the empire influenced its people's minds in an unmediated way, persuading them directly through the use of space. The Ottoman Empire spread throughout the hills and fields of Edirne, influencing a mirrored domination for a newly emerging capital.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 AS A DEMONSTRATION OF BARGAIN: THE SULTAN'S TABLE

Scholars have evaluated the imperial kitchen in the Topkapı Palace as a ceremonial space, and have observed the food consumption at imperial banquets and other feasts on behalf of guests as connected with the palace's value as a ceremonial and spiritual centre, like a sanctuary in the Ottoman world prior to the nineteenth century.²⁰⁹ As the recording of the provisions of food of the 1720 imperial festival have shown, massive gatherings of items and the organisation of the kitchen were required.²¹⁰ As mentioned in the preparation of the festival, a significant number of meats were gathered from neighbouring provinces to supply daily banquets in the 1675 festival. These gatherings supported the daily banquets in both the circumcision and wedding festivals. Supplying two of these great feasts, spanning at least thirty days in total, would require massive food consumption.²¹¹

Abdi mentions three different dinner tables in his work; *simât*, *simât-ı âzim* and *simât-ı mükemmel*. *Simât* translates to dinner table. According to Abdi's analysis, when it is suffixed with *-ı âzim*, it becomes *a great dinner table*. If it is combined with *-ı mükemmel*, the meaning is then extended much further. So, the crowds feasted in grand *simât-ı mükemmel*, while specific associations, like

²⁰⁹ See the remarkable study of the Topkapı Palace's ceremonial meaning, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*. To see in particular the imperial kitchen section, go to pp. 69-72. Also, see the brief discussion of the palace's spiritual centre through the provision of food, Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Chickens of Paradise: Official Meals in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Palace," in *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi & Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2003).

²¹⁰ See Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in The Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire" (PhD. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2017).

²¹¹ Not only for the 1675 festival, but scholars also stressed Ottoman imperial festivals' extravagance in the distribution of food; a large quantity of food and drink were required to organise similar festivals in 1582 and 1720. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, Was Everyone in a Festive Mood?", 209-210 and Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 185.

scholar (*müderriş*) communities, feasted in *simât-ı âzim*. Pashas and dignitaries feasted merely in *simât*. Hezarfen Hüseyn mentions *şâhâne simât* which is identical with Abdi's *simât-ı âzim*. As seen, the authors name these differently, so that there is not one specific definition of dinner tables. Abdi's ornamental language achieved a more Persian conclusion, as seen in his *-ı adjective* scheme. Hezarfen Hüseyn's language was closer to regular Turkish usage, as he placed the adjective first, with the noun following after.

One thing each festival book had in common is that guests sat at several tables according to the degree of their rank and position. *Simâts* were installed inside of the sultan's marquee, and when crowds such as troops arrived, organisers provided tables at the nearest marquee or festival square. Organisers wanted to ascertain that high ranked individuals sat inside the tent, while regular people or troops remained outside. Apparently, the sun was at its highest in the sky during these midday banquets; consequently, all tables were covered with a canopy, except the *simât-ı mükemmel* situated in the square.

Bakhtin stressed several times that food and drink were the material bodily elements of the festival.²¹² He showed that they had primary functions, made apparent by the fact that popular banquets were essential features in early modern stories, including the novel *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes.²¹³ In the 1675 imperial festival, organisers were aware of the importance of the function of food and drink, as they made their consumption the starting event of the festival. Food and drink occupied a significant space in all of the festival books and state chronicles. All festival records underlined that *simâts* were constituted in a way to continuously serve coffee and sherbet to their daily guests during the circumcision and wedding festivals. This was apparent in Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha's annal; his record only covers invitees and banquets at the festival. Apparently, his primary

²¹² Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 18, 22, 62, 90, 95, 117, 161.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 22-25.

objective was to record who was invited to the banquets. Sarı Mehmed Pasha's and Râşid Mehmed Efendi's annals also focused mostly on recording the invitees.

Consequently, organisers who ordered these authors to record the routine of the imperial festival must have aimed to portray the imperial hierarchy and sultan's extravagance through these daily banquets. It is apparent that the secretary of the French ambassador also paid attention to recording invitees each day.²¹⁴ His objective was not the same as Ottoman chroniclers; albeit, he found it essential to write down the names of the invitees each day to describe the festival. In a sense, the recording of officials and invitees was a typical stance for both Ottoman and French witnesses.

Being invited to the sultan's marquee in order to feast at his dinner table was a matter of dignity and prestige, and may even have had an effect on a dignitary's future position. For instance, Muslim scholars (*ulema*) including Şeyhülislam Ali Efendi (head of the religious administration in the empire) and his religious followers were invited on the second day of the festival. Thus, organisers aimed to record the *ulema*'s importance in the following days by hosting them on the second day of the festival.²¹⁵ The invitation of the ambassadors of Transylvania and Ragusa also demonstrated a similar presence. They were invited directly through the grand viziers' marquee, and this occasion was repeated on the following day. Thereby it caught the attention of the French secretary.²¹⁶ Henceforth, he made mention of their privileged position through the public demonstration of the invitation.

The grand vizier appointed himself as the host in the imperial marquee. The top-ranked dignitaries and invitees sat with the grand vizier. Second and third

²¹⁴ Pétis de la Croix's records matched festival books and annals of state chroniclers.

²¹⁵ In that day, Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha gave extra information, recording that Şeyhülislam Ali Efendi preached with a religious interpretation book, named *Tefsîr-i Beyzâvî* (Abdurrahman Abdi, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi*, 440-441).

²¹⁶ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 120.

viziers were positioned alongside him, while others were relegated to the second-most important table. The Head of the Treasury, Ahmed Pasha, was the host of the second table, and he received subordinate guests. A guest's position on the left or right side of the grand vizier was also noticed by festival book authors. Being positioned to the right was always superior to being on the left. In the sultan's marquee, his successor, the eldest son of the sultan, sat on his right side during the opening day of the festival.²¹⁷ Such hierarchy was also demonstrated on the prince's cavalcade day. The grand vizier took the right underarm of the prince, while the second vizier, the groom Mustafa Pasha, took his left arm.²¹⁸ State chroniclers and Hezarfen Hüseyin recorded the same individuals in their appointed positions. Abdi disagreed by saying that Mustafa Pasha was on the right side of the prince. If Abdi claimed that deliberately, his objective was apparently to emphasise the supremacy of the second vizier in his symbolic splendour.

Moreover, according to Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan's study of food consumption at the 1720 imperial festival, the superiority of the right-hand man was also demonstrated in pictured images of banquets at the festival. Erdoğan İşkorkutan stated that top right image of the *simât* was the supreme table, whilst other tables were illustrated depicting lower-ranked dignitaries.²¹⁹ Surprisingly, she discovered that the morphology of the 1720 imperial festival was generally based on the 1675 imperial festival.²²⁰ Both festivals, according to their organization, had more than one common point in both their symbolism and practicality.

Attendance was the most significant function of imperial banquets. As mentioned before, the primary purpose of all the state chroniclers was to record the attendees of the banquets. Why did they want us to know who was invited on

²¹⁷ Ibid., 101.

²¹⁸ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 230; Abdurrahman Abdi, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi*, 442; Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 63; Râşid Mehmed, *Târîh-i Râşid*, 188.

²¹⁹ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," 122.

²²⁰ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 13.

particular days? Rhoads Murphey largely indicated the attendance, the expenses of the preparations and the foodstuffs consumed in the Ottoman imperial festivals.²²¹ As I discussed in the previous chapter, the festival organisers' awareness of affecting people's perception through the use of Edirne's collective memory spaces allowed them to 'contribute to the formation of collective memories and positive associations with the life of the prince and prospective ruler.'²²² In 1675, foreign emissaries were not officially invited to the festival (an obvious message to the rulers of these empires); Even so, official authorities appointed carts for the participation of the English and French emissaries. The motivation for the appointment was to include all types of people at the festival. Murphey highlighted that the participation of foreign emissaries and outsiders (including rivals) in the Ottoman festivals honoured and glorified the existing ruler, displaying the heir and other male members of the family whilst simultaneously validating the endurance of the royal house.²²³

English and French emissaries did not participate in the official gift-giving processions while tributary states presented gifts to the sultan. They presented gifts to the grand vizier as well, in an official palace appointment. Nevertheless, organisers wanted the participation of these emissaries, thus allowing them to travel around the festival site in order to observe and be impressed by the celebrations and various entertainments. A member of The Levant Company committee, Dudley North, described the sultan's extravagance in food distribution at the guest's marquee.²²⁴ A year after the festival, Thomas Coke printed his records in London to share his experience in Ottoman lands, which also included the sultan's extravagance in the festival. It is clear that festival organisers achieved their goal of demonstrating the vigor and wealth of the empire through this portrayal of participation.

²²¹ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 183-194.

²²² *Ibid.*, 185.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 185.

²²⁴ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 106.

3.1.1 Daily Banquets and Making Hierarchies Official

Food types were another aspect of the banquets in the Ottoman imperial festivals. In the 1720 festival, Erdoğan İřkorkutan showed the demonstration of social hierarchies via a differentiated type of food in daily banquets. She stated that there were two types of bread in the imperial kitchen, called *nan-ı has* and *nan-ı harcî*. The first one was baked with white flour of the best quality, and the second was made from lower-quality flour. *Nan-ı has* was served only at the sultan's tables and to important guests, while *nan-ı harcî* was served to regular guests.²²⁵ In the pictured book of the 1720 imperial festival, attendees sat around tables, and each table had approximately eight to thirteen people.²²⁶

Several foods were offered at these tables, such as chicken, turkey, fish, soup, rice and the pudding ashoura (*aşure*). Similar foods were offered in the 1675 festival as well. In the 1675 festival, fruit stew, spices, pickles, baklava, *börek* (savory pastry), *pilav* (rice), *zerde* (dessert), fish, coffee and sherbet are all mentioned in the books. Pétis de la Croix added boiled duck (*canars bouillis*), roast beef (*rostis*), roasted lamb (*desagneaux rostis*) and rissole (meat patties) to these foods.²²⁷ According to the studies of Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin, foods similar to Pétis de la Croix's list were presented in the eighteenth-century palace cuisine. Ducks for instance were seen as game meat, and appeared in later periods in the imperial kitchen.²²⁸ Boiled duck, roast beef and roasted lamb were not typical foods

²²⁵ Sinem Erdoğan İřkorkutan, "1720 Şenliğı'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," 122; Özge Samancı, & Arif Bilgin, "Ottoman Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II," 332.

²²⁶ Check invitees from Abdi, in Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*. Pétis de la Croix also stated similar numbers, François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 99-100.

²²⁷ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 99.

²²⁸ Özge Samancı, "İmparatorluğun Son Döneminde İstanbul ve Osmanlı Saray Mutfak Kültürü," in *Türk Mutfacı*, ed. Özge Samancı & Arif Bilgin (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008), 204.

of Ottoman cuisine in that time, but the imperial kitchen could provide them for official emissaries and ceremonial tables.²²⁹

According to Erdoğan İşkorkutan, the 1720 festival book mentioned fish, but it did not appear on the food list records, while other foods justified the record.²³⁰ She discovered that the distribution of fish did not occur at the 1720 festival. Similarly, Nabi recorded that fish (*semek*) was distributed at the public feast on the fifteenth day of the festival.²³¹ There was no daily provision of food for the 1675 festival, and therefore, we cannot establish whether fish was on the menu or not. Presumably, fish seemed to be a good choice for the sole purpose of exaggerating the sultan's generosity at the festivals. Although on some occasions, we do know that fish could have been on the menu of the imperial palace.²³² For instance, a banquet was organised in order to bid farewell to the party of István Sulyok in 1649, which ended by serving fried fish and fish soup.²³³

Rice was also an important food in the 1675 festival. A member of The Levant Company committee illustrated that there were 'mountains of boiled rice and oceans of cold water' in the guests' marquee.²³⁴ Another member of the company talks about rice as 'pilaw' with 'precious cold water.'²³⁵ The statement of 'boiled rice' could refer to mash (*lapa*) or rice (pilaf), an easy dish to prepare, although there was no data to make clear how organisers cooked their dishes and if

²²⁹ Özge Samancı, & Arif Bilgin, "Ottoman Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II," 327 and 339.

²³⁰ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," 122.

²³¹ '... O kadar var idi ol günde yemek

Hissedar oldu semâk ile semek' in Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 68.

²³² For the consumption of fish in the imperial palace, see Özge Samancı, & Arif Bilgin, "Ottoman Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II," 327-328. Samancı claimed that Arif Bilgin had shown fish had never been a consumable in the imperial kitchen but in a few records (Özge Samancı, "İmparatorluğun Son Döneminde İstanbul ve Osmanlı Saray Mutfak Kültürü," 204).

²³³ Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Chickens of Paradise," 70.

²³⁴ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 106. Interestingly, Marquis de Nointel also used similar words, 'il y avait des montagnes de riz' (Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 195).

²³⁵ Roger North, *The life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North...*, 213.

it was served as mash or pilaf.²³⁶ Erdoğan İşkorkutan stated that rice was a luxury food for regular people, while on the other hand, it appeared as quite a basic food in the imperial kitchen.²³⁷ We know that when artisans finished their pageantry in the festival square, they last arrived at the guests marquee in order to obtain the sultan's beneficence. Perhaps the imperial kitchen served boiled rice as mash or pilaf to satiate such crowds in the guest' marquee. Thus, if the members of The Levant Company committee were settled outside near this marquee, Dudley North and other members of the committee could have seen many people in the tent, requiring much food to offer, hence rendering the statement meaningful.

Pickles were another luxury food at the festival. According to Erdoğan İşkorkutan's analysis, they were exclusively for the imperial palace and were served only at top-ranking tables at the 1720 festival. Erdoğan İşkorkutan claimed that perhaps pickles were ordered for a specific person at the festival, or they were served exclusively to high-level dignitaries.²³⁸ In the 1675 festival, Abdi stated that pickles were served daily during the festival.²³⁹ With consideration of the similar morphologies of the 1675 and 1720 festivals, we can assume the same usage. In that century, according to Bursa's finance office, the Bursa region provided specific materials such as mint, wood, vinegar and so forth, were imperative to the mint-pickling process for the imperial palace.²⁴⁰ Therefore, unlike the imaginary fish service, presumably, pickles were actually served at banquets.²⁴¹

²³⁶ Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Chickens of Paradise," 65. Pilaf also appeared as one of the favourite foods on dinner tables and in imperial kitchens throughout the centuries (Özge Samancı, "İmparatorluğun Son Döneminde İstanbul ve Osmanlı Saray Mutfak Kültürü," 205).

²³⁷ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 144; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, "İstanbul Sarayına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," (Belgeler: *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, no.9(13), 1979).

²³⁸ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak," 134. To see much more about gathering and distribution of pickles in 1720 festival, see Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 154.

²³⁹ ' . . ve sofra evvellerinde mutallâ legen ibrikler ve sırma işleme sofralar ve fağfûrî kâseler ile gûnâ-gûn turşılar ve fağfûrî tabak içre ikişer kaşık vaz' olunup . . .' Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 493-494.

²⁴⁰ Arif Bilgin, *Osmanlı Taşrasında Bir Maliye Kurumu: Bursa Hassa Harç Eminliği* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), 158-159.

²⁴¹ The works of Özge Samancı and Arif Bilgin had shown that pickles were standardized elements of food service in eighteenth-century imperial palace (Özge Samancı & Arif Bilgin, "Ottoman

Moreover, the preparation of utensils while distributing food at banquets was also an essential task for organisers in the Ottoman festivals. Erdoğan İşkorkutan remarked that the quality of cutlery and tableware demonstrated the difference between dignitaries and others as depicted in Levni's pictured book of the 1720 festival.²⁴² Abdi stated that *fağfuri* (Chinese porcelain) bowls were used for banquets, presumably for dignitaries or the sultan's marquee only.²⁴³ Wooden plates were used for the public feast on the last day of the circumcision festival. In other words, low-quality wares were distributed among the regular people, while luxury utensils were offered to dignitaries. Thus, early modern Ottoman political and social hierarchies became apparent to everybody contemplating an imperial festival.

3.1.2 Satiating Large Numbers

According to Erdoğan İşkorkutan's study, in 1720, the janissaries twice had the opportunity to 'plunder' the food set out for them. This ritual was already over a century old, as a sixteenth-century miniature showed them rushing to eat the sultan's food, thereby renewing their allegiance to the ruler. One of the archival documents that Erdoğan İşkorkutan introduced had shown that five hundred lambs and sheep were supplied for food plundering.²⁴⁴ Identically, there were two food plunders in the 1675 festival, which took place on the first and the fifth days of the festival.²⁴⁵ In the second plunder, Abdi recorded that a few or two thousand sheep, and between ten and fifteen thousand wooden plates, were placed in the festival site

Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II," 345). The service of pickles became more frequent in later centuries.

²⁴² Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 82.

²⁴³ '... ve sırma işleme sofralar ve fağfûrî kâseler ile ...' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 493-494).

²⁴⁴ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 144.

²⁴⁵ Pétis de la Croix also stated the same days as the festival books, see François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 94.

for this purpose. Pétis de la Croix depicted the ‘plunder’ as a combat scene: when the imperial band gave the signal to start ‘plundering,’ the janissaries rushed like ‘ravenous wolves’ to take the dishes. He claimed that the janissaries had extreme pleasure in this deed, ‘ils eurent un plaisir extrême de ce régal.’²⁴⁶ Again, we cannot confirm Abdi’s numbers due to a lack of written sources, but certainly, the scheme of the janissaries’ food plunder in the 1675 festival coincided with accounts of the 1720 festival.

Distribution of a kind of dessert called *zerde* also demonstrated social levelling through the distribution of food in 1675. According to Faroqhi, a high quality of rice should be used for the preparation of *zerde*, which was served to circumcised boys in honour of their ‘entering into a new world’ ritual during the 1720 festival.²⁴⁷ As aforementioned, there were nearly 3,000 circumcised children in the 1675 festival, which makes us think that organisers actually distributed *zerde* to all of these children. The accounts of Faroqhi also indicated that many such foods require a notable amount of sugars, starches, saffron, turmeric, grape and rose water. Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, described a dessert which was offered in the guests’ marquee. According to the description, the dessert included honey, butter, sugar and starch.²⁴⁸ These ingredients resemble a dessert which seems similar to *zerde*. If organisers offered *zerde* in the guests’ marquee, then they may have done the same for the circumcised children.

Nevertheless, there was no evidence of such a high number of desserts being given to the circumcised children in a food distribution account in any festival book, chronicle or traveller diary of the 1675 imperial festival. It is interesting not to come across any document which discusses this, especially in the festival book accounts, because such a large food distribution would portray the excellence of the court. Perhaps authors had no access to acquire these official accounts, or had no time in

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 101.

²⁴⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 168.

²⁴⁸ Albert Vandal, *L’odyssée d’un Ambassadeur*, 195.

the writing of festival books. Perhaps *zerde* was not distributed to circumcised children in the festival at all, since we do not know how much food was actually served in the marquees and other places during the festival. Nevertheless, the ceremony of ‘entering into a new world’ and the consumption of food were closely tied to one another in the circumcision tent. The transition between periods of life, from childhood to emerging adulthood, was performed on a stage that was familiar with the ancient roots of popular culture. Food was in service to the carnivalisation of the circumcision operation. According to Bakhtin, the world’s metamorphosis was animated by ‘transferring from old to new, from the past to the future.’²⁴⁹

The overall consumption by the attendees was another level of plunder at the festival. The last day of the circumcision festival, food was donated to everyone. According to Pétis de la Croix, the entire Turkish and Christian populace were fed in the middle of the grounds. He claimed that more than eight thousand dishes were served during the feast.²⁵⁰ The French ambassador indicated that dervishes, imams and lawyers participated in the plunder. According to the ambassador, they were interested in filling their hats and garments with the presented food instead of consuming the offerings on the spot.²⁵¹

Erdoğan İşkorkutan had questioned if the official documents recording the provision of food at imperial festivals accurately reflected reality. Did the same amount of food reach the sultan’s table every day? By analysing the relevant archival data, she came to the conclusion that this was not the case.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 436.

²⁵⁰ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 112.

²⁵¹ Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 198.

²⁵² Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, “1720 Şenliği’nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak,” 129.

3.2 GIFT GIVING

Festival book authors spared a significant part of the book for gift-giving. Unfortunately, neither Metin And nor Özdemir Nutku reserved a section to discuss the tributes dignitaries presented, or what kind of items were the inseparable parts of the festival books. Even Nabi, who was interested in the poetic writing of the festival, remarked on the tributes of viziers.²⁵³ Gift giving, also called tribute, was a phenomenon that took place in a great part of imperial festivals in the early modern Ottoman era. The authors' basic assumption was to see the subjects' offerings as a kind of tribute ritual to the sultan and the empire. However, my view was altered when I started to work on Hedda Reindl-Kiel's studies on the question of corruption in the Ottoman Empire through the offering of luxury gifts.²⁵⁴

Reindl-Kiel argued that gifts were used as a statement of intent in the early modern world. When officers aimed to advance their position, they showed their intention by making offers to local authorities or higher dignitaries. As Reindl-Kiel had shown in Kaplan Mustapha Pasha's career, someone's gift inventory most likely could verify his rank in career stages.²⁵⁵ Indeed, gift giving to their superiors was a way of drawing attention to themselves. It also worked as a form of networking in local terms, as well as in general. In other words, gift-giving operated as a way of protection of local affairs and higher objectives in the administration system in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire.

²⁵³ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 41-46.

²⁵⁴ Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption: Gifting in the Ottoman Elite (16th–18th Centuries)," *Şehrâyîn*, no.107-20, 2012.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 112. Fanatic adherents of Ottoman grandeur stuck with the glorifying language employed by court sources. An exciting example is Merve Çakır. Her criticism of the gifting concept proposed by Hedda Reindl-Kiel implies that the sultan's subjects often could not evade the cost of the gifts demanded of them. Çakır sees gifting merely as a 'social tradition,' and thinks that the sultan was showing his gratitude to his artisan subjects who had paraded before him while showing benevolence toward them in style appropriate to his status, Merve Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü: Şehzâdelerin Sünnet Merasimi ve Hatice Sultân'ın İzdivâc Töreni," *Uluslararası Edirne'nin Fethinin 650. Yılı Sempozyumu* (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2011), 119.

Gift giving was more than a tradition. It had practical reasons as the basis of the empire's social importance. Perhaps there was a codification of gift-giving that created loyalty and commitment to the court, able to be displayed at the festival.²⁵⁶ With further regards to commitment and the expression of loyalty, the gesture of kissing always accompanied gift-giving. The performance of a kissing gesture was prominently mentioned in the festival books. Each day, they kissed the grand vizier's hand after the banquet. At the beginning of the festival, feasting began after dignitaries had kissed the vest of the sultan (*dâmen-bûs*).²⁵⁷ The same ritual was repeated on following days, in which the ulema and military officers kissed the vest of the grand vizier one-by-one after the banquet on the fifth day of the festival.²⁵⁸ Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha simply called this process 'saluting,' a gesture that Râşid Mehmed Efendi did not even mention. They did not regard it as worthy of comment, since kissing the hem of the sultan's vest was an established part of reception ceremonies. The gesture symbolised obedience to the ruler, and presumably participants in the ceremony came away with an increased reverence for the sultan and the Ottoman dynasty.²⁵⁹ However, the gift-giving ceremony took place after the kissing ritual was completed. Due to their similar characteristics, these performances took place one after the other.

Regarding gift-giving, there were a variety of items to offer, such as textiles, utensils, books, weapons, animals and furnishings. Textiles were the primary

²⁵⁶ Murphey discussed the gift-giving ritual as a continuous tradition of nomadic assemblage, indicating that bonds between superior and subject were reconfirmed at such occasions in the proto imperial-era particularly (Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 180). That is, nomadic influences were clearly demonstrated in Ottoman court ceremonies still in progress in the late seventeenth-century. Especially seeing the organisation of the order of state offerings (by judges, governors and so forth), Murphey's discussion applied for 1675. Organisers put the ulema's invitation and tributes on the second day of the festival. Religious leaders, preachers and Islamic scholars were invited on the following day. Indeed, it was a demonstration of the significance of the ulema's position.

²⁵⁷ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 59; François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 101.

²⁵⁸ On the second day, '... bûhur u şerbetler virildikten mevâlî vü müderrisîn dest-bûs-ı Âsafî eylediklerinden sonra gidüp ...', on the third day, '... dâmen-bûs-ı Âsafî idüp gitdiler.' (Sarı Mehmed Paşa, 1995, pp. 60). 'Yemekten ve şerbetten sonra her biri sadrîâzam eteğin bûs edüp evlerine gitdiler.' (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 217).

²⁵⁹ See the discussion on the kissing gesture in Ottoman ceremonial context, Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 183-184.

component in the distribution of gifts in the Ottoman context, especially the robe of honour (*hil'at*), worn by the sultan and households as a benefaction when a task was accomplished.²⁶⁰ The function of robes was indeed worked into Ottoman imperial festivals. In the 1675 festival, the chroniclers mentioned the robe of honour when someone was appointed to a duty. An example of this was the appointment of the head of the festival's arrangements, namely the *sur emini*. Sarı Mehmed Pasha stated that Mehmed Efendi (*Şehremîni*) '*hil'at ilbâs*,' meaning that he wore a robe of honour when he was employed for this duty.²⁶¹

Likewise, the robe of honour was presented to show gratitude when a noble task was accomplished. The sultan distributed many such robes on the circumcision day of his son. Furthermore, the second vizier gave robes to dignitaries after the proclamation of a marriage contract. Considering the concept of 'robing,' scholars evaluated the robe of honour as of greater importance than mere 'equipping.' The concept of robing brought along 'the high art of luxury fabrics and the high-stakes politics of kingship.'²⁶² The giver acknowledged a person via this gift, while making him/her a receiver and thus obliged to the giver, disregarding written treaties. Therefore, scholars suggested that the giver probably invested different meanings to the gift than the giver.²⁶³

Ultimately, the earliest function of the robe of honour was the leader's individual recognition of the adherent's loyal service. In the case of 1675, loyalty

²⁶⁰ For instance, such textile products bought after the completion of the Süleymaniye mosque. The last page of the expense register of Süleymaniye was reserved for this payment, 381,457 akçe was spent for kaftans which were prepared for Kâ'be-i Şerîf (Mecca), 621,257 akçe was spent for the officers. See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550-1557)* (Vol. II) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972), 289.

²⁶¹ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 58.

²⁶² See Steward Gordon, "A World of Investiture," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Steward Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 1. Amanda Phillips also claimed that robes visually signified the new faith and allegiances, Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 121.

²⁶³ Also see the shared feelings of the state and populace in the same article, Steward Gordon, "Robes, Kings, and Semiotic Ambiguity," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Steward Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 380.

and commitment were the main reasons for investing people with official robes. Pashas committed their loyalty to the sultan, while the sultan provided robes as a reward to adherents. A robe's fine craftsmanship signified the complex signs of the state's authority; the value of these robes demonstrated the sultan's power and wealth.²⁶⁴ Therefore, why did this individual ceremony take place at the festival? The reason was to create spectacle, the staged function of the festival. The entire organisation of the festival was in service of such public performances, that is, the celebration of loyalty and the re-enactment of commitment. In other words, the populace in the festival understood the shared meaning of the robing ceremony, which took place each day and enacted the bounds between the state and all empire officers.

Scholars discussed the meaning of gifts for different occasions. Reindl-Kiel highlighted Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's (b.? - d.1680) gifting inventory, stressing that he carefully maintained his local affairs through addressing preeminent artisans. Also, he notably made and protected his networks in the imperial palace.²⁶⁵ He was the son-in-law of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, and was charged with many high positioned governorships throughout his life. He was in charge of governing Trablus-Şam in 1658, then Damascus in 1665, and finally became Grand Admiral (*kaputan-ı derya*) in 1666.²⁶⁶ In 1675, he appeared in the festival, titled governor of Diyarbekir. Immediately after the imperial festival, the governance of Baghdad was added to his administration.²⁶⁷ Later on, he was appointed as Grand

²⁶⁴ Steward Gordon, "A World of Investiture," 13. Amanda Phillips also stated that Ottoman robes had been used as replacements for cash payment (Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," 122).

²⁶⁵ Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption," 109-112. Reindl-Kiel recounts which artisans he contacted. As textiles have a key role in gifting it is not surprising that Kaplan Mustafa Pasha was interested in silk merchants (*gazzaz*) and turban makers. The good relation of Kaplan Mustafa and local authorities also took Paul Rychaut's attention. According to Rychaut, Kaplan Mustafa was 'a man that had enriched himself by many bad ways and arts' (Richard Knolles & Paul Rychaut, *The Turkish History*, 254).

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 109.

²⁶⁷ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 71.

Admiral for a second time, until his death in 1680. Between the dates of these displacements, the 1675 festival would be momentous.

According to Paul Rycaut's speculations, the court displaced him, seizing his assets to cover the treasury debt, which was expanded largely because of the 1675 festival. Then he planned a pilgrimage to Mecca including a visit to the governor of Cairo.²⁶⁸ Interestingly, the governor of Cairo was displaced after the festival, and the head treasurer appointed to the position. Rycaut claimed that to refund the festival, the court wanted to secure the prosperous income of the Cairo, so that they assigned a trusted vizier who had long financial experience.²⁶⁹ If Kaplan Mustafa really made a visit as he planned, we do not know which governor he had met, but afterwards, his career advanced and he was appointed as the Grand Admiral. Intriguingly, Kaplan Mustapha Pasha's career tempted me to discover his role in the 1675 festival. Perhaps his tribute to the sultan can offer us the key points in his attempts at boosting his career after the festival.

Hezarfen Hüseyin's festival book included several archival documents, such as expense registers. Thankfully, he recorded gifted items correctly. On the other hand, neither Nabi nor Abdi showed that much interest in the recording of gifts, though they each touched on the practice slightly. They were generally more concerned with compiling poetic and theatrical narratives of the festival.

Nevertheless, Hezarfen Hüseyin recorded Kaplan Mustapha Pasha's tribute, and his tribute also appeared in the official records.²⁷⁰ This tribute to the sultan could be categorised into four sections: animals, luxury clothes, utensils and fabrics. These categories were demonstrated quantitatively, as items in each category were presented in different numbers. For instance, each garment of sable fur and caracal fur was offered as one whole piece, and utensils like water-bottles, pitchers and

²⁶⁸ Richard Knolles & Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History*, 253-254.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 253.

²⁷⁰ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîni-âi Âl-i Osmân*, 215.

trays are presented in groups of nine pieces each. As long as furs were given as royal gifts in the Ottoman context, only royal households, particularly the sultan and his family, could distribute or redistribute sable furs.²⁷¹ Likewise, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha offered a great horse (*at-ı mükemmel*); like the grand vizier and the sultan himself, the pasha presented gifts to his inferiors in the festival. Thus, it should demonstrate Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's importance in the imperial household, and even expressed his objectives to his superiors.

If we consider that the grand vizier's deputy in Istanbul (*Kaimmakam-ı Istanbul*) outranked the governor of Diyarbekir, we might expect the governor's presents to his superior to be more valuable than those of the *kaimmakam* to an official, who like the governor of Diyarbekir, was his inferior in the Ottoman hierarchy. However, the exact opposite is true. Indeed, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha showed his attention by offering luxury fabrics such as *serâser* and *semmur* (sable). The Head Official of Istanbul İbrahim Pasha offered less valuable gifts in both categories and numbers compared to Kaplan Mustafa Pasha.

²⁷¹ Sable furs emerged especially as the elevated status symbol in the Ottoman gift distribution system (Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption," 110-111). See the place of furs in the imperial palace, its manufacture and supply, Hülya Tezcan, "Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, & Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 63-64.

Table 5: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute in the 1675 imperial festival.

Category		Item	Number
1 Animals	1	Great Horse (<i>at-ı mükemmel</i>)	1
	2	Horse suit (for the neck, <i>at yelegendesi</i>)	1
2 Luxury clothes	3	Sable fur (<i>post-ı semmur</i>)	1
	4	Caracal fur (<i>post-ı vaşak</i>)	1
3 Utensils	5	Silver water-bottle (<i>sürâhî</i>)	9
	6	Silver pitchers (<i>maşraba</i>)	9
	7	Silver tray (<i>tepsi</i>)	9
4 Fabrics	8	Persian <i>serâser</i> fabric (<i>serâser-i Acem</i>)	8
	9	Brocaded fabric (<i>telli hatâyî</i>)	8
	10	Flowered velvet (<i>çiçekli kadife</i>)	8
	11	Non-tragacanthin satin (<i>kitresiz atlas</i>)	8
	12	Indian satin (<i>atlas-ı Hind</i>)	8
	13	Sultanic fabric (<i>destâr-ı hünkârî</i>)	8

Presenting gifts to the princes of the sultan was another course of action in order to draw the household's attention. Some dignitaries solely chose to make offerings to the eldest prince. All the more unusual, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha was one of the dignitaries who made offerings to both of the princes. In that, he designated two categories: utensils and fabrics. All of the utensils that he offered were silver, which were marked as valuable in the entire scheme of gift-giving. Moreover, an item's quantity and value also drew attention. When we compare his tributes with the primary officers of the court, such as the Second Vizier, the Third Vizier and the Minister of Finance, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tributes were much more valuable.

Serâser was one of the most valuable fabrics in the Ottoman textile range. It emerged as a symbol of high status due to the fact that only royal households

could afford it and give it away simultaneously.²⁷² Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute contained the fourteen *serâser*, six of them offered for each prince, the rest was presented to the court.²⁷³ Thus, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha must have drawn the court's serious attention with his tribute. Interestingly, he did not offer the same package of gifts to both princes, but offered an extra four cotton fabrics and one more *destâr-ı hünkârî* to the younger prince. Thus, he gave more weight to Şehzâde Ahmed than his elder brother, Şehzâde Mustafa. Was it a small, kind gesture in recognition of the younger prince, or can we read it as support for the younger brother to become the next sovereign? We do not know how much Kaplan Mustafa Pasha played a role in the succession, but it is certain that he was a powerful dignitary, as we can see in his notable items (horses, *serâser* fabric, sable furs etc.) presented to the sultan and his princes in the 1675 imperial festival.

Table 6: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute to Prince Mustafa in the 1675 imperial festival.

Category		Item	Number
1 Utensils	1	Silver water-bottle (<i>sürâhî</i>)	3
	2	Silver pitchers (<i>maşraba</i>)	3
	3	Silver tray (<i>tepsi</i>)	3
2 Fabrics	4	Istanbulian <i>serâser</i> fabric (<i>serâser-i İstanbul</i>)	3
	5	Brocaded fabric (<i>telli hatâyî</i>)	3
	6	Non-tragacanthin satin (<i>kitresiz atlas</i>)	3
	7	Indian satin (<i>atlas-ı Hind</i>)	3
	8	Sultanic fabric (<i>destâr-ı hünkârî</i>)	3

²⁷² Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption," 115.

²⁷³ The princes' fabrics were *serâser-i İstanbul*, and the courts were *serâser-i Acem* (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 215). The gifts of Kaplan Mustafa Pasha to the princes do not appear in the official registers. The other records of the gifts to the princes, written down by Hezarfen Hüseyin, were also absent in the official records.

Table 7: Kaplan Mustafa Pasha's tribute to Prince Ahmed in the 1675 imperial festival.

Category		Item	Number
1 Utensils	1	Silver water-bottle (<i>sürâhî</i>)	3
	2	Silver pitchers (<i>maşraba</i>)	3
	3	Silver tray (<i>tepsi</i>)	3
2 Fabrics	4	Istanbulian <i>serâser</i> fabric (<i>serâser-i İstanbul</i>)	3
	5	Brocaded fabric (<i>telli hatâyî</i>)	3
	6	Non-tragacanthin satin (<i>kitresiz atlas</i>)	3
	7	Indian satin (atlas-ı Hind)	3
	8	Sultanic fabric (<i>destâr-ı hümkârî</i>)	4
	9	Cotton fabric (kutnî-yi Hind)	4

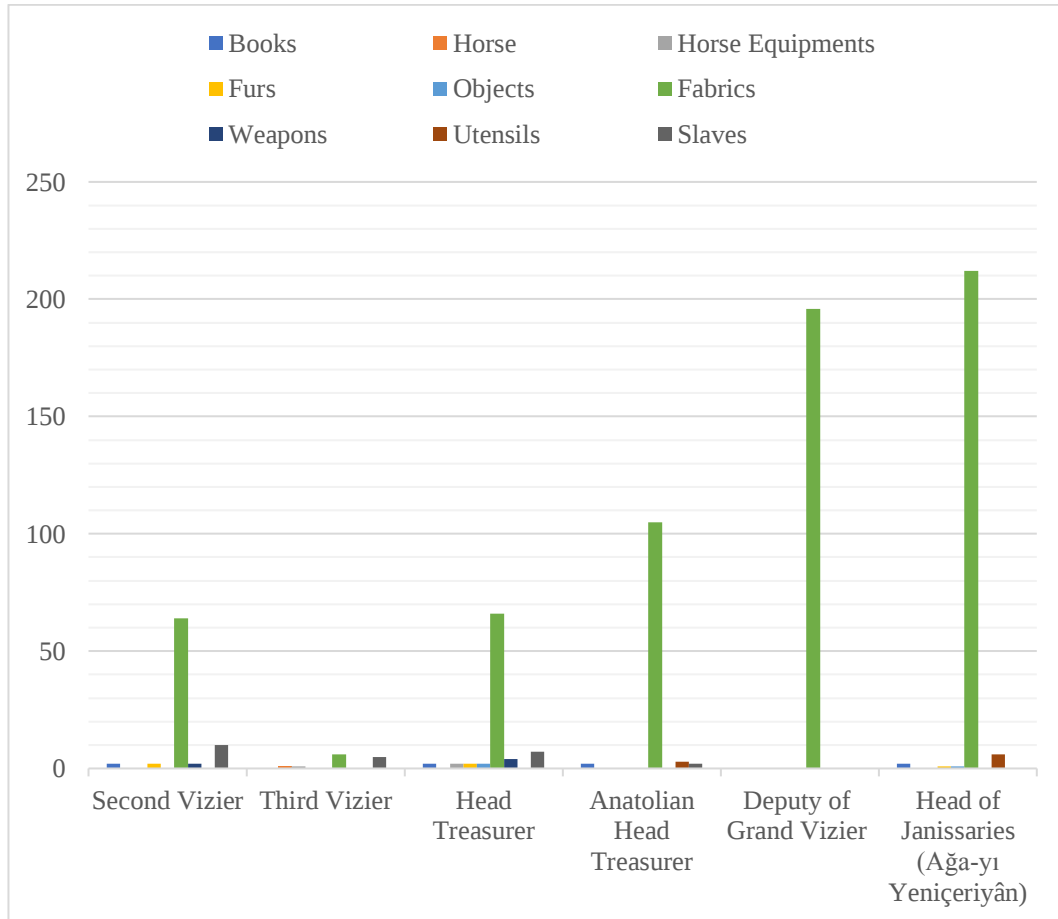
Rhoads Murphey argued that the Governor of Egypt, Canbuladzâde Hüseyin Pasha, repeated his tribute, after his first offerings did not satisfy the authorities. His failure to supply the appropriate gifts resulted in his dismissal; consequently, he was replaced by the Head Treasurer Ahmed Pasha.²⁷⁴ It is interesting to see that Hüseyin Pasha's tribute was more than adequate in fact, as he offered the highest number of fabrics and items in comparison to all other governors. On the contrary, Head Treasurer Ahmed Pasha's tribute was notably inadequate. Unfortunately, we do not know the background story.

The Head Treasurer played a vital role in the preparation of the wedding festival. He also had a primary role where or how the state's image was created on each day of the festival. He welcomed guests to the sultan's marquee and maintained secondary dinner tables on behalf of the grand vizier in daily banquets. Indeed, he was one of the principal shareholders of the organization of the festival.

²⁷⁴ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 190. Ahmed Pasha's rule did not last long; A few months into his reign, he was captured by local power holders and imprisoned in the palace, 'Bundan akdem Defterdârlıktan Vâlî-i Mısır olan Vezîr Ahmed Paşa Mısır'a dâhil oldukda, eyyâm-ı hükûmeti henüz iki aya bâliğ olmadan ahâlî-i Mısır cem'iyet idüp, biz senden emîn değilüz deyü ümerâdan Ramazân Beği Kâim-makam itdürdükden sonra kendüyi sarâyından indirüp habs eylemişler.' (Abdurrahman Abdi, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi*, 447).

Other shareholders, such as the grand vizier and second vizier, also did not draw much attention by the size of their tributes.

Table 8: Some of the high ranked officers' tributes in the 1675 imperial festival.



While the Second Vizier, Mustafa Pasha, was offering books, furs, weapons, slaves and fabrics, the Third Vizier, Yusuf Pasha, offered a horse, fabrics and slaves. Comprehensibly, the Second Vizier's offerings were more expensive than the Third's. However, their gifts remained lower in quality and quantity than those of the Anatolian Head Treasurer and Deputy of the Grand Vizier, Ahmed Pasha. So, why did the viziers not demonstrate their loyalty and power in tributes? Wedding festival organizations were run by the Second Vizier, who was also the groom and a host in his palace in Edirne. Thus, he spent a great deal of money on feasts and celebrations for the fifteen-day long wedding festival, in which most of

the entertainments were held in the palace's courtyard, as opposed to the main festival square.

One of the necessities of the wedding was the princess's trousseau, which was supposed to be paid for by the bridegroom.²⁷⁵ In this trousseau, the Second Vizier purchased many jewelleries and expensive items such as horses, furs and a large number of fabrics. In a sense, his payment to the state exceeded the official tribute. Therefore, his limited tribute became meaningful, and was understood. However, this did not explain the third vizier's significantly lower tributes.

Moreover, perhaps both state and officers welcomed this attitude as natural. So the main objective was to keep within the imperial system, not as organisers. The 'organisation committee' represented the sultan's bureaucracy, by evaluating the qualifications of tributes. When we consider Murphey's discussion on the prominence of gift-giving when it came to repositioning officers, maybe the organisers of the festival did not show the same interest as the other officers did. Maybe the Ottoman court considered that the officials organising the festival put in a significant amount of work and therefore they were permitted to give gifts of relatively modest value.

All of these observations support the idea that dignitaries used gift-giving as a way of moving both horizontally and vertically within the empire. The concept of gift-giving was significant in imperial festivals; in fact, it was crucial. By presenting their tributes at the 1675 festival, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha the governor of Egypt, Hüseyin Pasha and the viziers determined the career options that would be open to them during the following years.

²⁷⁵ Hezarfen Hüseyin gives the list of items in the trousseau, see Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 242-243. Abdi states that wedding preparations started after the first tournament. Unfortunately, he did not note how much the second vizier was involved in the preparations. However, he wrote that the Head of the Festival, Mehmed Efendi (*sur emini*), and the head of the jewellery artisans, Hasan Çelebi (*Kuyumcibaşı*), were in charge to arrange the preparations of gold and silver utensils for the wedding festival (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 513).

3.2.1 Clash of Tributes

All of the governors and judges in the empire generally offered similar tributes at the 1675 festival. Therefore, how did these governors and judges decide on their gifts? Unfortunately, festival books and state chronicles did not touch upon this matter. They only mentioned that all imperial officers were invited to the festival. Presumably, when issuing invitations, court officials determined the type of gifts that every dignitary was to present.²⁷⁶ While presenting the gifts, according to Paul Rycaut, the British consul at Symnia, the dignitaries submitted ‘a note or schedule of their presents’ to the head treasurer, in order to allow him to compare the gifts in accordance of the ‘note or schedule.’²⁷⁷ Therefore, dignitaries in similar groups presented the gifts accordingly. For instance, all retired officers presented two or three books, three utensils and an average of 82 pieces of fabric.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ The procedure of the ceremonial events and official processions were recorded in *teşrifat* records. Before these books had formed largely in the eighteenth century, chroniclers recorded the official receptions and the rules of the protocols. See the electronic source: <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tesrifat> (last checked 04.05.2019). Besides, Paul Rycaut stated that there is a book which includes the protocol of formal ceremonies, Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*,... (London: Printed for Charles Brome, 1686), 311.

²⁷⁷ Richard Knolles & Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History*, 252.

²⁷⁸ If Paul Rycaut’s account did not appear, we could not know whether these guidelines were in writing or oral; in any case, officials of different categories knew what the court expected of them.

Table 9: Retired officers' tribute in the 1675 imperial festival.

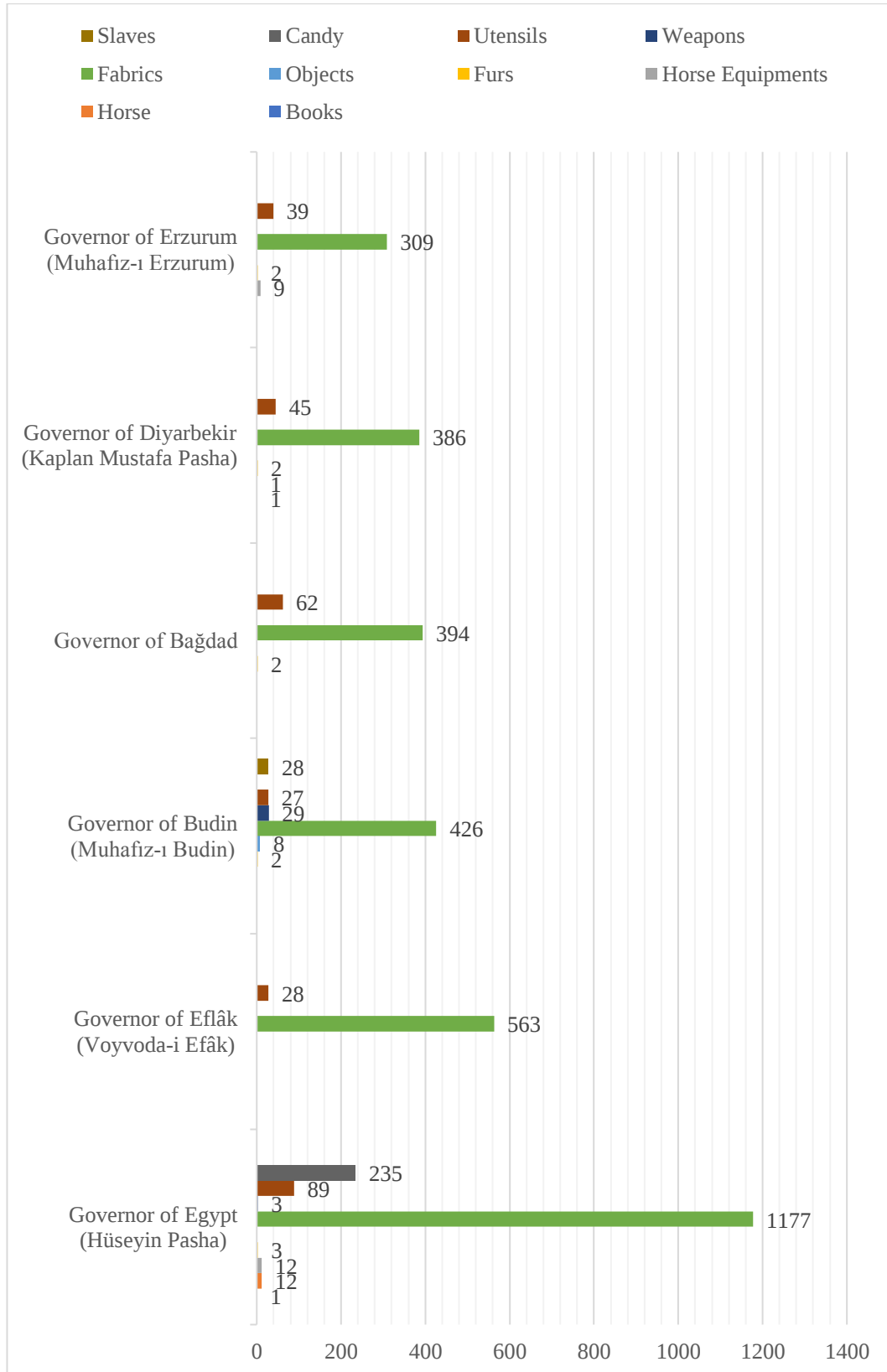


The Governor of Egypt, Hüseyin Pasha was the most notable officer, according to his tribute's genre and quantity. Only he presented an additional book, in comparison to other governors. Presenting horses, horse equipment and furs were typical items for governors, but he added a high number of candy-works, utensils and fabrics. Fabrics were exclusive in his inventory. He offered 222 pieces of fabric, including the most precious of their kind, *serâser* and *zerbeft*, the highest number of textiles of all tributary subjects. When he offered a second tribute, he added 94 pieces of cloth, including cashmere, *hatâyî*, *dîbâ* and other textiles.

Likewise, the Grand Admiral Ali Pasha presented the largest number of items, including a book, a jewelled weapon and various other expensive textiles: cashmere, *hatâyî*, *serâser*, *kutnî* and velvets. If tributes corresponded to the officer's loyalty and commitment, these two officers were the most loyal ones.²⁷⁹ Even so, they both lost their positions in the same year. Thus, there was not always a clear link between the gifts presented by an official and the development of his further career.

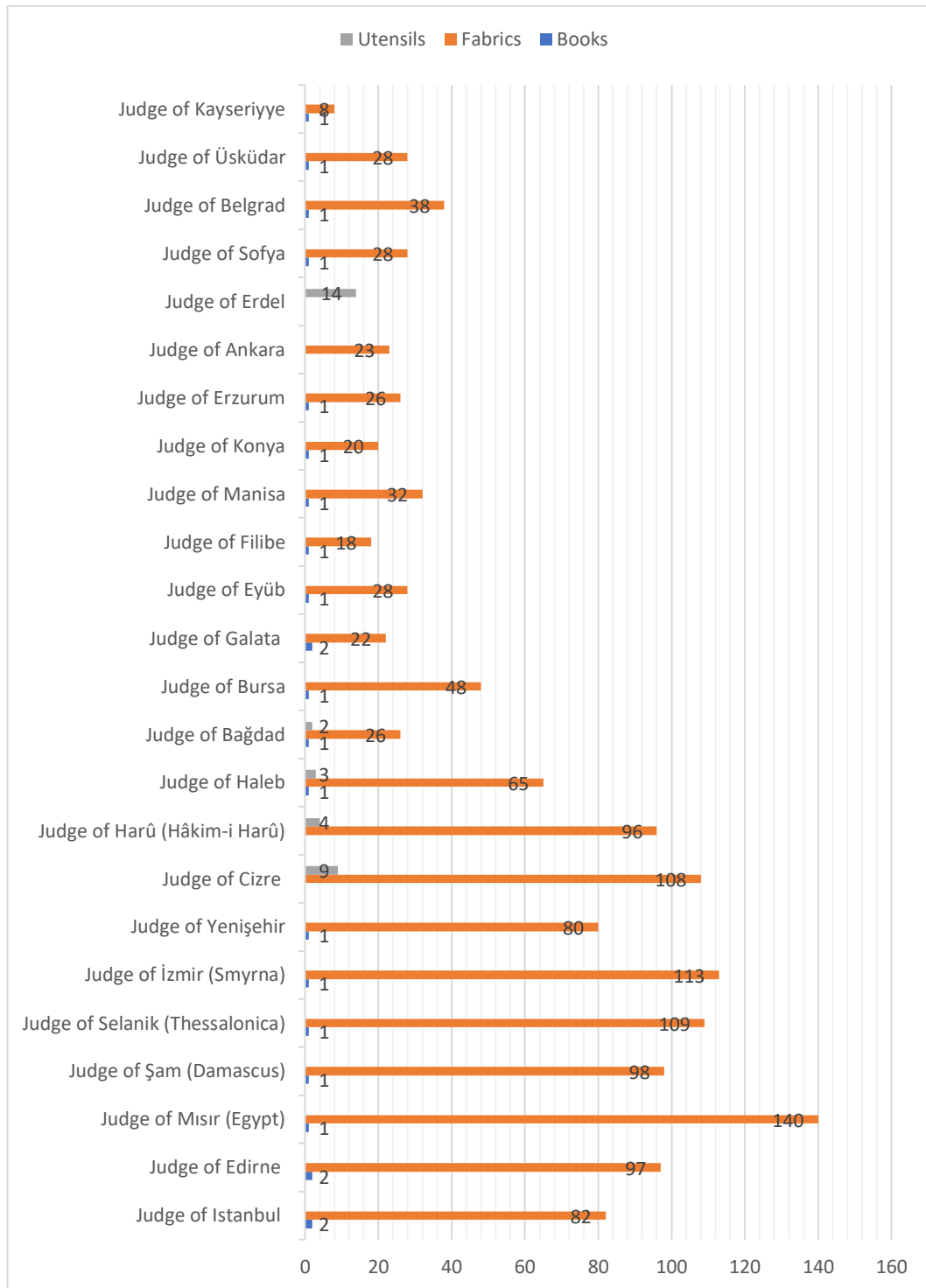
²⁷⁹ Hedda Renidl-Kiel published an excellent lexicon which identifies these fabrics' original materials and how to think of a fabric's estimated worth, see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans," in *Inventories of Textiles – Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Thomas Ertl & Barbara Karl (Vienna University Press, 2017), 162-163. According to Reindl-Kiel's dictionary: *Zerbaft*: Multi-coloured silk cloth with a gold thread woven in a lampas structure. *Hatâyî*: Originally a Central Asian imitation of Chinese silk fabrics, but also woven in Tabriz; Later a rather stiff fabric woven in raw silk with a silver metallic thread; the weaving structure resembled satin. *Dîbâ*: High-quality satin, usually patterned, mostly with the addition of a gold or silver thread. *Kutnî*: A blend of cotton (or flax) and silk in the warp and pure silk in the weft; sometimes warp and weft is of silk; modern kutnu resembling rep, in the old days the weaving structure was close to the atlas.

Table 10: Governors' tributes in the 1675 imperial festival.



A similar pattern became visible in judges' tributes as well. Gifts seemed relatively identical from small provinces and greater provinces.

Table 11: Tributes of judges in the 1675 imperial festival.



Books appeared to be the most valuable items. Present day historians have highlighted the importance of books and their power in Ottoman gift exchanges.²⁸⁰ In the 1675 festival, festival books mention a variety of volumes and their characteristic features. In Nabi's account, most of the books were religion-themed; holy books were especially favoured in all gift inventories. Hezarfen Hüseyin recorded that the *nişancı* pasha (the head of the chancery) offered five books, titled *Kitâb-ı Minyetü'l-Müsellâ*, *Kirâb*, *Kitâbu Tefsîr-ı Kadı*, *Gülistân-ı Şeyh Sa'dî* and *Kelâm-ı Şerîf* while Nabi stated the author of the books, '*Ma'ni-i nazm-ı kerimi hâvi, Eser-i mu'teber-i Beyzâvî*.'²⁸¹ According to this line of poetry, we learn the name of the author, Beyzâvî, who was one of the main authors of the holy book interpretation in the Ottoman scholarship.²⁸² The book in Hezarfen's list, *Kitâbu Tefsîr-ı Kadı* indicated that it was an interpretation of a judge, and therefore, we can assume that Nabi's records confirm Hezarfen's register.

Bookbinding and their decorations caught Nabi's interest, rather than their content. Nabi narrated the books' appearance while poeticising about the pearl and jewel binding for each book. Thus, bookbinding escalated a book's worth, especially when they were embellished with gems like gold, pearls and other precious gems.²⁸³ For this reason, it could be gifted by higher dignitaries only. However, high dignitaries were not the only ones who gifted books at the festival, as provincial judges, namely *kadı*, also presented books. In fact, there was not one

²⁸⁰ Julian Raby & Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: the Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993). See the comparison between three great imperial festival gift inventories: Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission."

²⁸¹ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 209; Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 45.

²⁸² E-Source: <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/beyzavi> (last checked 24.04.2019)

²⁸³ As Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı had shown, bookbinding was a well-developed field in the Ottoman realm long before the late seventeenth century (Julian Raby & Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: the Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, 1-19).

judge that did not gift at least one book. Presumably, it was an obligatory gift for imperial judges, given their expertise in Islamic religion and law (table 11).²⁸⁴

According to gift inventories, another notable offering was slaves. These individuals were recorded as an exchange unit like fabrics. According to registers, the counting unit was *re's*, which means 'by the head.' The same counting method was used for animals, and they recorded *re's* to indicate the number of horses. Fifteen officers presented slaves as well as previously mentioned items. Most of these officers were high dignitaries and military commanders. The second vizier offered ten slaves, and the third vizier presented half that number. The Head Treasurer and Second Head Treasurer also chose to present slaves as an offering. The grand vizier, grand admiral and head military officers presented high numbers of slaves. However, the governors of Uyvar, Çıldır, Budin and İnebahtı presented the largest contingents. In addition, the governor of Sayda and Beirut presented thirty-seven slaves, apparently because he governed provinces located on maritime and overland trade routes. This number was followed by the Governor of Budin with 28 slaves. Exceptionally, the Governor of Budin presented two eunuchs, recorded as *tavâşî ağa*. Indeed, they were more valuable than regular slaves, due to their inability to 'fraternize' with the women of the household.

Another exciting gift was weaponry, especially when embellished with precious jewels. Records mentioned these items as *murassa'*,²⁸⁵ which indicated visible jewels on the weapon. Generally, golden daggers and sabres were presented

²⁸⁴ Hedda Renidl-Kiel makes a great discussion about gifted books in the 1675 festival in her book, Hedda Renidl-Kiel, "Power and Submission." 58-69. Reindl-Kiel came to the conclusion that a book's genre points to an Islamic identity, especially considering their religious content. She stresses that Ottoman literates promoted more Islamic orthodoxy in late seventeenth-century. Therefore, the names of the books recall a more Islamic content. Non-figurative illustrated books also caught Renidl-Kiel's attention. Reindl-Kiel claimed that illustrated books may be not liked due to an escalation of Islamic fanaticism at that time. She supported the idea with less preferred Persian literature and pictured books being absence in Ottoman markets. The fact is, Ottoman literates turned away from Persian literature and preferred more religious cannons and Islamic officers' interpretations, according to gifted books in the 1675 festival.

²⁸⁵ A set with jewels, or jewelled (*Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük*, 799).

solely to the princes. The inventory of the Governor of Budin carried the largest number of weapons. To both princes, he presented a golden sword, mace, *gaddare*,²⁸⁶ body armour and shield. In addition, the princes each received a sabre and a gold-embellished knife. Due to tension between the two empires on the Hungarian frontier in the late seventieth century, presumably, the Governor of Budin stressed his warrior image in the festival. Nevertheless, weapons were not as important as utensils and fabrics.

3.2.2 Artisans Pageantry

The artisan's parade was one of the most spectacular forms of entertainment at the festival.²⁸⁷ We can regard artisans' parades as links between the elite and the common folk. Nabi witnessed the spectacle from the public's viewpoint, only mentioning their carousal and tributes. As long as their joy and entertainments became significant for Nabi, he included them in his festival narrative. On the fourth day of the festival, a pageant was held with ornaments and dancers accompanying the presentation of gifts.²⁸⁸ Nabi implied that the pageant carts were decorated with guild flags and other ornaments.²⁸⁹

Using archival documents, Hezarfen Hüseyin enumerated the individual guilds and the gifts they offered when parading before the sultan and his dignitaries.²⁹⁰ Thus, there was a clear statement of the artisans' tribute on related

²⁸⁶ A large, heavy, double-edged scimitar (Ibid., 380).

²⁸⁷ See the list of artisan's pageantries from their first procession that they did, with the criticism of the sources, Suraiya Faroqi, "The parades of Ottoman guildsmen: Self-assertion and submission to the sultan's command," 161-165.

²⁸⁸ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 53.

²⁸⁹ Pétis de la Croix mentioned guilds' flags, but unfortunately, he did not describe them (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 118).

²⁹⁰ He was not the only one who had a chance to get official records from the state. The secretary of the French ambassador, Pétis de la Croix, also wrote a detailed list of presents, with the headline 'LISTE DES PRESENS - faits au grand Seigneur & aux Princes & aux Princes. Tirée des Registres de sa Hauteuse' (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 140). I am planning to compare these records with festival books and archival documents in my further research.

days of the festival. On the fourth day, bakers, pastry-cooks and millers paraded before the sultan (Nabi and Abdi also began to mention artisans in the fourth day).²⁹¹ Bakers paraded with a boy on a camel, reading from the holy book, followed by a cart with a grain mill that demonstrated the grinding of flour. The last cart was a moving bakery, producing bread and pastry. They were all organised as one pageantry, with apprentices from Bursa (*yamakan Bursa*) and masters from Edirne gathered in the parade and contributing two pieces of fabric (*dahâvî-yi Bursa*), two pairs of cushions (*Bursa yasduğu*), and two trays (*çörek tabla*) for sweet bread. As a counter gift, they received 3,000 *akçe* (*atiyye*).²⁹² However, archival documents recorded more items, namely, eight pieces of the cushion (*Yasdık-ı Burusa*) and two pieces of fabric (*Döşeme-yi Burusa*).²⁹³ In other words, Hezarfen Hüseyin's accounts did not completely match the data contained in the archival documents, but at least they were in broad agreement.

However, due to the unapparent narratives of festival books, it was tough to determine which artisans paraded in the following days. While Hezarfen Hüseyin claimed perfumers/herbalists, paper-makers and shoe-makers were present on the fifth day's pageantry, Abdi spoke of shoemakers, tailors, tanners and merchants.²⁹⁴ While Nabi only referred to 'market folk' (*ehl-i bâzâr*) in general terms,²⁹⁵ the archival documents recorded the exact numbers of artisans involved.²⁹⁶ In total, forty-two occupational groups participated in the festival.²⁹⁷ These groups hailed

²⁹¹ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 216-217.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁹³ Şaduman Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675," 97.

²⁹⁴ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 218; Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 500.

²⁹⁵ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 54.

²⁹⁶ Şaduman Tuncer transliterated official gifting accounts (*Hediye Defteri*, TSMA, D. 154), see Şaduman Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675," 89. Archival documents generally correct Hezarfen Hüseyin's records. An exception could be the paper makers of Istanbul and Edirne (*kağıdciyân*). Hezarfen Hüseyin mentioned their tribute, but it did not appear in official records. The same problem happened for makers of medal ornaments in relief (*kakmakciyân*) and slave traders (*esirciler*).

²⁹⁷ Sixty-six artisans were recorded in the archival documents. When we sort out repeated occupations for clarity, a unique number of professions, forty-two, remained. For the full list, see TSMA.d. 154; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH.d. 20605.

from Istanbul and Edirne, with the one exception being the merchants of Egypt (*bazerganan-ı Mısır*).²⁹⁸

Table 12: The list of participating artisans in the 1675 imperial festival.²⁹⁹

1	Bakers (<i>etmekciyân</i>)	22	Merchants (<i>bazarganan</i>)
2	Pastry-cooks (<i>çörekciyân</i>)	23	Carpenters (<i>dülgerler, neccarân</i>)
3	Millers (<i>değirmenciyân</i>)	24	Slave traders (<i>esirciler</i>)
4	Perfumers/Herbalists (<i>attaran</i>)	25	Cotton/Wool fluffers (<i>hallaçlar</i>)
5	Shoemakers (<i>haffafân</i>)	26	Tent-makers (<i>çadırciyân</i>)
6	Butchers (<i>kassabân</i>)	27	Tailors (<i>derziyân</i>)
7	Grocers (<i>bakkalan</i>)	28	Makers of short white pants (<i>çakşırciyân</i>)
8	Candlemakers (<i>mumciyân</i>)	29	Horseshoe makers (<i>nalçacıyân</i>)
9	Tanners (<i>debbağ</i>)	30	Barbers (<i>berberan</i>)
10	Maker of heavy shoes (<i>postalciyân</i>)	31	Cooks (<i>aşciyân</i>)
11	Second-hand dealers (<i>eskiciyân</i>)	32	Animal hair-processors (<i>muy-tâbân</i>)
12	Cloth sellers (<i>bezzazan</i>)	33	Bow/arrow makers (<i>okciyan ve yayciyan</i>)
13	Silk manufacturers (<i>gazzazan</i>)	34	Barley-dealers (<i>arpacıyân</i>)
14	Turban makers (<i>kavukciyân</i>)	35	Packsaddle-makers (<i>semerciyân</i>)
15	Skullcap-makers (<i>arâkiyyeciyan</i>)	36	Sellers of cooked sheep's heads (<i>başciyân</i>)
16	Bed quilt makers (<i>yorgancıyân</i>)	37	Sword-makers (<i>kılıçciyân</i>)
17	Cauldron-makers (<i>kazgancıyân</i>)	38	Knife-makers (<i>bıçakciyân</i>)
18	Tinsmiths (<i>kalayciyân</i>)	39	Blacksmiths (<i>na'lbandân</i>)
19	Jewellers (<i>kuyumciyân</i>)	40	Jews (<i>yahûdiyân</i>)
20	Saddle makers (<i>sarracan</i>)	41	Paper masters (<i>kağıdciyân</i>)
21	Furriers (<i>kürkciyân</i>)	42	Makers of medal ornaments in relief (<i>kakmaciyân</i>)

The butchers of Istanbul were divided into two groups: those who slaughtered sheep and goats, and those who slaughtered cows and oxen.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 235.

²⁹⁹ I made this table by joining the lists from Istanbul and Edirne, since in many cases the groups are the same. These lists leave us with forty-two participants.

³⁰⁰ Hezarfen stated as *kassaban-ı bakar-ı İstanbul*, archival documents record *kassabân-ı sığır* (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 221; Şaduman Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675," 100). *Kassaban-ı ganem-i İstanbul*, *kassabân-ı koyun* (Hezarfen

According to these records, approximately thirty artisans attended from Edirne, while an estimated forty participated from Istanbul. Consequently, the number of pageants was supposed to be around seventy.³⁰¹ Moreover, there were seven recorded artisans unique to Istanbul, which were second-hand dealers (*eskiciyân*), cloth sellers (*bezzazan*), skullcap-makers (*arâkiyyeciyân*), cauldron-makers (*kazganciyân*), tinsmiths (*kalayciyân*), merchants (*bazarganan*), and knife-makers (*bıçakciyân*). Among the artisans that appeared in the Edirne parade, there were four groups unique to Edirne, namely makers of heavy shoes (*postalciyân*), furriers (*kürkciyân*), and cooks (*aşciyân*), carpenters (*dülgerler*, *neccarân*), plus a group of merchants from Egypt. While there must have been plenty of furriers and cooks in Istanbul as well, they did not appear at the Edirne parade.

In the first chapter of his book, Hezarfen Hüseyin counted 138 guilds, including dealers in opium and surgeons.³⁰² However, these two occupations did not appear in the parade, although they clearly had roles to play in all three festivals. When Eunjeong Yi listed the guilds according to court registers, she found 112 guilds.³⁰³ Remarkably, some of the guilds active in Istanbul according to the list prepared by Yi did not participate in the Edirne festival.³⁰⁴

On the other hand, some guilds were referenced in the memoirs of François Pétis de la Croix. For instance, he claimed that masons (*massons*) walked together with sword-makers (*fourbisseurs*).³⁰⁵ In addition, he mentioned some of the merchant groups, such as silk merchants (*marchands de soye*), barley merchants

Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 221; Şaduman Tuncer, “The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675,” 100).

³⁰¹ Tuncer counts fifty pageants (Şaduman Tuncer, “The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675,” 56).

³⁰² Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 53-54.

³⁰³ See Appendix D, Eunjeong Yi, *17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Lonca Dinamikleri*, trans. B. Zeren (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018 (First published in 2004)), 311-312.

³⁰⁴ Considering the list, there are no cartwrights (*arabacılar*), painters (*boyacılar*), honey sellers (*balcılar*), glass-makers (*camcılar*), coffee-makers (*kahveciler*), coal-dealers (*kömürcüler*), watchmakers (*sa'atçılar*), milkmen (*sütçü*), bottle-makers (*şişeciler*) or stonecutters (*taşçılar*) in the 1675 festival.

³⁰⁵ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 115-116.

(*marchands d'orge*), and different guilds such as farriers (*marêchaux*) and cover makers (*couverturiers*).³⁰⁶ Consequently, a large number of guilds were not invited to the festival. It is also possible that organisers put occupations together and made collective pageant groups. Alternatively, can we assume invited guilds were privileged, or held a more superior position than uninvited ones? Perhaps, even their involvement in the state's affairs bore fruit.

Şaduman Tuncer pointed out that the number of guilds participating in the 1675 festival was quite low, while in 1582, over a hundred guild-like units had taken part.³⁰⁷ Tuncer rightly stressed that in 1582, there had been a number of participants who were not artisans, but officials of the sultan. By 1675, this type of overlap may have become rare, as people then generally understood who was an artisan and who was not. In the 1720 festival, interestingly the number was much lower, namely, only 47.³⁰⁸

Nonetheless, today's historians have highlighted the pageantry of the guilds as a demonstration of the productive skills of the local workforce. Such an event, which brought together master artisans, apprentices and traders illuminated the 'universal scope of sultanic authority while underlining the point that productions by local talent glorified his name and magnified his honour'.³⁰⁹ At the same time, officialdom probably meant artisan parades to ensure the loyalty of the guilds, whether the latter were active in Istanbul or in Edirne.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 115-116.

³⁰⁷ Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582," 89.

³⁰⁸ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 308.

³⁰⁹ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 197.

³¹⁰ See the Faroqhi's arguments on the main aim of the artisans' pageantry and the loyal service of artisans in the same period, Suraiya Faroqhi, "The parades of Ottoman guildsmen," 162.

3.2.3 Guild's Tribute

Each guild presented gifts to the court after they paraded over the festival square. According to Thomas Coke, there was an officer whose duty it was to inspect the appropriateness of the gifts.³¹¹ However, there is no evidence that the sultan ever expressed his displeasure or refused guild tributes. Given the poverty of the artisans, their offerings remained inferior in comparison to the gift-giving of the imperial officers. However, the few objects that artisans offered generally had a connection to their skills. For instance, candlemakers offered candelabra and candles, cooks presented plates and cutlery.

However, each occupation generally received 3,000 *akçe* as a reciprocal gift on behalf of the sultan.³¹² There was only one guild who exceeded this limit: the shoemakers of Edirne and Istanbul both received 5,000 *akçe* each. For reasons unknown, some guilds did not receive any compensation at all. Perhaps the officials calibrated payments according to the degree of (perceived) participation.³¹³ In sum, the court presented 64,000 *akçe* to the guilds. Moreover, compared to the huge sums of money that the Ottoman palace bestowed on late sixteenth-century court artisans (*ehl-i hiref*), the total sum of money paid out at the festival of 1675 remains rather paltry.³¹⁴ Şaduman Tuncer had stressed that these payments, however small, alleviated the displeasure of the guildsmen, who the Ottoman administration had forced to spend a lot of money in preparation for the festival.³¹⁵

³¹¹ Mr Coke claims that the officers' duty was to return not approved gifts (Thomas Coke, *A true narrative of...*, 3).

³¹² Hezarfen Hüseyin's account records these money tributes; archival documents contain gifted items only. To compare artisans' tribute, see the works of Hezarfen Hüseyin and Şaduman Tuncer.

³¹³ Çakır stated that Hezarfen Hüseyin's donation records and expense register generally matched (Merve Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü," 118-119). In fact, expense registers indicated a different number of donations such as 500 and 2500, on the contrary, Hezarfen Hüseyin standardised numbers, and recorded donations as multiples of 1000.

³¹⁴ Check the appendices of this study; Hilâl Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2010).

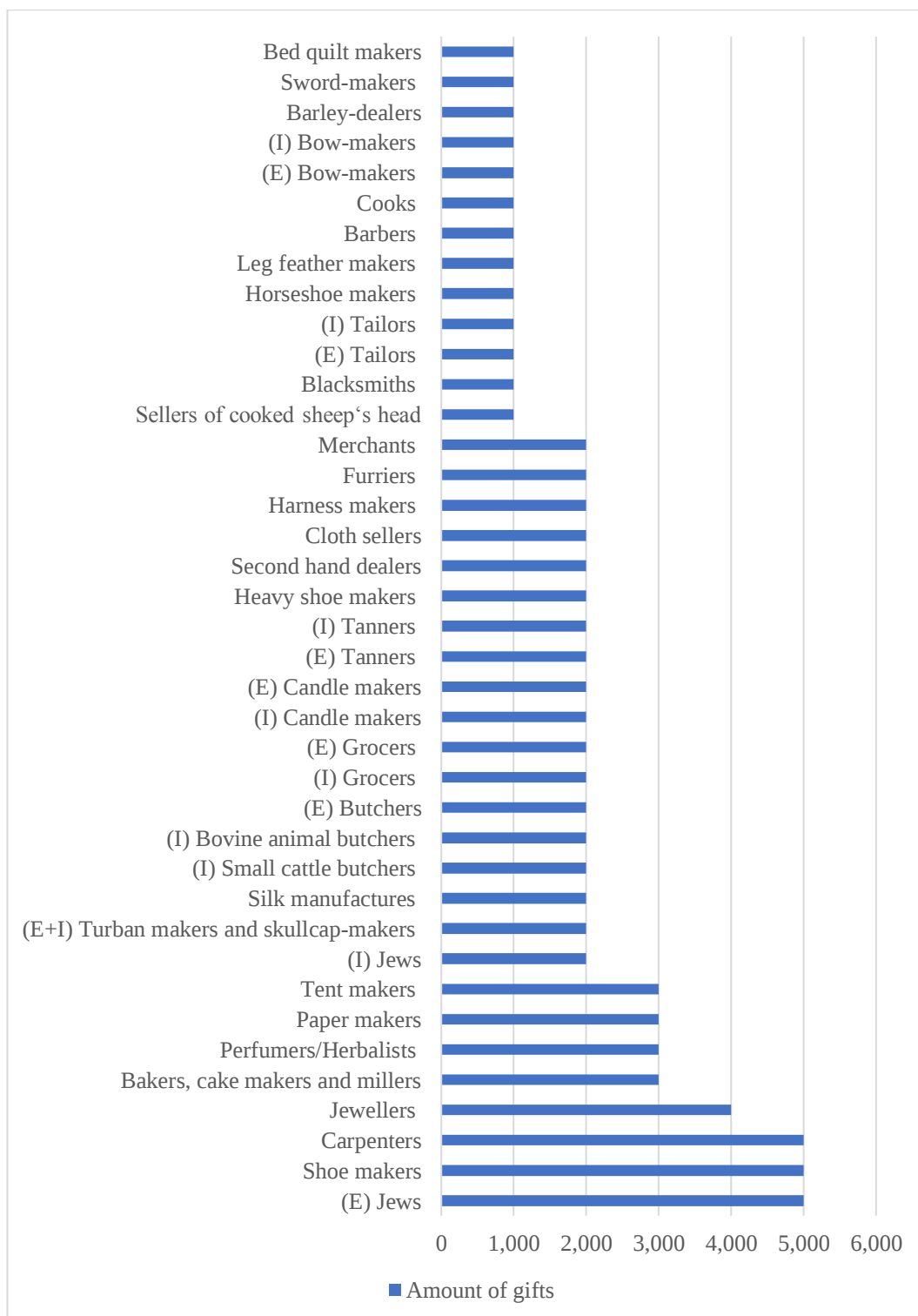
³¹⁵ Şaduman Tuncer, (2011). "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675," 54.

On the other hand, counter gifts made by the royal courts could be seen in different European instances as well. When Philip II, the king of Castile and Aragon, came to visit the city of Barcelona, the guilds of the city made a procession to welcome the king. During this procession, the guilds offered gifts to the king and received money in return. According to Luis R. Corteguera, this exchange illustrated the ‘royal favors for subjects’ services,’ but indeed, they were not pleased with this small monetary gift.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ Luis R. Corteguera, *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580-1640* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 54-55.

Table 13: The gifts (atiyye) of the court to the guilds in the 1675 imperial festival.

(I): Istanbul, (E): Edirne.



According to this graph, we have four categories, namely, the people who received 1,000, there are guilds that received 2,000, there are guilds that received 3,000, and then there are three guilds that received 5,000 with a single guild, namely, the jewellers, being an exceptional case. The largest category is the group that receives 2,000 *akçe*. On the other hand, receiving more than 2,000 was a real privilege.³¹⁷ Jewellers seemed to be the most imperative guilds after carpenters, shoemakers and the Jews of Edirne.³¹⁸ The gifts they received were one and a half times more in total than the previously mentioned guilds.

Scholars stressed that artisans benefitted the least from the imperial festivals.³¹⁹ Correctly, Erdoğan İşkorkutan claimed that the artisans' spectacles and entertainments, as well as ornaments and garnishments, brought on an extra economic burden. On the contrary, it would be interesting to see any sign of the 1675 imperial festival's artisans using the festival as a fair, which would enhance their economic interest in the festivals. In the 1720 festival, Levni's wonderfully pictured parades gave a realistic estimation of the artisan's workshops and their demeanours whilst parading.³²⁰ Candle-makers walked as they displayed their products; barbers paraded with a mobilised barbershop, depicted as cutting a man's hair inside of the cart. Shoemakers hung boots and shoes to display manufacturing of their own. Presumably, each artisan guild was interested in showing off its skills and products, probably with the intent of attracting customers. In any event, eyewitnesses recorded the high quality of the goods displayed and offered to the sultan.

³¹⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi stressed the importance of farmers and bakers. According to her, Eremya Çelebi claimed that the principal object was 'to express the inconvertible truth that proper logistics are the pre-condition for any successful campaign.' (Suraiya Faroqhi, "The parades of Ottoman guildsmen," 162).

³¹⁸ If the *atiyye* was meant to reduce displeasure due to the high expenditures, we might assume that those guilds receiving the highest *atiyye* were also those that made the largest sacrifices. In general, we really do not know. Pétis de la Croix shared a detailed observation for both jewellers (4,000 *akçe*) and furriers (2,000 *akçe*) when they came to present their offering (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 117-118). The general description of the parades of jewellers did not seem twice the price of furriers.

³¹⁹ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 330.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 306-326.

When the guilds finished their processions in the festival square, they walked across the bridge and continued to the city centre. Unfortunately, there was no further information about the outer perimeters of the festival square, but apparently, the guilds' pageantry progressed well into the city. Presumably, they continued displaying goods whilst enjoying their time throughout the city quarters. Manufacturing and production were the merchants' main interest, especially when the city became overcrowded by the visitors, at least for one month. It is safe to assume that merchants from different countries also utilised open fairs in the streets during the festival. Most likely, the reason for the Egyptian and Istanbulian merchants' presence at the festival was to sell their goods.³²¹ For this reason, the 1675 imperial festival could have economically and politically benefited both the court and the artisans alleviating a possible monetary loss.

3.3 DISPLAYING THE SULTAN'S POSSESSIONS

The Ottoman court's extravagance and magnificence did not only boast banquets and gift-giving ceremonies, but also demonstrated its indulgence in imperial processions. There were several processions stated in the sources. According to The Levant Company's calendar, the first processions were organised for guests as they entered the city. The princes' cavalcade on the circumcision day was one of the largest parades, which included great festival trees (*nahıls*) coming into sight, simultaneously with candy gardens, for the first time.

Processions continued on religious holidays (*mevlid*, Muhammad's birthday), when imperial households marched to Selimiye. It was proceeded by the groom's gift from his palace to the imperial palace during the wedding festival. The trousseau procession took place on the nineteenth of June. A few days later, a final

³²¹ I plan to elaborate upon this statement in further research.

procession was organised, in which the bride paraded from the imperial palace to the groom's quarters in order to complete the marriage ceremony.³²² Thus, at least six processions were organised, if we do not count the guests' cavalcade when they arrived in the city. Festival organisers paid serious attention to setting parades. No matter who was parading, these royal processions worked to demonstrate the empire's mobilisation and magnificence, promote the attendance by inhabitants of the city, and, ultimately, to display the sultan's and his royal household's wealth. Increasing attendance of the common-folk to the event contributed to the imperial festivals core objective: to advance the collective memories of the participants from all social levels within city quarters and landmark buildings.³²³

Display of the sultan's wealth did not end with the parades. The sultan displayed his wealth not only in the processions, but also on the henna night (*hımâ gicesi*) and the bridal night (*zifâf-hâne*).

The day of the bridal night, the procession including the sultan's daughter passed through the city with gargantuan *nahıls*, carts and all the other imperial officers in their formal clothes. Hundreds of troops and officers walked in this procession to honour the state's grandeur.³²⁴ Pétis de la Croix stated that the quantity of mules, loaded with chests and filled with linen, cushions and blankets vibrant with embroidery, carpets, and valuable property of all sorts, appeared in the parade.³²⁵ The organisers also allowed inhabitants of the city to celebrate the wedding in their own quarters. On that day, the groom's chamber was displayed to higher dignitaries just as the bridal goods arrived. When the trousseau came and was placed in the groom's palace, the imperial households, including the head of the religious administration (*şeyhülislam*) and the head of the janissaries (*yeniçeri*

³²² Lydia M. Soo, "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire'," 219.

³²³ Murphey also stressed 'positive associations with the life of prince and prospective ruler' (Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 185).

³²⁴ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 526-528.

³²⁵ He gives the detailed list of trousseau with the complete description of the parade, P François étis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 163.

ağası), came to look upon the brides' trousseau in the chamber. According to Abdi, they placed the groom in his chamber to ascertain the couple's intimate encounter.³²⁶ For this reason, they stayed until midnight and celebrated the union of bride and bridegroom with a variety of treats.

3.3.1 The Setting of Royal Processions

All of these processions were well-organised performances, highlighting the court's excellence organization, the economic and productive power of the empire, and the extravagance of sovereignty.³²⁷ For this reason, the setting of processions was an essential issue for organisers. In order to display the court's magnificence through the officers' fancy uniforms and expensive symbolic statues, they needed to arrange the officers' alignment. For this reason, all of the festival books stated the royal processions order in depth. They spent most of their lines of verses depicting the processions.

Nonetheless, state chronicles did not mention any of the processions. They recorded the banquet guests and mentioned the circumcision in a single sentence. However, the festival books did mention the princes' cavalcade as the first procession.³²⁸ On the eleventh day of the festival, the princes prepared for their cavalcade in the Old Palace (*Saray-ı Atik*) next to the Sultan Selim Mosque. The Yemiş Kapanı Hanı close to the Selimiye mosque, of which only the foundations remain today, was assigned to the manufacturers of *nahıls* (festival trees) and candies in preparation for the festival. The official chronicler, Sarı Mehmed Pasha, recorded that this venue faced the market of the shoemakers (*Haffaflar Çarşısı*),

³²⁶ Ibid., 528.

³²⁷ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 194-197.

³²⁸ Abdi and Nabi agreed on the date, but Hezarfen Hüseyin does not mention any of these processions. See the princes' cavalcade in Abdi (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 505-506) and Nabi (Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 58-61).

known by this name to the present day.³²⁹ After these preparations, the chief architect (*mi'mârbaşı*) partly demolished the walls of the building and some of the balconies of the surrounding houses which blocked the movement of objects to the imperial palace.³³⁰ Only then could the princes' cavalcade begin.

When the imperial officers arrived at the Old Palace, they left the princes mounted on their horses and headed to the sultan's marquee in the festival site, accompanying nahıls and candy gardens. According to the route described by Abdi, they left the *tekye* gates and paraded towards the *Saraçhane* Bridge to the *sırık meydanı*. Nahıls were stationed in front of the gate at the sultan's kiosk.

On that day, Abdi stated that officials took people's complaint letters, named *arz-ı hâl*.³³¹ The grand vizier took care of these letters in his palace after the circumcision festival had ended. Hezarfen stated that the grand vizier, Ahmed Pasha, remained in his office and dealt with current business responding to petitions and complaints, once the festival had ended.³³² After all, the grand vizier's palace served as an office from which he ran imperial bureaucracy. Thus, by attending to petitions promptly, the grand vizier confirmed the image of the sultan as the protector and distributor of justice.³³³

Indeed, two princes were circumcised in the festival of 1675, but only the elder prince Mustafa, who was 12 years old, was shown throughout the festival because the younger prince was only two years old. Abdi described the full order of the princes' cavalcade. Janissary corps and head officers (*müteferrikagan, kapucubaşılār*) were in front. Afterward, forty janissary corps each carried a small nahıl. They walked in two lines. *Tulumcus* cleared the way for the head architect

³²⁹ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 58 and 63. Today, the name of the closed market is Selimiye Camisi Arastası. It is a favourite place to visit in the city.

³³⁰ Ibid., 63.

³³¹ '... ve oturluklar ihsân olunup bir ferdin 'arz-ı hâli baht-ı siyâhi gibi pes-i perdede kalmayup nâ'il-I merâm oldular.' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 506).

³³² Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 237.

³³³ In further research, I am planning to look at the complain letters in the 1675 official archives.

and shipyard officer to follow on foot. Then, two gargantuan nahıls passed, bound with silk ropes on four sides, each rope draped upon expensive fabrics, and held by navy officers. After that, three large candy gardens passed. At the end, Şeyhülislam and the imperial officers followed on horseback, with the backup horses accompanied by the stable officers.

Next, the prince passed through on horseback. Imperial harem officers followed him with military corps (*peykler, solaklar*). Then the *darüssade* officer followed with other military corps; armourers, bombardiers and so on. Nabi claimed that coins were scattered around the pageantry. This demonstration of the sultan's wealth was a primary objective in royal processions in order to convey the court's dominance.³³⁴ The prince was centred in the middle of the procession, right after the nahıls, which were also stationed in the center of the procession. This formation naturally made a mountain-like display. Firstly pedestrians, then horses, and rising nahıls, peaked with gargantuan size nahıls, were lowered with the prince on horseback, continued with horses and finished with pedestrians. Organisers wanted to capture the people's attention all the way to the heart of the procession, in regard to the prince and his mighty nahıls. Certainly, these phallic representations symbolised the oncoming of the prince's masculinity and the supreme power of the royal house.

The prince was followed by the imperial harem officers. The two princes were both under the control of the imperial harem. When the procession came to the sultan's marquee, the princes were conveyed to the sultan directly. Symbolically, the princes were walked from the hands of their mothers into the realm of their fathers.³³⁵ Consequently, the circumcision procession demonstrated an 'entering into a new world' ceremony, while the ceremony established the

³³⁴ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 192.

³³⁵ We can see the circumcision day as the second mark of growth and development as a man and ruler in Mustafa's life. The first mark was given in his early childhood by his first mentor, Feyzullah, who had responded to introduce the prince to 'the world of learning and of men.' (Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 52).

endurance of the royal house of Mehmed IV. The officials organising the ceremony showcased the future legitimate ruler of the empire.

Probably, the princes' cavalcade followed the same route that the newly manufactured candies had travelled the previous day.³³⁶ On this date, when the actual circumcision took place, the sultan's officials arranged for a separate procession to convey the candies, later distributed as a celebratory gesture to the imperial harem and the inhabitants of Edirne. This procession was not any less spectacular, even though there was no prince or imperial harem present. Sur emini welcomed the procession when all military corps and imperial officers, in their ceremonial uniforms, arrived at the entrance to the festival site. Pétis de la Croix recorded that fifty mules were present in the procession, each carrying two small chests of jams.³³⁷ There were many animal-shaped candy figures depicting birds, lions, fish, peacocks, antelopes, elephants, bears, tigresses, leopards, wolves, foxes, greyhounds, horses, ostriches, geese, roosters, fowls and even mermaids.³³⁸ Thus, these processions emphasized once again the extravagant expenditure of the sultan, which we have already highlighted in the case of food distribution.

Interestingly, Abdi compiled a list of gifted candy chests, which confirmed that there was some sort of official candy record.³³⁹ According to the list, fifty-seven chests of candy were distributed to the officials. We learned exquisite harem members' names in the list. This list included the most prominent harem members: Gevherhan, Beyhân, Rukiyye, 'Âyişe, Hânzâde and Mu'azzez. Each took a chest of candies, but Gevherhân Sultan and Beyhân Sultan received an additional candy figure. With the exception of these exclusive harem members, the chief harem eunuchs (*dârü's-sa'âde ağaları*), the head treasurer Ali Ağa and the chief of the

³³⁶ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 62-63; Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 506-508. Pétis de la Croix memoirs also correct the festival book's narrative.

³³⁷ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 135.

³³⁸ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 238; François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 135.

³³⁹ According to the list, there should be a record which contained gifted candies. Unfortunately, I could not find any record of this in the official archives (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 519).

gatekeepers (*başkapu oğlanı*) all received two chests each. Other palace members were appointed only one chest of candy.³⁴⁰

3.3.2 Display of The Trousseau

The festival books described the procession conveying the trousseau in some detail. Abdi mentioned landmarks along the procession route, whilst Hezarfen Hüseyin recorded the content of the trousseau. Unfortunately, Nabi finished his festival book at the end of the circumcision festival, and did not mention the wedding festival at all.

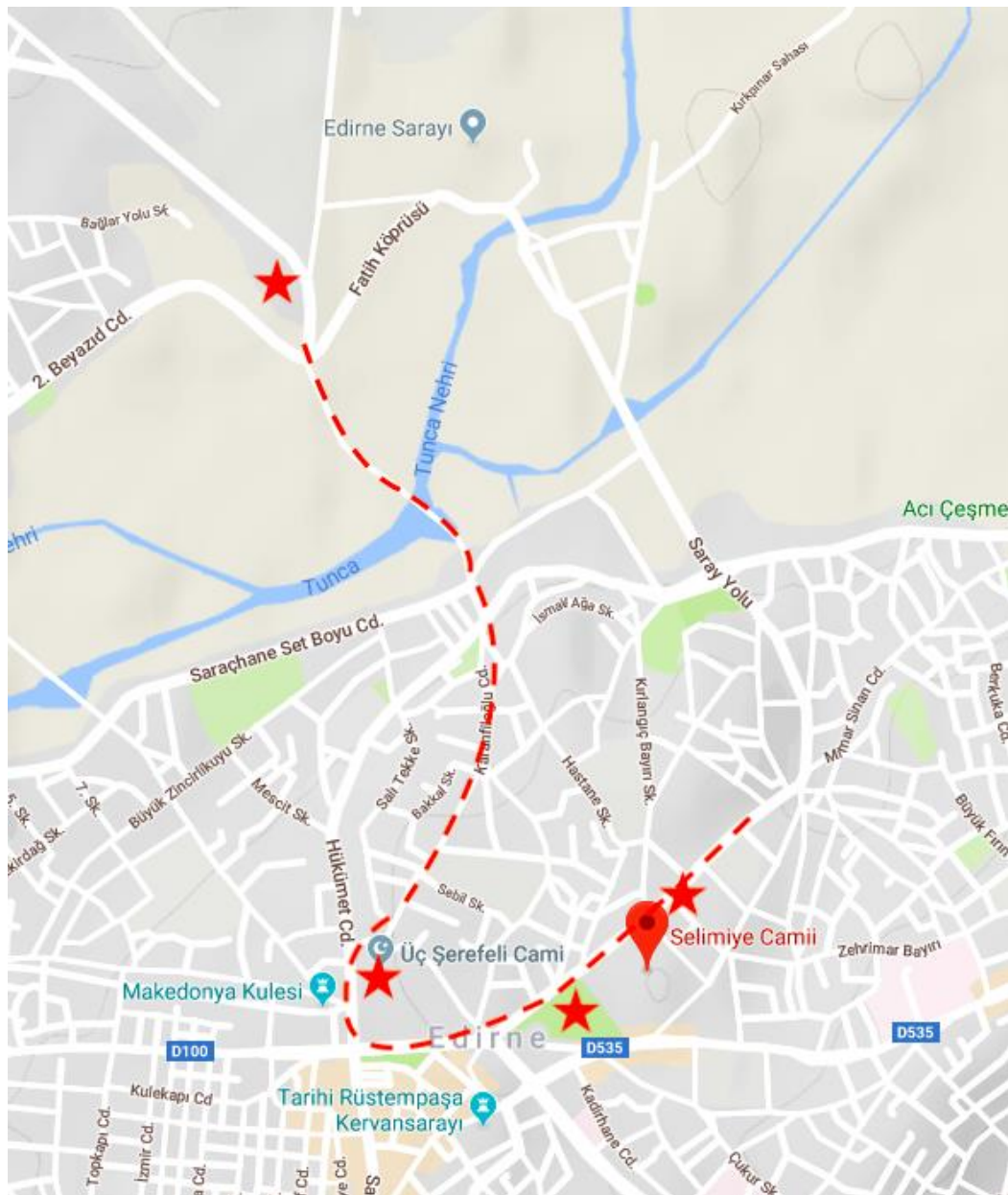
The procession of the trousseau began at the imperial palace, entered the city through the Sarraçhane Bridge, similar to the guilds' pageantry. The procession continued directly to the Üç Şerefeli Mosque. Afterwards, it proceeded to the *Kapan Hanı* (a large commercial building), arriving at the groom's palace next to *Saray Hamamı* (the bathhouse of Sultan Selim Mosque). Abdi stated that the parade included paper-makers, tent-makers and kebab shops when headed to Kapan Hanı. Organisers focused on the heart of the city, bounded by two landmark mosques and commercial structures. The procession continued to the Saray Hamamı. In the opinion of M. Soo, the route presumably followed by the Edirne procession resembled ceremonial routes in Rome, which also focused on monuments and aimed at maximum exposure.

According to M. Soo, there were two possible paths which diverged from the main route after crossing the bridge. However, Abdi only refers to a single route, which first headed toward the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, and continued toward the Yemiş

³⁴⁰ Apparently, the members of the imperial harem received gifts according to their position. Argıt had showed that the provision of food and the gifts in the imperial palace were directly proportional to the position of the officials including the imperial harem: Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, 67-73.

Kapanı Hanı. The procession ended on the grounds of the groom's palace, which is not extant. Conclusively, we cannot provide a complete map, because we do not know the position of the groom's palace. Even so, the groom's palace should have been in the area surrounding the Saray Hamamı.

Illustration 12: Possible route of the trousseau procession in the 1675 imperial festival (Authors estimation).



When the parade arrived at the Sarraçhane Bridge, a messenger was dispatched to the bridegroom's palace in order to inform the hosts of their coming.³⁴¹ The order of the procession was in dispute, according to two festival books. According to Abdi's records, forty small-scale *nahıls* and magnificent candy gardens were stationed at the head of the procession, but Hezarfen Hüseyin counted the head janissary and military officers first. The prince's cavalcade began with janissary corps as well, so that the organisers presumably installed identical processions. However, there was not one notable distinction between the two processions. The continuity of the sovereign and the wealth of the state was just as important as both the prince and the princess. Perhaps, it was a symbol of the ascending power of the imperial harem.

Furthermore, forty small-scale *nahıls* and two magnificent candy gardens were employed in the parade. Distinctly, the exposition of the trousseau displayed royal wealth. Apart from horses and chests, Hezarfen Hüseyin mostly noted the jewelled items. Jewelled fabrics and properties such as shoes, mirrors and diadems were displayed in the hands on the ceremonial uniformed officers.³⁴²

Utensils that were conveyed in the procession were categorised according to the item's material; gold, silver, porcelain, copper, silver thread, bejewelled, and others. According to the list, gold items were generally kitchen utensils such as salt-cellars, trays, cups and so on. There were several silver kitchen utensils as well as bathroom wares like pitchers and dustpans. There was a remarkable number of Chinese porcelains: 134 cups and 67 *yekmürdî* (an unspecified utensil) were recorded. Notably, copper was used for coffee equipment; 30 coffee tankards, 30 coffee trays and 20 coffee *sitili* (small-bucket) were recorded.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 524.

³⁴² Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 238-239.

Abdi recorded jewelled items including bracelets, earrings, belts, rosaries, diamonds and emeralds. Most of these items are recorded as one piece or as a pair. The total price of these jewels is 171.316 *guruş* according to Abdi. When counting each number of items and pairs, nearly two thousand pieces of items were recorded. There was an incredible amount of bedding: 48 *serâser* cushions, 104 pillows (*yüz yasdığı*), 33 gold and silver engraved pillows (*zer-dûz yüz yasdığı*), and 62 cushions within the records. Naturally, all of these items were housewares appropriate for a palace of royal wealth.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 POPULAR STREET PERFORMANCES

As mentioned before, Metin And was the first historian to document and compare the traditional performances and obscure displays of Ottoman festivals. In the case of the 1675 festival, Özdemir Nutku's study widely focused on clowning, acrobatics, athletic games and musical performances widely. According to his work, Ottoman theatrical plays were demonstrated by several acrobats: *canbaz*, *zorbaz*, *şemşirbaz*, *kûzebaz*, *gürzbaz*, *gözbağcı*, *yılanbaz*, animal trainers, shadow puppet performers and puppeteers. Each performance was performed by these specialists. Traditional Ottoman sportive plays such as combat games (*matrak*), archery, horse-riding, footracing, javelin throwing (*cirit*) and wrestling took place in the 1675 festival as well.

According to Hezarfen Hüseyin's detailed description of theatrical plays during the festival, his primary attention was directed towards illustrating the enjoyment and the reactions of both the court and the common audience. One of his descriptions was a competition, which was also depicted in the festival books of the 1582 and 1720 festivals. The game was based on fetching a coin-filled cup placed on the top of a tall pole.³⁴³ Abdi confirmed Hezarfen Hüseyin's story, claiming that more than a hundred people could not even reach the middle of the pole. A young man, roughly the age of fourteen or fifteen, finally achieved this feat.³⁴⁴ In the 1720 festival, workers spent three days just to install this pole. Erdoğan İşkorkutan emphasised the grand viziers' generosity when he freed a slave who made it easier to install the game.³⁴⁵ A similar demonstration of the sultan's generosity was displayed in the 1675 festival as well. François Pétis de la Croix stated that the boy

³⁴³ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 231.

³⁴⁴ According to Abdi, the boy said 'Bâzû-yı baht ger pür iderse nişanımlı/İster verâ-yı Kâf'a koşunlar nişanımlı' (Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 507). François de la Croix claimed that the boy was a seventeen year old Janissary.

³⁴⁵ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 271.

was presented to the sultan after he came down to the ground, and the sultan rewarded him with ‘two hundred crowns’ and ‘ten sols dead pay/morte-payé.’³⁴⁶

Another common practice in Ottoman festivals was a performance by opiate addicts (*tiryaki*). In a sense, being rendered unconscious or insensible via opium or other drugs frees the human consciousness, and renders bizarre behaviour acceptable in the community. This freedom allowed people to chase a reward whilst stammering. According to Abdi, forty addicts were gathered to make an intoxicated run before the people.³⁴⁷ He added that the addicts were pushing one another while running, which made the whole entertainment rather amusing to the viewers. At this point, Abdi made a strange statement: ‘the entertainment was so farcical that the angels could hear their laughter.’

Another entertainment by addicts was organised on the following days. In this performance, they were treated to a dinner table with food and drinks containing opium. When they finished, firework makers set fire to the surrounding space from all four sides. The performance ended with the panicked run of the ‘addicts,’ which amused the sultan greatly.³⁴⁸ A similar performance was featured at the 1720 festival too, as Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan had shown. She had also noted that these people were in fact performers, as their names appeared in the registers of entertainment companies.³⁴⁹ The performers acting like addicts meant that they were not real addicts.

However, according to Bakhtin’s ‘feast of fools,’ the performances of clowns and fools also included comic folk characters, such as giants, monsters and trained animals. They also spoofed the state’s rights and social norms which were traditionally connected to the people, in absurd and unsanctioned farces. In this

³⁴⁶ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 124.

³⁴⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 498.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 503-504.

³⁴⁹ Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, “The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul,” 277-280.

regard, the addicts' ridiculous behaviours became tolerable within the festival atmosphere. For this reason, the addicts' performances were permissible and appropriate shows in the eyes of the literate.³⁵⁰ There were similar popular cultural expressions in the 1675 festival, in which gargantuan models of forts and giant figures were built and burned on several nights. However, authors noted that the addicts' performance was a great joy to the viewers, adding that even the sultan himself was immersed in great pleasure from the appearance. As I will discuss, such brutal performances illustrate the nuanced sense of humour of the elite in the late seventeenth-century Ottoman court.

Another popular component of the Ottoman festival was that of performing animals, trained by their masters. In simple terms, monkeys, bears and snakes were depicted in books about the 1582 and 1720 festival. The court's sense of 'entertainment' practiced on animals in the 1675 festival would seem appalling to today's audience, as they amused themselves by setting animals on fire with fireworks, terrorising the people around them. According to Hezarfen Hüseyin, a performance in the evening proceeded to tie up birds with fireworks and throw grenades at them on the fifth day of the festival.³⁵¹ The same performance took place on the second day of the festival. Two donkeys and three bears were adorned with fireworks. When they were set off, the donkeys and bears fled through the audience.³⁵²

The French ambassador claimed that popular entertainment began with dog, donkey and bear races, with the animals wrapped in fireworks that made their apparel burst into flames.³⁵³ In the memoirs of the secretary of the ambassador, the performance of setting fire to living animals took place on the day that a great windstorm disrupted the festival. According to Pétis de la Croix, dogs, donkeys and

³⁵⁰ See İşkorkutan's discussion on this concept for 1720 festival (Ibid., 274-280).

³⁵¹ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 218-219.

³⁵² Ibid., 211.

³⁵³ '... des habillements en flammes' (Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 198).

bears were the victims, not being able to save themselves from this performance.³⁵⁴ Animals scattered wildly when they were set on fire. Even the guards of the marquees and other troops were too alarmed to take refuge for themselves. Pétis de la Croix claimed that a tent left for a burning animal hindered anyone from venturing too close. He added that a rabbit stood in the middle of the festival square, and instead of running, raised its hands in the air as a great storm overtook the area.³⁵⁵ The thunderstorm disrupted the entertainment, supposedly bringing peace to these poor souls.³⁵⁶ Like Pétis de la Croix, one may conjecture that not everybody attending the festival was happy with this inhumane entertainment. Even though he did not portray the incident as barbarous, the author signaled his discomfort by referring to the heavenly powers of God. In other words, Pétis de la Croix used the fear of God so that he could criticise the Ottomans for their transgressions against animals. Even the sultan and the grand vizier could not withstand this divine power, and they retreated to the palace in disarray.

Pétis de la Croix's position was profoundly ambiguous: on the one hand, he used the term 'superstitious' for those people who thought that the Creator had rendered justice to a little animal suffering the cruelty of men.³⁵⁷ On the other hand, the author felt that it was impossible to laugh at a creature that came running into an officer's tent with 'fire in his ass.'³⁵⁸ Evidently, the author had not quite decided which position he should adopt.

Abdi described less aggressive entertainment which resembled one of a similar nature, making models equipped with fireworks, worn by dogs, donkeys, bears and 'others.' The models set afire were thrust into the audience, creating

³⁵⁴ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 122-123.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 122-123.

³⁵⁶ Sarı Mehmed Pasha also mentioned the same storm at the festival. According to his narrative, two different thunderbolts struck the imperial palace and the mosque of Bayazıt II.

³⁵⁷ 'Les superstitieux dirent que c'estoit un effet de la justice que le Ciel rendoit à ce petit animal, & le grand Seigneur defendit ce plaisir.' (*Ibid.*, 123)

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

calamity. Abdi stated that it was an extraordinary display, ‘Henüz nâ-di-de san’ât-ı garibe olmagin.’³⁵⁹

However, on the next day of the festival, Abdi also identified that firework makers placed fireworks on animal figurines as well as living animals.³⁶⁰ According to the diaries of The Levant Company, artificial animals such as hobby-horses were components of such entertainment. These models could be set ablaze and come into contact with people.³⁶¹ In this sense, the claims of both festival book authors can be assessed as firework displays. Whether the animals involved were artificial or living creatures, the approaches of each author denote their positions as being superior over animals.³⁶²

These authors apparently did not regard animals as authentic living creatures and therefore, the sufferings of the latter were not an issue on which they needed to reflect. Alas, the only thing that mattered to them was the pleasure of the sultan.

Simon Werret had observed and studied the impact of nature through firework demonstrations in the eyes of the early modern man. According to Werrett, ‘artificial fireworks, imitating thunder, lightning, comets, and stars, might impress audiences with the same sense of portentous power as their natural counterparts, though it was the prince, rather than God, whose power was celebrated.’³⁶³ As he suggested, fireworks imitated celestial power which was replaced by political power. In the case of animals, Ottoman and French witnesses enjoyed their

³⁵⁹ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 497.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 498.

³⁶¹ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 108.

³⁶² Metin And also pointed out the use of human beings as well as other living creatures as such entertainment material in the 1675 and 1720 festivals. See Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 116-117. Suraiya Faroqhi also stressed this issue, Suraiya Faroqhi, “Fireworks in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen, & Evelyn Birge Vitz (Brepols, 2014), 185-186.

³⁶³ Simon Werrett, “Watching the Fireworks.”

superiority in relation to the court and to divine nature. They had embodied the power of heaven which they saw in nature by dominating animals.

Illustration 13: Artificial animals as pyrotechnic devices from Levni's depictions of the 1720 imperial festival. 'Birds' spew out sparks (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 136 and 149).



In the case of tightrope walking, both of these authors highlighted the artists' health and remarked on their conditions. According to Abdi, an acrobat hung a tightrope that stretched from the Sultan Selim Mosque to the groom's palace. The acrobat walked on the rope with a ten-year-old child on his back, and during the performance, the rope snapped. When they fell on the crowd, nobody was injured, including the child and the acrobat.³⁶⁴ Hezarfen Hüseyin also mentioned the same show, ignoring the incident but noting a different date.³⁶⁵ The acrobat show was held over several days, but eventually, an accident occurred.³⁶⁶ Both authors highlighted the near-miracle that the acrobat and the child suffered no harm. They

³⁶⁴ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 531-532.

³⁶⁵ Abdi noted the performance at the end of the wedding festival, while Hezarfen Hüseyin puts it in the middle of the wedding festival (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 240).

³⁶⁶ Silahdar Mehmed narrated three different tightrope walks on different dates (Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 159-160).

took this issue seriously when concerned with humans, but not evidently when dealing with animals.

However, according to festival book authors and the witnesses, the end of the story was explained quite differently. It is possible that festival book authors ignored the incident on purpose, not wanting to record any fuss. Likewise, Pétis de la Croix witnessed the show of the acrobats and claimed that they were two people, a Turk and a Jew, each of them bearing a child on their shoulders while walking on a rope that hung between the minarets of the Sultan Selim Mosque.³⁶⁷ In another passage, he made mention of these acrobats' accidents. The honour of the first performance went to the Turk, as he was of 'true' belief and therefore of religious superiority. When the rope snapped, he killed an Armenian 'miserable fellow' by falling on him, and left the child on his shoulders with a broken leg and a few broken teeth. The boy was taken to the pasha's court, and the sultan had him carried to the imperial palace, then rewarded the acrobat.³⁶⁸

The annals of the state chroniclers also confirm the statements of Pétis de la Croix, recording them in a similar manner.³⁶⁹ Evidently though, this incident appeared in two contradictory versions. By claiming that no one was injured, the authors of festival books consulted may have wanted to avoid the sultan's displeasure (with the exception of Silahdar Mehmed), while the outside witness, namely Pétis de la Croix, had a few qualms when it came to describing an accident that had occurred at the festivities organized at the court of a foreign, non-Christian ruler.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ He compared the Sultan Selim Mosque with Notre Dame de Paris (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 157-158). According to Özdemir Nutku, Covel claimed that the individual who injured was Armenian (Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 86-87).

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

³⁶⁹ Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 159.

³⁷⁰ State chroniclers found the entertainments of the acrobat's worth mentioning, but they ignored the incident, passing it over without any note (Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 159; Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 66-67).

Erdoğan İşkorkutan had introduced the entertainers hired for the 1720 festival, with the help of newly emerged archival documents. These documents indicated where entertainer groups/companies came from and what they received as payment. Unfortunately, for the present we cannot determine the same information from the 1675 festival due to a lack of archival documentation. However, apart from the entertainers' financial circumstances, their names were recorded as the same name in festival books. On the third day of the festival, Hezarfen Hüseyin noted a show by a zorbaz. The artist put a large plank in his hands and on his head, while it was on fire. His next performance consisted of him lying down on the ground, placing a heated anvil upon his midsection, and allowing people to forge iron on it.³⁷¹ A similar performance took place in the 1720 festival as well; like Hezarfen Hüseyin, Vehbi was astonished by a group of zorbazs' performances, in which a zorbaz lay down on swords whilst others forged items on an anvil placed on his midsection.³⁷² Similar performances were repeated forty-five years later.

Another show was an Egyptian artist's dance performance, formed like a pyramid. The performance commenced with him holding three glasses on top of each other and then upholding two, and at the peak, yet another glass with an oil-lamp placed inside.³⁷³ Unfortunately, sources did not indicate the artist's name, though this genre of performance was performed predominantly by specialized acrobats, named *tâsbâzan*. Nabi and Hezarfen Hüseyin confirmed that tasbaz artists were on the festival site. Differently, Nabi stated that *kâsebâz* artists were also on the field.³⁷⁴ Kâsebâz artists were another acrobatic group who entertained by

³⁷¹ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 213.

³⁷² Vehbî, *Sûrnâme: Sultan Ahmet'in Düğün Kitabı*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2008). The text is in pp. 314, the images on page 319 and the interpretation of images are on page 737. In the table of İşkorkutan's provision of entertainers, she highlighted that the zorbaz was from Iznikmid, Serez and Bender (Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 287).

³⁷³ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 217. Metin And compared these performances of several artists and he found similar zorbaz performances for several festivals; 1524, 1530, 1582, 1675 and 1720. See Metin And, (1982). pp. 137-139.

³⁷⁴ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 47.

balancing and gradually adding various numbers of cups and utensils. In the 1720 festival, Erdoğan İşkorkutan introduced the lists of acrobats and utensils that they used; and it was noted that there were many coffee cups and glasses recorded in the lists.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, this performance could have been a personal production of the dancers, not a part of the festival itself.

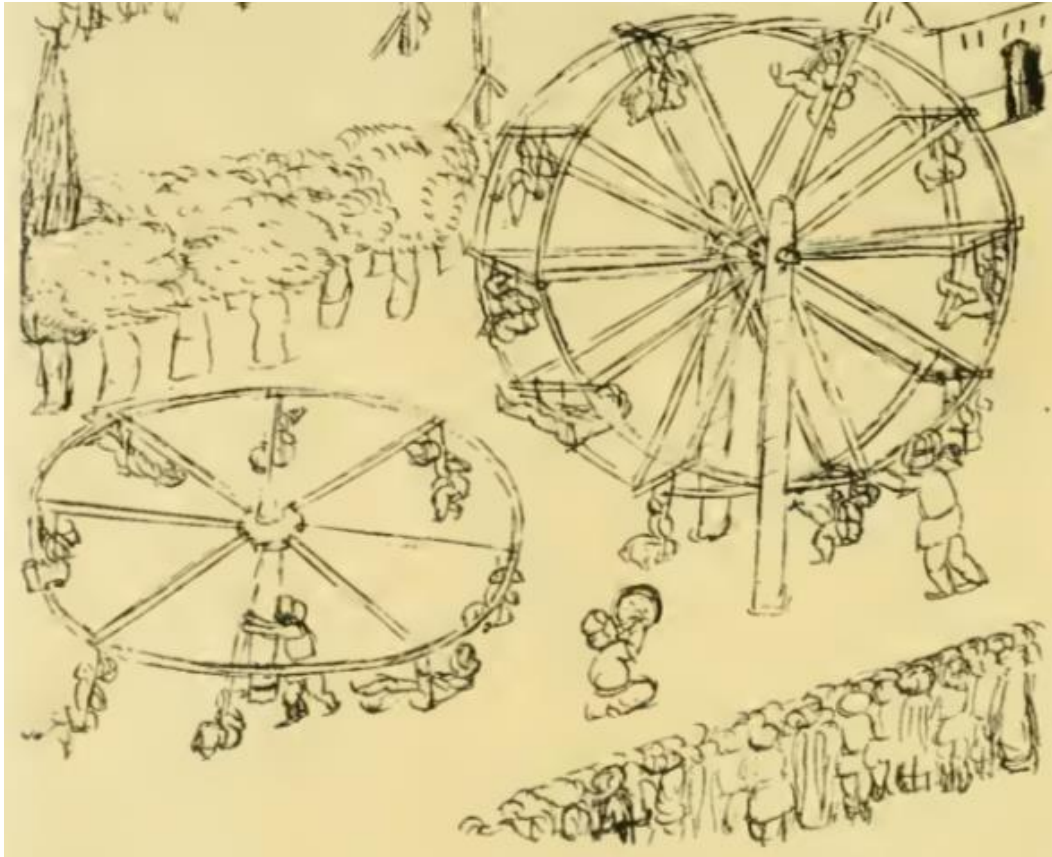
4.2 STUNT MACHINES

Carrouseles, Ferris wheels and swings were familiar mechanical components of festival entertainments. Fifty-five years earlier, Peter Mundy had depicted a *bayram* (religious holiday) celebration in a village near the Marmara Sea. There were two Ferris wheels and two different kinds of swings in his depiction, including an assistant speeding up the Ferris wheels. One is a typical Ferris wheel, which Mundo says was familiar. The other is based on the same mechanism, but was installed horizontally, so that people twirled while leaning. Mundo stated that both wheels were used by children only.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ See table 25, in Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, “The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul,” 297-306.

³⁷⁶ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667* (Vol. I) (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907), 58-59.

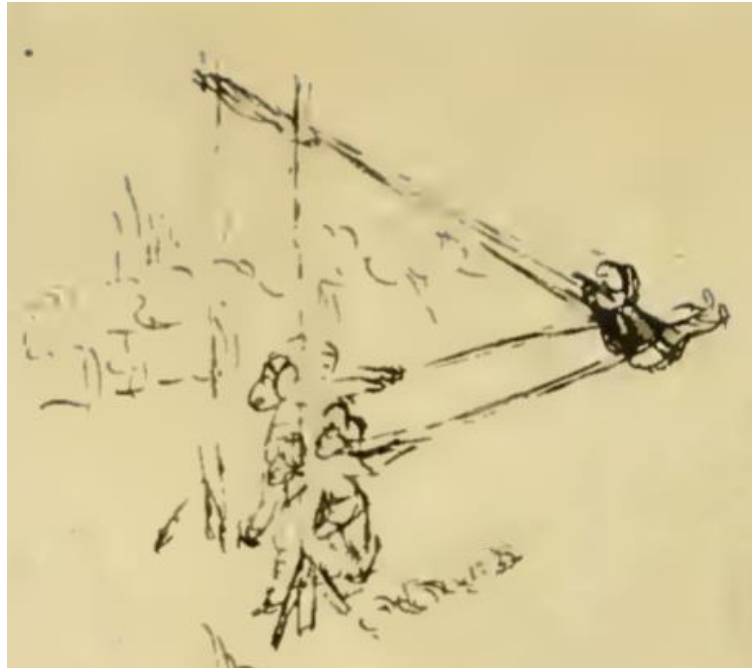
Illustration 14: Ferris wheels for children (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).



In contrast, adults were allowed to play with the swings. According to Mundy, both children and adults were permitted to use the apparatus. The configuration was simple: two poles were erected from the ground, with a rope binding them at the top to form a triangular shape between the poles, and allowing the person to sit on the rope. When attendants pushed the rope hard, the swing elevated the person who sat on the triangular rope. Mundy stated that four or five people were needed for assistance, in order to push and raise the swing.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 58.

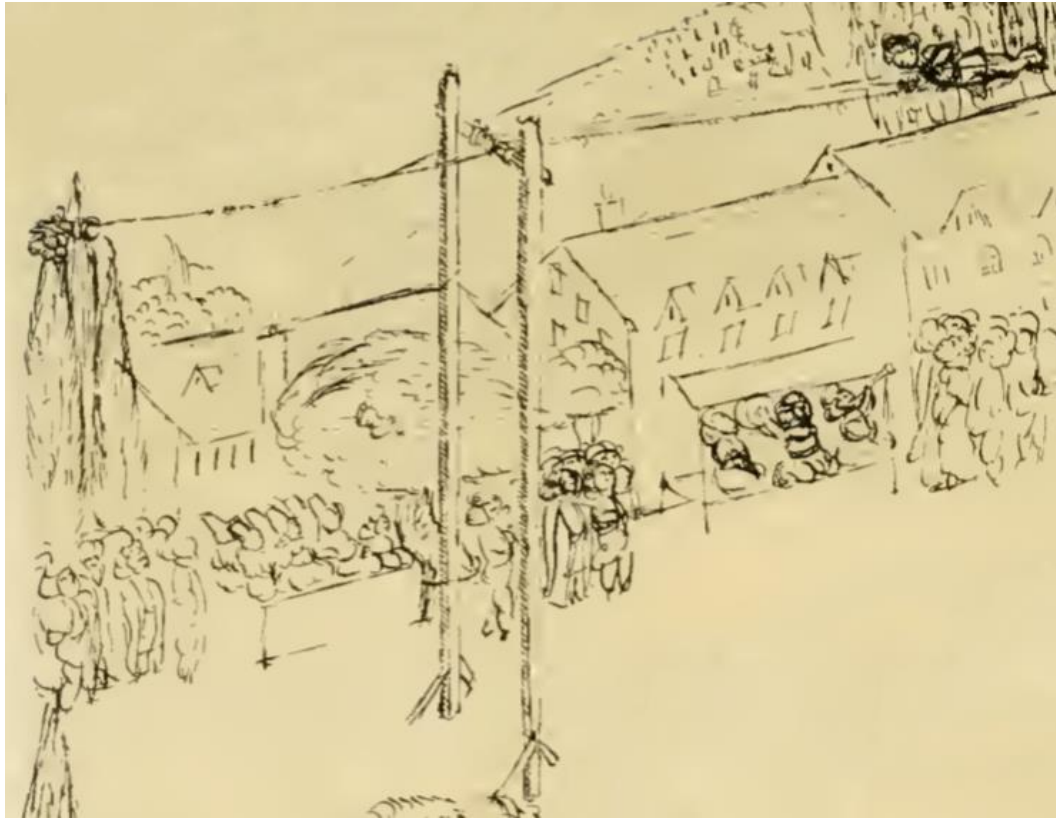
Illustration 15: A basic swing (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).



There was another type of swing, used by professionals only. In this configuration, two identical poles were erected from the ground, but these poles were much higher than those previously mentioned. Distinctively, there was no need for an assistant in this swing.³⁷⁸ The acrobat performed the show by himself. Despite Mundy's familiarity with these stunt machines, he noted all the configurations in detail. Mundy also stated that music was played throughout the performance in both configurations.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 58-59.

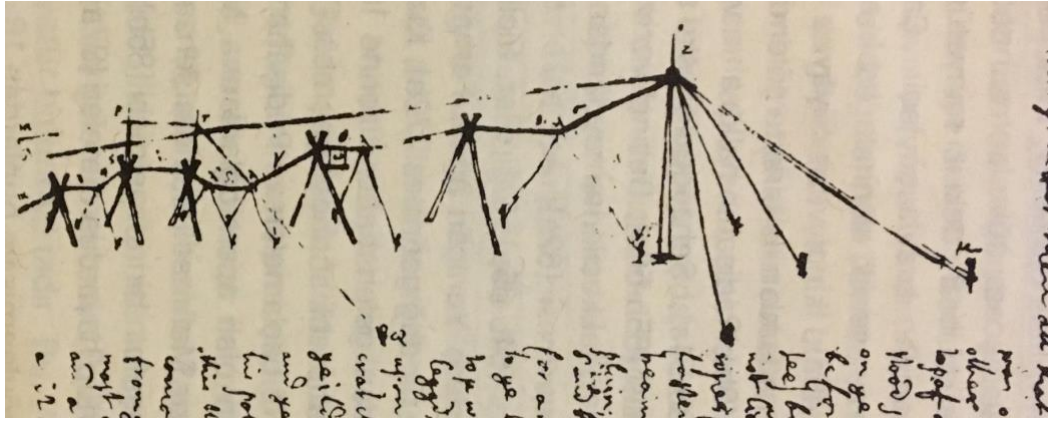
Illustration 16: A professional swing (Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 58-59).



As previously mentioned, acrobats did not limit themselves to the area within the festival site. They saw the whole city as an arena, and integrated city landmarks into the festival site by using them in their performances. Today, one can see the entire city if one stands on the palace grounds in Edirne. For this reason, an acrobat's performance in the Sultan Selim Mosque was supposed to be seen from the imperial palace simultaneously with the city folk. Acrobats used high hills in order to make their shows widely visible to both the Ottoman officials and to the viewers in general. In the same vein, organisers evaluated the tightrope walkers' configurations on the festival site. They installed poles at the entrance of the festival site, between the imperial palace and the city, so that both sides could have the opportunity to view very successful ornaments and entertainments. Even though there was no picture book of the 1675 festival, The Levant Company members

illustrated such acrobatic setups in their diaries.³⁷⁹ The illustration of the configuration of acrobats seemed quite massive. Presumably, it was organised for several acrobats who performed at the same time.

Illustration 17: According to Covell, the configuration of acrobat's playground in the 1675 festival (Metin And, Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları, 70).



Metin And introduced images of different swing mechanisms from the sixteenth century.³⁸⁰ Both of these images indicated mechanisms similar to Mundy's depictions. The common point was that they each had a roof on top of the poles. Presumably, Mundy's installation was more basic, as it had been sponsored by provincial people. On the other hand, the Ottoman treasury financed the Edirne mechanisms, therefore these stunt machines could be more expensive. Metin And had also stressed the long cultural roots of these mechanisms in Ottoman Anatolia. After all, in their simple form, teeter-totters and merry-go-rounds were popular festive mechanisms around the empire.³⁸¹ However, these mechanisms appeared in the 1720 imperial festival. Similar swings and merry-go-rounds could be seen in

³⁷⁹ Acrobatic performances were also mentioned in the diaries along with wrestling-matches, athletic feasts, conjuring tricks, puppet shows and dancers' performances (George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 107).

³⁸⁰ Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 45-47.

³⁸¹ There was a particular mechanism called *çıkırncak* and *çingirdak* in Anatolia. According to And, the mechanism was similar to teeter-totters and merry-go-round. See *Ibid.*, 46.

Levni's miniatures on the 1720 festival.³⁸² These miniatures indicated similar stunt machine duplicates in Mundy's depictions.

Illustration 18: The miniatures of a Ferris wheel and swing in the 1720 festival (Metin And, Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları, Illustration 117).



³⁸² Metin And introduced a copy of the 1720 festival book in Vienna Bibliotheca that showed a unique miniature of the stunt machines, missing from the copy in the Istanbul University Library (Ibid., 117). See other stunt machines in the 1720 festival in Vehbî, *Sûrnâme*, 242.

Illustration 19: Levni's swings in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 242).



Consequently, such stunt machines should have been present in the 1675 version as well. Unfortunately, there was no mention of teeter-totters and swings at the festival. There was no reference to Ferris wheels in any of the primary sources, although festival book authors stressed the acrobatic shows several times. Festival books indicated that different entertainment groups (*kol*) were positioned in front of the circumcision tent in order to entertain the circumcised children. According to Abdi, Egyptian entertainment companies (*Mısır kolu*) were appointed to such tasks on the second day of the festival.³⁸³ In addition, there were three other groups mentioned in the sources. *Ahmed kolu* and *Cevahir kolu* were the primary entertainment companies in the festival. A Jewish company (*Yahudi kolu*) also took part.

All of these companies performed for a different audience every day. On the sixth day of the festival, *Cevahir kolu* performed in front of the sultan's kiosk

³⁸³ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 496.

while *Ahmed kolu* was performing before the grand vizier. On the following day, the combination changed. While the Jewish company performed at the sultan's kiosk, the Egyptian company entertained in front of ordinary folk. So, why were these authors and travellers not interested enough to speak about them in detail? Fifty-five years earlier, Mundy found it notable. Perhaps they had become a more common element of festival-like events by late seventeenth-century Europe. Indeed, the Ottoman court did not budget for well-known stunt machines. Instead, officials promoted more professional and exceptional entertainments at the festival.

4.3 SHADOW-PUPPET PERFORMANCES

Shadow-plays were popular components in the early modern Ottoman Empire. In the seventeenth-century, puppeteers could be seen in particular venues like coffee houses, especially during the holy month of Ramadan.³⁸⁴ There were a variety of sources which mentioned shadow plays throughout the empire.³⁸⁵ These performances had been described in detail in the 1582 festival book. The author named these shadow play artists *hayalbâzân*.³⁸⁶ Metin And argued that such performances were included in the festivities due to their rare and unique character. These performances were also presented in the 1675 imperial festival: as Abdi stated in his festival book, *hayâl-bâzân* and *kuklacıyân* artists were summoned by Hüseyin Pasha (the Guardian of Egypt).³⁸⁷ Likewise, French visitors mentioned

³⁸⁴ Mizrahi remarked that the difference between fasting rules during the day and relief at night echoed the practice of reversing social norms in shadow puppet performances, Daryo Mizrahi, "Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleeri: Osmanlı'da Karagöz Oyunları," in *Hayal Perdesinde Ulus, Değişim ve Gelenegin İcadı*, ed. Peri Efe (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), 59.

³⁸⁵ In addition, I found French traveller Jean de Thévenot, who mentioned shadow puppeteers during his travels around the empire, see in Jean Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Ali Berktaş (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 87. Metin And also discussed shadow plays as an established popular component using the account of Thévenot, Cornelio di Magni, Pietro Della Valle.

³⁸⁶ Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*, 280.

³⁸⁷ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 489.

both groups of artists, with shadow puppet artists mentioned as Chinese shadow-puppeteers, and puppeteers as buffoons with puppets.³⁸⁸

There are no surviving documents today that elaborated on the texts of shadow plays in the 1675 festival. Evliya Çelebi's book of travel included the earliest shadow puppet narratives. As the closest source, Evliya Çelebi registered the occurrence of shadow puppet performances in the 1675 imperial festival. Besides, some indications supported the idea of the performance of puppeteers and shadow-play artists as obscene and burlesque. According to the French ambassador, the puppeteers walked to each marquee (beginning with the sultan's) to make 'drunken tricks.'³⁸⁹ His secretary likened dances and pranks to comedies in France and Italy.³⁹⁰ Therefore, one can associate these obscene and burlesque images with early modern performances.³⁹¹

In shadow-puppet performances, there was one ventriloquist, who vocalised the characters' speech and moved them all together. There were two principal characters in shadow-play, named *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*. The plays always commenced by introducing *Karagöz* as the central personage. *Hacivat* functioned as *Karagöz*'s primary partner. Aside from these main characters, there were many other puppets mainly based on various social and ethnic groups, such as *zenne*, *yahudi*, *zeybek*, *arnavut*, *frenk* and *kürd*.³⁹² Puppeteers created dialogues and other interactions between these characters. These interactions assisted in creating the show's atmosphere. The puppeteer's main aim was to amuse the audience while

³⁸⁸ Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 198; François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 102.

³⁸⁹ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 102.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

³⁹¹ Mizrahi noted the laughter elements and the techniques of *Karagöz* plays in detail. And also see the obscene and burlesque images of the plays, Daryo Mizrahi, "One Man and His Audience: Comedy in Ottoman Shadow Puppet Performances," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen, & Evelyn Birge Vitz (Brepols, 2014).

³⁹² Indeed, the artist could take advantage of the various identities in Istanbul. According to the Mizrahi, in Karpas's statistics on the nineteenth-century population of Istanbul, only half of the city was Muslim. The puppet characters in the shadow play reflected the diverse identities of the city (Daryo Mizrahi, "Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleeri," 49-50).

vocalising the differing characteristics of the puppets. While doing so, the artist made satirical comments between Karagöz and Hacivat, provoking the laughter of the audience to accompany the comedy.

Shadow-play artists had an essential role while composing and preparing. Presumably, shadow-play artists could adapt current agendas into a play. In this approach, shadow plays were illustrated as distinctive and dynamic demonstrations. According to Evliya Çelebi, each of the artists had developed his own characteristics and unique manner of performance.³⁹³ In other words, each artist was free to create his characters. Likewise, according to Metin And, French traveller Jean de Thévenot stated that puppeteers could extend the show for as long as they pleased.³⁹⁴ This flexibility was typical of carnival character in early modern popular culture.

Evliya Çelebi mentioned an artist called *Taklitçi Çöğürcü Sarı Celeb* (*taklitçi* means impersonator, puppeteer, the artist), and said that he could enact *Boğuk Kaptan*, *Mustafa Korsu*, *Rumeli Hisarı Dizdârı*, *Naşivân hummusu* plays, the artist's own inventions. One of the plays that Çelebi showcased was about Murad IV (r. 1623-1640), in which the sultan suddenly burst into a bath (hamam) and caught a smoker named *Tiryaki Ağazâde*. There was an imperial order which prohibited smoking tobacco in the reign of Murad IV. This imperial order traced back to the third of June, 1631. In this edict, the sultan blamed bureaucrats who paid no attention to the order in detecting the smoker, and for this reason, those who did not comply with the laws of the ban were punished.³⁹⁵ The play of *Taklitçi Çöğürcü Sarı Celeb*'s was based on this event. Even though their plays were based on particular themes, the texts and speech actually could be changed and adapted

³⁹³ As an example, Evliya Çelebi gave some details about the artists: *söz ustası* (voice master), *hazır-cevap* (quick at repartee), *şebek* (fool), *şakrak* (jovial), *gülmekten göbek çatlatan* (made people die with laughter).

³⁹⁴ Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*, 284.

³⁹⁵ See the edict of Murad IV on the prohibition of tobacco (A.DVNS.MHM.d., 85/160-380[305], 03.Zilkade.1040), E-source: <https://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/icerik/3223/iv-muradin-sigara-yasagi-fermani/> (last checked 20.07.2018).

according to current events. Thus presumably, the shadowplay artists in the 1675 imperial festival also performed such events during the festival.

4.3.1 Silent Agreements Between Participants

There was a relationship between the audience and the artist during a Karagöz performance. The audience laughed at the Karagöz, signalling their approval via indirect contact with the artist. The audience accompanied the play with their laughter, and condoned the protest and satire inherent in the play. Their laughter bought an agreement into existence. Bakhtin stated that ‘he who is laughing also belongs to it.’³⁹⁶ This alliance between the artist and the audience could be read as an expression of discontent within society, and as a language of protest.³⁹⁷

Evliya Çelebi stated that *Kör Hasanzâde Mehmed Çelebi* had many women friends because of his shows. Shadow-plays had a different kind of audience, because they included females of all ages.³⁹⁸ Thus, it is sensible to think that a shadow-play artist could have many friends in different social categories and identities from the people surrounding him in his audience. This variety may have contributed as the primary source of material for the shadow-play artist while animating the characters and planning their speeches. There was an interesting statement in one of *Kör Hasanzâde Mehmed Çelebi*’s narrative. While he was finishing the play with a religious statement *as usual* (*yine böyle iken*), he aroused the audience and they burst into laughter. Perhaps, Evliya was emphasising that a religious statement being made *as usual* included his own private joy over

³⁹⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 12.

³⁹⁷ Evliya Çelebi claimed that puppeteers should have particular skills. For instance, *Kör Hasanzâde Mehmed Çelebi* whose main profession was mimicry, had many other skills. He could speak Arabic and Persian, he was an expert at music, composition, penmanship, and a firework actor. In sum, a shadow play artist could be identified as a composer, a firework actor, or a linguist as well.

³⁹⁸ Daryo Mizrahi, “Language and Sexuality in Ottoman Shadow-Puppet Performances,” 286; Daryo Mizrahi, “Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleeri,” 48.

suspended religious norms. It was an ambiguous story, yet the laughter rendered the official strict social hierarchies inefficacious. For instance, in one of *Kör Hasanzâde Mehmed Çelebi*'s plays, *Gazi Boşnak* went into a public bath (*hamam*) and caught his wife (*Nigâr*) engaging in a sexual relationship with *Karagöz* (*Cüvan*). Catching *Karagöz* and *Gazi Boşnak*'s wife while they were having intercourse collapsed institutionalised marriage norms. *Karagöz* played a vital role in the banishment of this social norm, with the laugh of the audience signalling their approval. From that moment, the audience became participants and accomplices. At the end of the story, *Gazi Boşnak* grabbed *Karagöz* by his member and kicked him out of the bath.³⁹⁹ In this obscene image of *Karagöz*, the lower parts of the body had caught the audience's eyes.

Illustration 20: From Martinovitch, 1968 (First published in 1933). Because of the scene, the puppet of Karagöz may have been formed with a phallus.



³⁹⁹ Evliya Çelebi stated that 'çükünden çıplak bağlayıp hamamdan çıkarması' in his travelogue. Evliyâ Çelebi. *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 653.

Evliya Çelebi stated that *Kör Hasanzâde Mehmed Çelebi*'s language held a spiritual knowledge, '*sanki manevî bilgi sahibi*.'⁴⁰⁰ Moreover, Evliya quoted a verse of the artist: 'they say it does not appear in sight because there is a lot hidden behind it, as the incident occurs while watching with admiration.'⁴⁰¹ With this reference to the world of the unseen, Evliya pointed out that there were secrets behind the curtain, and audience participation made the hidden intent visible. With this expression, Evliya assigned an ambiguous meaning to the performance.

4.3.2 Marketplace Language

In the 1675 imperial festival, the festival site often overflowed into the city centre with marches and parades. Especially during the wedding festival, all of the festive events took place around the groom's palace, which was placed near the Sultan Selim Mosque in the heart of the city. This broad range of the festival area was intertwined with the streets and squares of the city of Edirne. In Bakhtinian words, this kind of public domain carried their own language, namely a *marketplace language*.

Hence, I evaluate festival space in 1675 as a public domain that contained marketplace language. Therefore, the city domain became the centre of rejected and unofficial things. Daryo Mizrahi stated that 'one important trait of a multi-ethnic and multilingual society is its increased consciousness of the preconditions for communication: in their daily lives, people become aware of codes that are otherwise unconsciously conventionalised in a group whose members all speak the same language.'⁴⁰² Therefore, the language of Karagöz performances transgressed common rules and social norms without difficulty. In this vein, it was possible to

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 654.

⁴⁰¹ 'Görünürden görünmez derler âlemde çü pes çokdur. Zuhûr eyler temâşâ ile bir kez nice ahvâlî' (Ibid., 654).

⁴⁰² Daryo Mizrahi, "Language and Sexuality in Ottoman Shadow-Puppet Performances," 276. See the extensive analysis of the language of Karagöz plays in paper page 278-283.

discuss the restrictive manner in society.⁴⁰³ Mikhail Bakhtin suggested that scholars ought to examine puppet shows to make the people visible in the marketplace.⁴⁰⁴ I considered shadow puppet performances in the Ottoman Empire as a source for various forms of early modern folk humour.

Unfortunately, all of the satiric and obscene expressions of Karagöz plays were censored in the nineteenth-century literature. Thanks to Metin And's studies, we can find a catalogue obtained from some of the earliest samples of the Karagöz plays in the nineteenth century. This language consisted of the repeated and invented words of the Karagöz realm.⁴⁰⁵ Metin And's advanced research showed that shadow-play artists had their own lexicon, such as singing=kerizci; kahve=tatu; kahveci=tatucu; smoke=sipsi; mum=yıldız; ekmek=habe.⁴⁰⁶ These words were created by a marketplace language, in which the official language cannot express the subject's opinion on a street level. Unfortunately, we cannot trace these words to 1675. Since Metin And wrote in later times of the Karagöz plays, presumably shadow play artists used their repertoire during the 1675 festival as well. This repertoire would have been formed within the public sphere.

Evliya Çelebi remarked that the puppeteers made people laugh voraciously, as if their heads would fall off: '*geğrekleri düşüp akılları başlarından gidene kadar güldürürler.*' According to the Rabelaisian context, laughter, food consumption, excrement and swearing were associated with the ambiguous and the lower -regions of the body.⁴⁰⁷ The grotesque images of carnival spirit confirmed Evliya's statement. The word *geğrek*, literally indicates all parts of the human body below

⁴⁰³ Daryo Mizrahi states that 'inanimate puppet objects as actors makes otherwise unthinkable sexual scenes possible and humorous.' (Ibid., 275). Also, the language nourished from the environment of the city indeed (Mizrahi, Daryo, "Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleleri," 48).

⁴⁰⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 65.

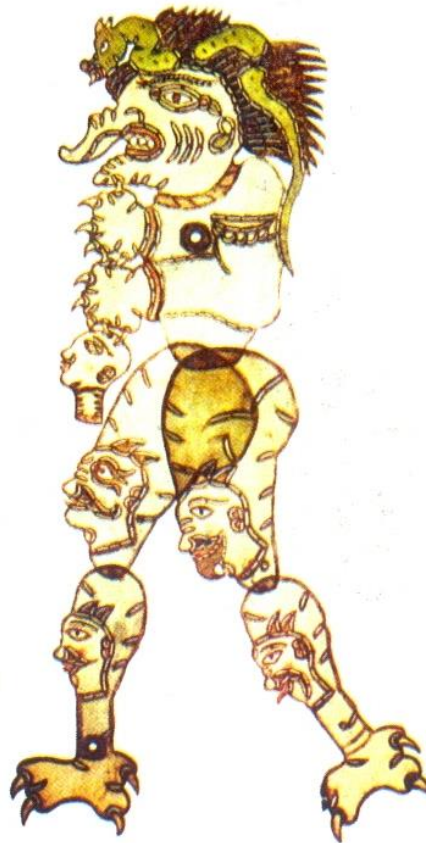
⁴⁰⁵ See the analysis of the language of the shadow puppet performances, Daryo Mizrahi, "Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleleri," 50-52.

⁴⁰⁶ There are many other words in Metin And's study; Metin And, "*Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu*," 332.

⁴⁰⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

the waist.⁴⁰⁸ This portion was close to the stomach, which Bakhtin considered very meaningful. These parts of the body falling down resulted in throes of laughter, and in this fashion, the official image of the body became a subject of mockery. Defiling the body lowered its perfection, thereby decreasing its value.⁴⁰⁹ Splitting the head from the body was also a prevalent theme when degrading the value of the body. In conclusion, Evliya drew a grotesque image of a body which has no head, consisting only of the lower stratum.

Illustration 21: An evil genie (cin). An example of the degrading the official body. Head inverted to the lower stratum of the body (Metin And, Theatre D'Ombres Turc, illustration 72).



⁴⁰⁸ *Geğrek*: false rib (Redhouse, 1997).

⁴⁰⁹ See the detail in the second chapter of *Rabelais and His World, The Language of the Marketplace in Rabelais* (Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 145-195).

Another example was *Taklitçi Çıkrıkçızâde Süleyman Çelebi*. Just like the previously mentioned artist, Evliya stated that he was a talented and extraordinary puppeteer. In the eyes of Evliya, when the artist performed Karagöz, an audience's life went to the edge, the 'coast of death': '*adamın gülmeden hayatı gidip ölüm kıyıları görünür.*' In this statement, Evliya created a dualistic relationship between life and death. Like the last statement, this one indicated that travel between these 'coasts' could occur only with laughter.

Evliya Çelebi gave a clear summary of a Karagöz play from the above-mentioned artist that was rather crude. According to the story, a salesman did not want to sell honey to a dervish; because of this refusal, the dervish cursed the salesman's honey. Afterwards, a woman bought a cup of honey from this salesman, and brought it to her master. After the master and his wife ate the honey, they both started flatulating uncontrollably. The couple then went to the salesman to complain about the honey. The salesman tasted the honey, and began to flatulate as well. Evliya stated that the flatulence broke their *abdest* (ablution).⁴¹⁰ Furthermore, the salesman was summoned by the court, tasted the honey again to defend his position, then repeated the offense by 'breaking wind' in the face of the *kadı* (judge): '*kadı'nın yüzüne karşı edepde part part kavarazanlık eder.*' At the end of the story, altogether eleven people had flatulated in court: '*zartazenlik eyler,*' '*cart cart yellenmeye.*'⁴¹¹ Evliya wrote that the story was amusing and people laughed very loudly. In this narrative, the word *yellenmek* corresponded to flatulence/defecation in popular language.

Even though Evliya Çelebi chose genteel words, the story gave away the bawdy realism of the play. The funny elements of the story were actually hidden in these lines. When Evliya *goes to the coast of the life and death*, again, social

⁴¹⁰ 'Edeple yellenip abdest boza boza kadiya varirlar' (Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 655).

⁴¹¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 655. I found the same narrative in a children's story, but it still carried its satiric meaning in Aziz Nesin's book: Aziz Nesin, *Pırlatan Bal* (Istanbul: Nesin Yayınevi, 2018 (First published in 1976)).

hierarchies collapsed. These comical elements emanated from the lower parts of the body, and they flatulated ‘*cart cart, part part,*’ and rendered ablution impure. Flatulence expelled gas out of the body from the large intestine, and because it was related to the lower parts of the body, also became a reference to excrement. In this sense, flatulence/excrement denoted a joyful or cheerful meaning. In Bakhtinian terms, it was a symbol of coming ‘*down to earth.*’⁴¹²

In the same way, Evliya even invented a word: *zartazenlik*. The word *zartazenlik* meant a person who flatulated while dancing. So, the lower parts of the body, intestinal and anal, became ambiguous meanings in the body proper. On the other hand, the characters of the story, like *kadı*, were also chosen significantly. Officially, the audience and the artist were supposed to agree on the distribution of justice and the superior position of *kadı*. In other words, maybe the reason why people laughed hard at this story was the unfair justice which was given by the *kadı*. In the early modern era, it was a reasonable way to express disbelief in a statement by downgrading an official authority while flatulating in his presence. Even the choice of this action was specifically selected: they were all doing so in the court of the judge. Thus, it was not only the judge himself who was degraded, but the entire system of justice which shared in this display of contempt. Evliya Çelebi himself said that *he goes to the coast of life and death* while laughing the play; in Bakhtinian terms, he *intermediates between earth and body*. In other words, these scatological images were always related to the cycle of life and death, and shadow play artists were well aware of these ambiguous meanings.⁴¹³

In the Bakhtinian context, laughter, food, the urge to procreate, and abusive behaviours were expressions of the lower strata of society. Official culture was based on the ‘immovable and unchangeable hierarchy in which the higher and the lower never merge.’⁴¹⁴ For this reason, it became visible on occasions such as

⁴¹² Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 176.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 176.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 166.

carnivals and festivals, in which the market language remained vivid and lively. As I have discussed in the previous princes' cavalcades and food service, the superior position of the right side was also reversed in shadow puppet performances. The puppeteer always held Karagöz in his left hand; therefore, Hacivat or the other characters stand on the right.⁴¹⁵ Karagöz, as the centre of the criticism and risqué behavior, was positioned on the left hand, thus, the meaning of official symbolism was inverted. In this way, the shadow-puppet performances criticised this official language and its symbols, as well as the literate culture.

⁴¹⁵ Ünver Oral, *Kukla ve Kuklacılık: Yapım ve Oynatım Tekniği, Yardımcı Bilgiler* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 161.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 NOCTURNAL SPECTACLES

Whether by the court or provincially sponsored, fireworks were essential elements of festive occasions. Oil-lamps were especially utilized in illuminating the city and spreading the news of these occasions. For instance, oil-lamps were hung, and fireworks were displayed after a conquest or upon hearing good news, such as a birth in the imperial harem. Antoine Galland witnessed celebrations in the capital and mentioned of oil-lamps and lanterns around the imperial palace along with the streets after the conquest of Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle.⁴¹⁶

Illuminations were the prime counterparts of fireworks presented on these occasions. Evliya Çelebi mentioned the guilds of firework makers (*havaî fişekçiler esnafı*) in Istanbul. He claimed that they were a full community, but at the same time, most of these people working in the Imperial Armory were employed at weddings, festivals and the celebrations of a new-born child.⁴¹⁷ Evliya referred to firework makers as *ateşbâz*; *ateş* means fire and the *-bâz* suffix integrates the meaning of ‘performer’ into the word. Thus, one can say that firework makers were performers of fire-making. The same denotation was used by festival book authors of 1675 as well. All of the festival books indicated firework makers as *ateşbâzan* and illuminators as *işâreciyân*.

In 1675, fireworks were used to set fire to the galley and tower models, not only cartridges and crackers. Due to various usage, multiple firework mechanisms came into existence. On the second day of the festival, a fortress and a tower model

⁴¹⁶ Antoine Galland, *Istanbul'a ait günlük hâtıralar (1672-1673)*, ed. N. S. Örik (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), 183-187.

⁴¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 565. While Evliya referred to the guilds of firework makers in Istanbul, Hezarfen Hüseyin did not mention them in his lists (Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 53). Interestingly, they are not recorded in judicial registers and lawbooks (Eunjeong Yi, *17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Lonca Dinamikleri*, 282-312).

appeared at the festival site. Presumably, they staged a mock battle, but the fireworks were integrated within the performance. Models were eventually set on fire, which was another form of illumination. According to Hezarfen Hüseyin, the sultan, the grand vizier and other dignitaries were filled with admiration at the display.⁴¹⁸

Furthermore, Hezarfen Hüseyin claimed that three giant models were brought along with others onto the site. On the following day, similar displays of mock battles and giant models took place. All of these models, including the giant one, were decorated with fireworks. This spectacle was held on the fourteenth day of the festival. Nabi poeticised these artificial giants containing rockets and fireworks.⁴¹⁹ Özdemir Nutku cited the detailed explanation of the artificial giants' mechanism from Covell: some of these models were standing on the top of a pole and spinning around, others were controlled over metal bars which were placed on top of the model. Their movement depended on a cartridge (*kör fişek*) that was covered inside by the skirt. When the cartridge was fired, the giant was wigwagged.⁴²⁰

Just as written in the festival books, travellers' diaries also mentioned similar entertainments on the following days. One of the most significant fortress models represented the Castle of Candia. The show began by discharging fireworks from the castle's battlements. The eyewitnesses stated that 'infinite of rockets discharged.'⁴²¹ Eventually, when they had finished the performance, the whole castle was incinerated and collapsed. Pétis de la Croix indicated that it lasted nearly two hours.⁴²² Indeed, the last portion of the show was the most important part of

⁴¹⁸ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 211.

⁴¹⁹ Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 67.

⁴²⁰ Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 114.

⁴²¹ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 108.

⁴²² Pétis de la Croix's description of the display of Candia Castle was quite detailed: 'Entr'autres une ville nommée Candie fit des efforts furieux, l'artifice dura une heure entière, après laquelle il jeta un fourneau qui fit paroître le Camp tout embrasé, & jeta un tourbillon de flammes surprenant, la forteresse brûloit d'un feu dont la matière de temps en temps s'assoupissoit, & se relevoit avec plus de furie qu'au paravant, & quoy que ce prétendu embrasement de Candie dura

the display, due to the manifestation of the annihilation of Venetian power. Another exhibition demonstrating the empire's power was the representation of the battle of Uyvar Castle. As mentioned in the second chapter, the grand vizier's campaign against the Habsburg frontier was accomplished after he captured Uyvar Castle in the Hungarian region. Even though the massive loss in later combat was the reason for rapidly calling a truce, organisers of the 1675 festival turned the strength of the Ottoman forces into a good narrative. The organisers reproduced the glory of the Habsburg campaign, still remembered by military forces at the festival. According to Hezarfen Hüseyin, a model of the fortress was placed at the festival site on the third day of the festival.⁴²³ Officials created a mock battle as a traditional way of representing the military forces at the princely festival.⁴²⁴

Setting towers and fortresses on fire should be a completely visual form of entertainment, making them costlier than any other entertainment. Indeed, the quantities and materials that the towers required to be built indicated the price of this show. According to archival documents, 1,233,062 *akçe* were spent on fireworks in total.⁴²⁵ Firework entertainments required explosive materials which were recorded in the registers such as candlewick (*fıtil*), powder (*barut*), sulphur (*kükürd*), potassium nitrate (*güherçile*) and arsenic (*zirniç*). Nevertheless, firework makers had aesthetic concerns as well and aimed at making remarkable displays. For this reason, they required many different items to enrich their formula and particularly, different types of pyrotechnic devices. A large number of building materials such as boxwood (*cimşir*), beam (*kiriş*), lead/tin (*sürb*), iron (*demir*), nail (*mismar*) and plaque (*elvah*) were also recorded. Clippers (*makas*), eggs (*yumurta*),

près de deux heures, il n'endommagea en aucune façon le bois dont elle estoit composée. Celle de toutes les machines ardantes qui me paru la plus belle fust une espece de pavillon, lequel après avoir jetté des feux artificiels sans nombre demeuroit éclairé pendant une demie heure d'un feu, comme des petites lampes sans perdre sa figure, & finissoit tout d'un coup' (François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 106).

⁴²³ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 213.

⁴²⁴ Similar scenes appeared in the 1582 and 1720 imperial festivals. See Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, 123.

⁴²⁵ The expense registers of fireworks began with the total price of the materials at the top of the documents and continued with the list of materials and their prices in detail.

soaps (*sabun*), papers (*kağıt*), starch (*nişasta*), naphtha (neft) and glue (*zamk*) were notable items in the register.⁴²⁶ Organisers purchased a various number of papers and woodwork for the firework displays. Papers were used in some parts of the pyrotechnic devices and in the construction of flaming model covers. Papers were also used as containers to keep gunpowder dry.

Containers were mostly constructed of wood and paper in the past. Besides, it was the cheapest way to store such expensive materials.⁴²⁷ Such items seem connected with the construction materials, which were used for the building of towers and fortress models. Hezarfen Hüseyin made mention of such models on several days. Apart from the previously mentioned days, Hezarfen Hüseyin recorded similar displays on the sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and fourteenth days of the festival. Conversely, Abdi and Nabi did not mention such models, as they spoke of firework machines and night entertainments more generally. Even so, archival documents affirmed Hezarfen Hüseyin's narrative.

There was an excessive number of plates and nails from a variety of woods in the firework expenses. These materials would have been used for the construction of such models. Sometime the officials indicated the purpose for which they were used, '*baha-i elvah-ı kule-i kebir*.'⁴²⁸ According to the registers, there were bigger and smaller towers.⁴²⁹ Tower constructions varied in size and appearance from day to day. Different kind of woods were recorded in the registers: linden trees (*ihlamur*), hornbeams (*gürgen*), willows (*söğüt*) were mentioned as distinctive wood types by their colour and width. However, we need to be aware that these trees were also essential components in the making of gunpowder. For this reason, one can only speculate about the different uses of these materials.

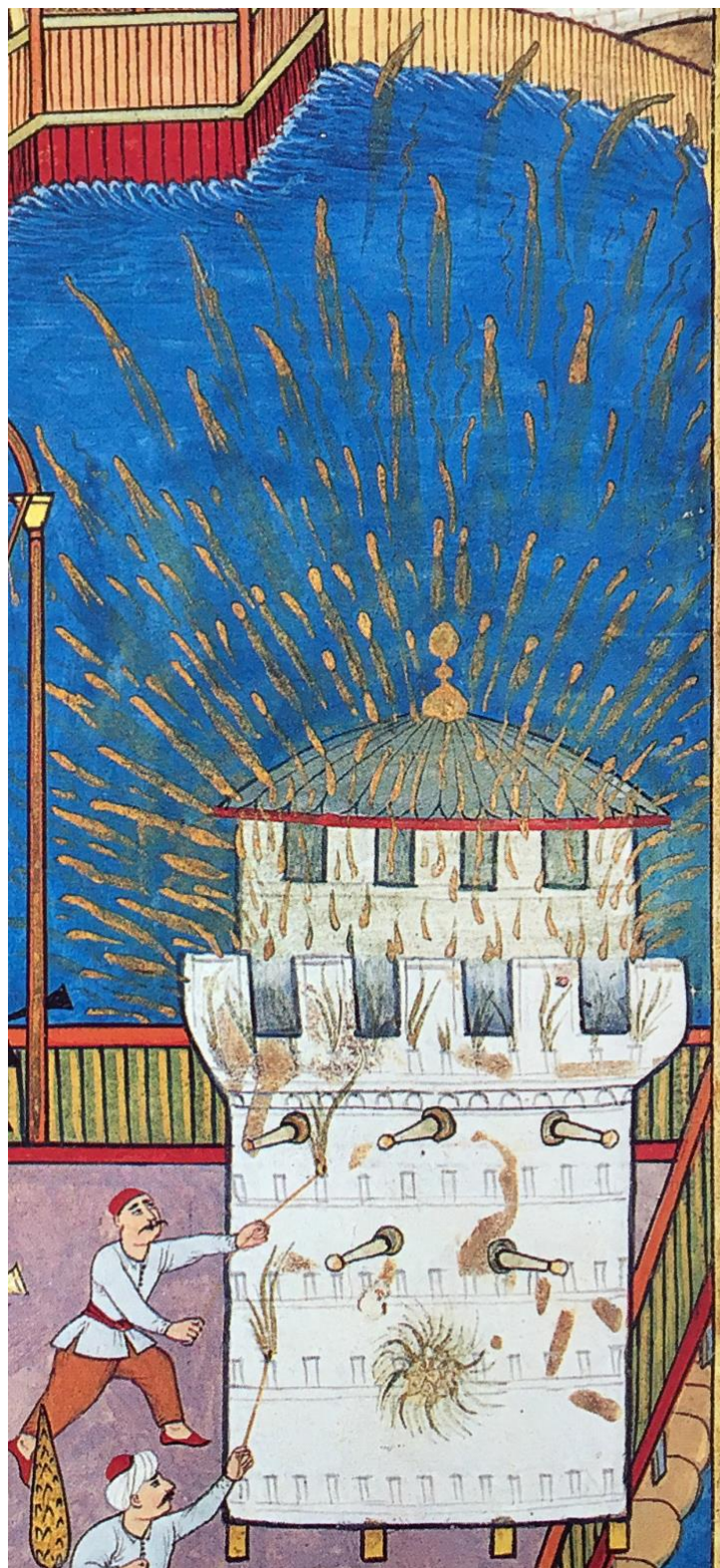
⁴²⁶ D.BŞM.d.00295

⁴²⁷ Ronald Lancaster, *Fireworks: Principles and Practice* (3rd Edition ed.) (New York: Chemical Publishing Co., Inc., 1998), 189.

⁴²⁸ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2

⁴²⁹ *Kule-i kebir* and *kule-i sagir* were the statements in the registers which refers to size. While *kebir* meant the greater one, *sagir* meant the smaller. Check Neslihan Sönmez, *Yapı ve Malzeme Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Yem Yayınları, 1997), 16.

Illustration 22: A firework tower from the miniatures of Levni (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 296).



According to fireworks expenses, nineteen items were purchased for the Egyptian firework makers. And the registers mentioned different materials for the construction of towers, namely, *Elvah-ı aga* and *Elvah-ı tirgahlık*. The appearance of the construction's maiden Elvah-ı aga should have been different due to its nature, and the fact that it had been imported from another place. Elvah-ı tirgahlık was another unnamed tower plate, which was the most expensive item in the inventory. Many necessary items were required for the construction of the towers, such as nails, tubs, tins and plates. According to registers, the quantity of 6,025 nails were purchased. When we divide nail amounts by the total number of plates, 42 nails were used for each plate. When we consider of the task in relocating the maiden models and devices, they needed high durability and strength. It was two and a half kilometres' distance from the Ayiše Hatun Hanı to the festival site.

Consequently, the high number of consolidation items were supplied for the constructions. The purchase of honey, which served as a plaster, appears as one of these materials.⁴³⁰ Apart from the materials assigned to individual companies, the overall register recorded a large number of papers whose destination was not given. Evliya Çelebi claimed that the artificial fortresses were made up of papers.⁴³¹ Paper-made models and artefacts could indeed have been seen in the 1582 festival. One of the models was shaped like a Simurgh, depicted while flying in the festival square. Another paper-made fortress, resembling the Maiden's Tower in Istanbul, was also erected at the festival site for the enactment of a mock battle.⁴³² Whether because it was inexpensive or easily flammable, paper was a popular component for the use of artificial models in Ottoman festivals.

⁴³⁰ Check the usage of honey in constructions, Neslihan Sönmez, *Yapı ve Malzeme Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 26.

⁴³¹ Faroqhi cites the statement and predicts that the mentioned paper could be cardboard or *Papier-mâché*. Whether it was cardboard or not, officials in 1675 festival recorded these items as paper (*kağıd*) likewise mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fireworks in Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 184-185.

⁴³² Nurhan Atasoy, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 74-75 and 116.

Officers recorded these items in as much detail as possible by their purpose, and considered where they were imported from, as well as their types. Records of nails were included for all of these constructions. There were different kinds of nails within the register: *mismar-ı lokma*, *mismar-ı zagra*, *mismar-ı sayis* and *mismar-ı elvah*. While *mismar-ı zagra* indicated that items had been imported from Zagra province, or that they were made in the style of Zagra, *mismar-ı elvah* referred to nails for the plates. Also, *mismar-ı lokma* and *mismar-ı sayis* denoted nail types.

Table 14: The inventory of the Egyptian firework makers (*Beceheti mühimmatı fişengciyan-ı Mısır*).

1	<i>Baha-i bınar</i> 70 aded fi 5 350 akçe	<i>Baha-i ketan-ı ıhlamur</i> 15 aded fi 45 675 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kule-i kebir</i> 20 keyl fi 18 360 akçe	<i>Baha-i çubuk-ı varil</i> 200 aded fi 400 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı lokma</i> 2.025 aded fi 50 925 akçe
2	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı Zagra</i> 1.500 aded fi 3 495 akçe	<i>Baha-i ağaç tabak</i> 5 aded fi 25 125	<i>Baha-i teneke</i> 5 aded fi 60 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı aga</i> 20 aded fi 20 400 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kule-i sagir</i> 50 aded fi 400 akçe
3	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı sayis</i> 1.500 aded 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i Budun</i> 2.500 aded 165 akçe	<i>Baha-i sagir ıhlamur</i> 20 aded fi 7 140 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı tirgahlık</i> 50 aded fi 22 1,100 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i sanduk</i> 50 aded fi 14 700 akçe
4	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan</i> 50 aded fi 8 400 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı elvah</i> 1.000 aded 168 akçe	<i>Baha-i fitil-i Mısır kulaç</i> 100 aded 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i fitil-i penbe kulaç</i> 100 aded 300 akçe	
Total:			7,948 akçe		

There were several reconstruction expenses (*nev sahteni*) in the firework registers. According to their titles, these records indicated manufacturing a structure from the base. Inherently, a more significant part of the recorded items were woodworks, and consolidation and construction materials. One of these woodworks was *binar*. They were usually used as timber and lumber.⁴³³ On the other hand, all iron and metal materials were recorded as wares or objects in the first part of the

⁴³³ Bınar was also meant to be water supply. On the contrary, Neslihan Sönmez stated that they could largely be used in making coals and that they imply Quercus ilex/oak bush (Neslihan Sönmez, *Yapı ve Malzeme Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 30).

registers. Thus, there were no iron or metal materials in this inventory. Presumably, workers reconstructed burned towers, fortresses and giant models from one day to another. They were able to make robust skeletons for models; thus, they could dress the entire model up with new materials to prepare it for the next day. Presumably, these structures were made of iron. Similarly, Covell stated that when artificial giants burn, fireworks makers repaired the model in order to prepare it for the next day.⁴³⁴ The same took place for the artificial fortresses.

Table 15: An inventory for rebuilding a firework fortress (*Nev sahteni kala-i fişek*).

1	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 80 aded fi 8 520 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 120 aded fi 14 1,560 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i elyah-ı kulübe-i kebir 40 aded fi 18 680 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i bımar 50 aded fi 5 250 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i mismar 2,000 aded 120 akçe</i>
2	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı sayıs 1,000 aded 300 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i Budun 4,000 aded 220 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 1,000 aded fi 60 900 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i şalika 1,000 aded 90 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i taban-ı ıhlamur 4 aded fi 45 180 akçe</i>
Total:					4,720 akçe

In the records of the Imperial Armory in the previous century, similar items appeared with the records of fireworks registers of the festival. There was cotton (*penbe*), olive oil (*revgan-ı zeyd*), wick (*vezne-i fitil*), *engişt* and so forth purchased, with similar items also recorded in the fireworks expense register.⁴³⁵ A variety of cottons were registered, such as cotton wicks (*fitil-i penbe*), cotton and cannabis (*penbe ve kenevir hicab*) and cotton threads (*rişte-i penbe*). Olive oil (*revgan-ı zeyd*), oil of turpentine (*revgan-ı nefti*) and clarified butter (*revgan-ı sade*) were oil types mentioned in the register.⁴³⁶ One of the features of the oil of turpentine was the high flammability and it was generally used in colouring. Clarified butter was recorded only in the inventory of the firework makers. Furthermore, there were many wick types: regular wicks (*fitil*), reserve wick (*fitil-i yedek*), cotton wick (*fitil-*

⁴³⁴ Özdemir Nutku cites Covell's statement (Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 114).

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 61-61.

⁴³⁶ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 and fol.3 A

i penbe), Egyptian wick (*fitil-i Mısır*) and rocket wick (*fitilha-i fişeng*). It appeared that each wick cost three akçe, as only reserve wicks cost twice as much.⁴³⁷

There were some references in the register which indicated the availability of specimens used for making fireworks, purchased prior to the festival for trial purposes. Fireworks requirement preparations began a year before the festival (in 1674/1085); Furthermore, Abdi's stated the same occurrence in the beginning of his festival book. In total, 11,262 akçe were spent for test samples.⁴³⁸ Because the terminology used was obscure ('*bağzı eşya-ı mezburin der-vakti numune-i fişeng kaliban elvakiğ sene 1085 ba defteri müfredat*'), we do not know what kind of materials were provided as specimens. It was highly probable that they provided some of the core items that were needed for special treatment, such as potassium nitrate, sulphur and charcoal.

5.2 THE FORMULA FOR GUNPOWDER

Potassium nitrate (*güherçile*) was one of the essential items necessary to create gunpowder. Manufacturers needed to heat the potassium nitrate, then wait a couple of days before transferring it to another container. This process was repeated a second time; afterwards, the resulted material was placed in copper cauldrons and heated to ninety degrees Celsius.⁴³⁹ Brass (metal, *halka-i piring*), steel and large cauldrons (*teneke-i kebir*) were found in the firework register. According to the register, 2,420.5 *kıyye* of potassium nitrate were purchased with 107,882 akçe in total.⁴⁴⁰ In other words, a unit of potassium nitrate cost approximately 44 akçe. The

⁴³⁷ *Baha-i fitil-i Mısır kolaca, 100 aded, 300 akçe; Baha-i fitil-i penbe kolaca 100 aded 300 akçe; Baha-i fitilha-i fişeng ve gayruhu 1800 akçe; Baha-i fitil, 130 zira fi 3, 390 akçe.* On the other hand, *Baha-i fitil-i yedek, 40 aded, 240 akçe* (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A-B and fol.3 A).

⁴³⁸ There were two written test samples; one for mould makers, the other *fişengi kande hari* (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B).

⁴³⁹ Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 135-136.

⁴⁴⁰ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B

cost of one unit of potassium nitrate between the years 1701-1703 was recorded as 45 akçe in the registers of the Imperial Armory.⁴⁴¹ Similarly, the cost of sulphur was recorded as 22 akçe per unit (19,198 akçe for 871 *kıyye*), while Imperial Armory registers record 25 akçe.⁴⁴² Consequently, the cost of both essential materials did not change considerably throughout the decades. However, potassium nitrate was the most expensive material in gunpowder. It cost much more than the other essential components. According to gunpowder experiments, sulphur only accounts for ten per cent of total materials in the production of gunpowder. The remaining seventy-five per cent of the mixture is potassium nitrate.⁴⁴³ Fireworks registers also confirmed the cost of potassium nitrate as much higher than that of sulphur and charcoal. They spent 107,882 akçe on potassium nitrate, and paid out 19,198 akçe for the sulphur.

Moreover, transfers of 79 *kıyye* of sulphur and black gunpowder (the amount left blank) from the Imperial Armory were noted at the top of the documents.⁴⁴⁴ In addition to this record, a considerable amount of black gunpowder was purchased. 1,200 akçe was spent on ten *kıyye* of black gunpowder (*barut-ı siyah*).⁴⁴⁵ The organisers wanted to use the necessary materials such as sulphur and gunpowder available in the Imperial Armory, then purchased what was not available from official sources from the market.

Another essential element of making gunpowder was charcoal. The Imperial Armory's registers indicated that young willow, poplar, lime and hazel trees were the most popular wood types used in order to generate coal.⁴⁴⁶ According to Gölen's study, wood bark left open in cantilevered containers required at least one year to

⁴⁴¹ See Graph 1 and Table 42 in Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, 156.

⁴⁴² D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B. See Graph 2, Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, 161.

⁴⁴³ See the details of cheap potassium nitrate, sulphur and charcoal, Ian von Maltitz, *Black Powder Manufacturing, Testing & Optimizing* (Pennsylvania: American Fireworks News, 2003), 130-132.

⁴⁴⁴ 'Ani'l-havâlât an canib'i cebehane-i amire', D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2

⁴⁴⁵ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B

⁴⁴⁶ Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, 142.

produce quality charcoal. Therefore, preparation of the fireworks obliged organisers to begin preparing requirements at least one year before the festival. Perhaps obscure records of specimens were included in these woods as well. Correspondingly, varied types of charcoals were recorded in the 1675 register. 29 *humul* of willow wood (1,466 akçe), 42 cornel trees (314 akçe), six elm tree plates (580 akçe), four gum trees (100 akçe), 60 lime trees (1,940 akçe), hornbeams (330 akçe) and 20 pine trees (180 akçe) were purchased in total.⁴⁴⁷ In all of these, the most expensive and frequently purchased was the lime tree (*sırık-ı ihlamur/tomruk-u ihlamur*).⁴⁴⁸

In order to create gunpowder, firework makers needed to blend all of the essential items. Usually, vessels named *tekne-i câmeşûy* and *tekne-i kebir* were used for this purpose in the Imperial Armory.⁴⁴⁹ There were 30 vessels recorded in the register of the 1675 festival. Such a large number of vessels must have provided a great quantity of manufactured product. Another essential item was the sieve. Sieves were utilised to remove sulphur in order to purify the powder. Gölen stated that the Imperial Armory generally used two types of sieves: the hair sieve (*kıl elek*) and the sieve made of a silk thread (*ibrişim elek*).⁴⁵⁰ 30 Hair sieves (240 akçe) and 30 twist sieves (360 akçe) were recorded in the 1675 register; these items were recorded in the Grand Admiral's inventory.⁴⁵¹ They purchased such a high number of sieves because they could not be reused for another chemical.⁴⁵² Therefore, the apprehensive fireworks makers were imperative about the the quality of gunpowder to avoid hazards.

⁴⁴⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 and fol.3

⁴⁴⁸ Some species of wood, especially willow, were more preferable for the manufacture of fireworks. See Ian von Maltitz, *Black Powder Manufacturing, Testing & Optimizing*, 42-44.

⁴⁴⁹ Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, 193.

⁴⁵⁰ They identified the process as *kal etmek*. See Ibid., 201.

⁴⁵¹ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 B

⁴⁵² Ronald Lancaster, *Fireworks*, 175-178.

Glue was another notable item in the register. 50 *Dirhem* of glue (*zamk*), which cost ten akçe, was recorded in general inventory.⁴⁵³ The fireworks experiments indicated that glues were used in certain types of sparklers. It also was used to piece together various parts of the firework mechanisms. Glues increased the mechanisms' elasticity and toughness and did not require a heating process.⁴⁵⁴ Starch was another essential ingredient in the making of adhesives. It usually was used for the quick lighting of a match.⁴⁵⁵ There was more than one record of starch in the firework register. 42.5 kıyye of starch were purchased for 602 akçe in total. Ten kıyye of these amounts of starch were recorded in the inventory of Musli Ağa the Bombardier. Different kinds of adhesive elements, such as vinegar and mastic (*sakız-ı çam*), were also mentioned in the same inventory. Another 15 kıyye of starch was recorded in Musli and Ahmed Ağa's inventories, which they used to colour a fortress model. Similar adhesives such as vinegar, wax and starch were required for strengthening a fortress.⁴⁵⁶

Furthermore, there were five hair sieves in Musli and Mehmed Ağa's inventory.⁴⁵⁷ These sieves could be damaged, so they perhaps bought more than necessary as backup. It was not customary to have different groups of workers share the same sieves, which got very dirty during the process. Perhaps firework makers attempted to make their own sieves. In this manner, they would acquire the sieves at a bargained price. They needed 'to cut the bottom off a tin can and stretch the material across it. The material is then held in place with a piece of wire wrapped around it, with its ends twisted together.'⁴⁵⁸ Another way to make sieves required similar materials. The material merely needed to be stretched across an embroidery

⁴⁵³ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A

⁴⁵⁴ See the usage of glue and the other components in Ronald Lancaster, *Fireworks*, 106.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

⁴⁵⁶ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 B

⁴⁵⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 B

⁴⁵⁸ In the nineteenth and twentieth century, makers used tin cans, but we do not know what the equivalent was in the seventeenth century. Check the tips of making the sieves cheaper, Ian von Maltitz, *Black Powder Manufacturing, Testing & Optimizing*, 138-140.

hoop to be complete. Fireworks registers could supply tin cans, wires and hoops in either case.

The compounding, sieving and manufacturing of gunpowder polluted the environment. For this reason, the Imperial Armory acquired large amounts of soap. 759 akçe were spent in order to buy 40 kıyye of soap for the festival.⁴⁵⁹ Likewise, a small number of soaps (63 akçe) was registered in the inventory of mould makers (*kalpzen*).⁴⁶⁰ Apparently, their proceedings required more cleanup than the others. The general view of the fireworks inventory demonstrated that fireworks makers set up a workshops in order to produce gunpowder and construction related structures, such as tents and cantilevers.

5.3 PYROTECHNIC DEVICES IN THE FESTIVAL

Mock battles and fortress performances were not the only displays. There were plenty of other fireworks mechanisms as well. These included models of multi-headed creatures which were filled with fireworks and rockets. The Levant Company members mentioned these mechanisms along with many others. Hezarfen Hüseyin claimed that one of those creatures, which he called a dragon, had seven heads.⁴⁶¹ Moreover, eye-witness diaries recorded the firing mechanism of such models: when the system was fired, the fire moved from the creatures' eyes, to their nostrils and ears.⁴⁶² A similar multi-headed model could be seen in Levni's miniatures of the 1720 festival (also depicted with seven heads). There were artificial trees that had fireworks in the form of fruits on its branches, and firework-filled fountains that burst into the air. Many of these mechanisms could be seen in

⁴⁵⁹ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B

⁴⁶⁰ In the section of '*Beceheti mühimmat-ı kalpzen (kalıpcı) ve kelderi? 6577 akçe*', D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

⁴⁶¹ Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 218.

⁴⁶² George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 108.

Levni's miniatures of the 1720 festival, showing that similar firework technology was practised forty-five years after the 1675 festival.⁴⁶³

Illustration 23: A miniatures of a multi-headed creature in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 136).



Both the Ottoman authors and foreign eyewitness accounts identified the same show as the most impressive firework display. The show used a pyrotechnic device, consisting of iron tubes that eyewitnesses compared with petards, but added that they were much broader and more extended. The ground-installed advice would 'vomit up a continuous stream of fire at least sixty feet high, with a roar that makes the very earth tremble.'⁴⁶⁴ Interestingly, one of Levni's depictions of the 1720 festival illustrated similar pyrotechnic devices, placed on the ground that spewed fireworks into the open air. The artist emphasised how much fire was emitted. According to the illustration, the display was supported by a group of

⁴⁶³ In the study of Özdemir Nutku, there were comparisons of these kind of creatures between different imperial festivals. See Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 115-116.

⁴⁶⁴ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 108.

musicians. According to the firework expenses, 30 mortars (*havan-ı tuç*) were purchased for 8,000 akçe in total.⁴⁶⁵ The quantity of the item did not have to refer to the number of pyrotechnic devices, but it was certain that the mortars Levni depicted had already been in use at the 1675 festival.

⁴⁶⁵ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B

Illustration 24: A similar pyrotechnic device from Levni's miniatures (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 327).



The mines seemed to be the most popular, and were observable in Levni's miniatures. Due to the many mines pictured, Levni must have thought these mines were a good representation of the firework display. They had been an attractive display component forty-five years later as well. Indeed, the depictions of several mortar mines indicated their popularity and the knowledge of fireworks makers at that time. The mines were burst at ground level, with display elements focused on the ejection height and the duration of the fire.

Firework experiments had shown that the pressure inside of the vessel allowed the flames to rise to one point. To create high pressure, the firework makers indeed required some hard materials, as well as for protection from hazards. The fireworks expense registers also certified that many items had been recorded in the names of bombardiers in charge of the making these mines. More than two hundred crockeries were bought in the name of the bombardiers, called *Kumbaracıyan*, and white stones (*selmet-i sefid*) that were needed primarily in manufacturing the mines.⁴⁶⁶ These stones could also be used in the making of different colours and sparkles.

⁴⁶⁶ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B

Illustration 25: Miniatures of the mortar mines in the 1720 imperial festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 94).

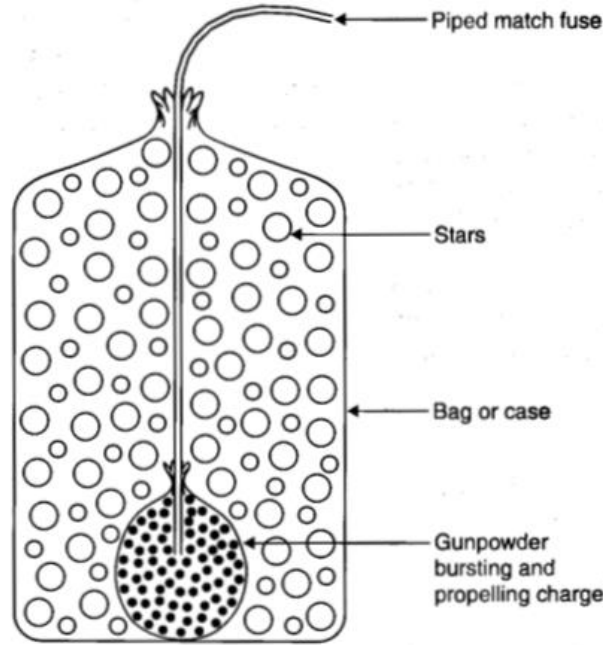


However, mines had a similar installation to the previously mentioned mortars. If we take witnesses' statements as fact, namely a 'continuous stream of fire at least sixty feet high,' then we can determine the shell size of the mortar. Sixty feet makes eighteen metres (60 ft x 0.3048, 1 ft = 0.3048 m).⁴⁶⁷ According to the mortar experiments, the shell size needed to be around ten mm to reach that height. Besides, they have to use 0.00144-kilogram black powder in the mechanism.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ E-Source: <https://feet-to-meters.appspot.com/tr/60-fit-metre.html> (last checked 24.04.2019)

⁴⁶⁸ See the estimates of shell performance in Michael S. Russell, *The Chemistry of Fireworks* (Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry, 2000), 44-45. See table 4.3.

Illustration 26: A representation of a 75 mm mortar mine (Russell, *The Chemistry of Fireworks*, 46).



Today, the word *havai fişek* is still used in modern Turkish to indicate firework-like materials. Abdi states that *hevâyî*, *kandilli*, *fıskiyye* and *dîvâne* fireworks were used on the first day of the festival. The word *hevâyî* could refer to a species of firework, but presumably, it was used for conventional rockets. On the other hand, *kandilli* (candle-*kandil*) were reminiscent of artificial trees, which were decorated with several candles. John Covell depicted some of those pyrotechnic devices in his diary. After Metin And introduced his illustrations, they captured the interest of several scholars.⁴⁶⁹ Hakan Karateke had caught the attention of scholars via confirming pyrotechnic devices with picture books of both at the 1582 and 1720 festivals. He discussed the ‘chestnut firecracker’ (*kestane fişeği*), ‘catherine wheel’ (*çarh-ı felek*), ‘spring-fountain’ (*fıskiye fişeği*), tent fire (*çadır fişeği*), ‘sea fire’

⁴⁶⁹ After Metin And, Özdemir Nutku had studied the same papers and finally, the depictions appeared in M. Soo’s study.

(*bahri*) and ‘fish-like’ (*semeki*) mechanisms.⁴⁷⁰ Levni pictured all of these fireworks which were narrated by festival book authors.

For good measure, we can go a step forward, and discuss the pyrotechnic devices in the 1675 festival, which also took the stage. These devices were mentioned as well by festival books’ authors and other eyewitnesses. However, Özdemir Nutku quoted Covell that tree-shaped devices, so-called pyramids, started exploding from the top and continued to the bottom. They placed these devices before the sultan, the grand vizier, the head of the janissaries and the imperial harem.⁴⁷¹ The fireworks expenses register justified these claims, as there was a separate inventory of illuminations (*Beceheti mahyalar*).⁴⁷² The items in the inventory were merely woods, plates and nails. The type of illuminations could change; either artificial trees or ornaments were installed between the minarets of a mosque.⁴⁷³ Presumably, officers had determined what kind of items must be shown. The artificial trees could be seen at the 1720 festival as well. It was common practice to display illuminations. Levni depicted quite a number of artificial trees. When we compared these trees with Covell’s, they matched exactly.

⁴⁷⁰ Hakan Karateke, “Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial,” in *God Is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom & Sheila Blair (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

⁴⁷¹ Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet’in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*, 113.

⁴⁷² D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

⁴⁷³ See the *mahyas* hanging on the Hagia Sophia in the seventeenth century: Metin And, *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018), 126.

Illustration 27: John Covell's pyrotechnic device depictions in his diary (Soo, *The Architectural Setting of 'Empire,'* 227).

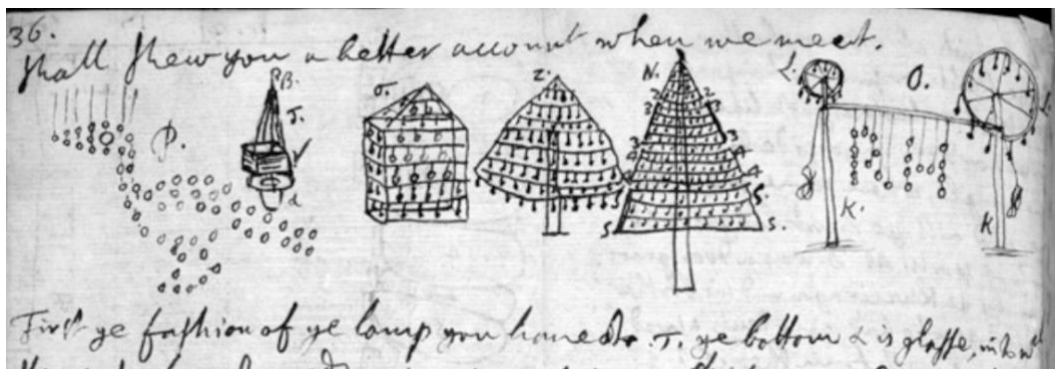
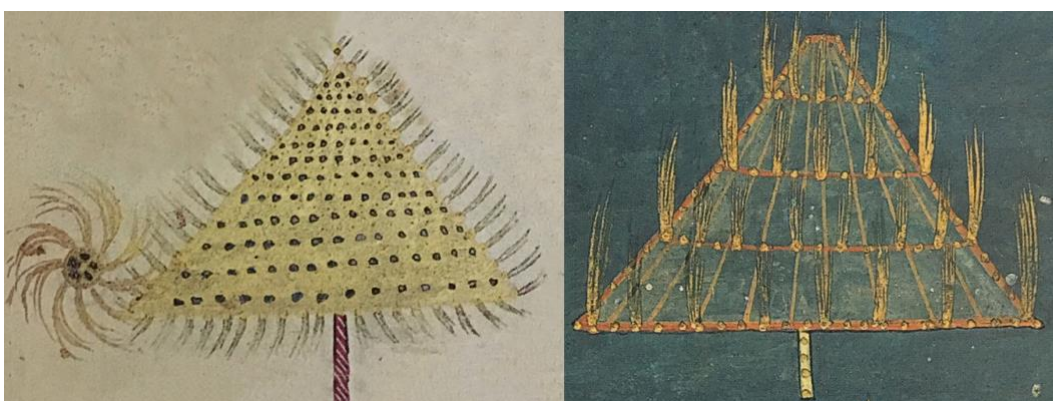


Illustration 28: Different depictions of the same firework devices (Vehbî, *Sûrnâme*, 136 and 271).



Another identical device was *dîvâne*, which implied that the device could rotate. Professionally speaking, these devices were named wheels (pinwheels). In order to manufacture them, a paper pipe was used to make a spiral, and then the ends were twisted or tubed. Charcoal and steel powder mixtures could also be added to create the desired effects.⁴⁷⁴ In 1675, Covell depicted two of these wheels. According to these representations, the wheels were connected with a pole. There were several candles hanging on the pole. Indeed, fireworks makers could change the outlook and invented different mechanisms for devices from day to day.

⁴⁷⁴ Michael S. Russell, *The Chemistry of Fireworks*, 77-79.

Illustration 29: The miniatures of Catherine wheels at the 1720 festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 148).



Illustration 30: The images of different type of Catherine wheels at the 1720 festival (Vehbî, Sûrnâme, 95).



Nabi called a pyrotechnic device *sipih-r-i gerdan* (sky whirl), which could be the same device that Covell depicted due to the rotating mechanism.⁴⁷⁵ There are two different kinds of *dîvâne* in Levni's depictions. One of them was a rotating ring/wheel embedded with rockets and fireworks. The other emitted an eruptive torrent of fire for quite a distance. These wheels were creative instruments for firework makers in the 1675 festival. Festival books mentioned these wheels many times.

⁴⁷⁵ Nabi also poeticised the same device on the eleventh day of the festival, 'Olunup çerha hevâyî pertab/Şermiden çekti zebânını şîhab' (Nabi, *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi*, 54 and 61).

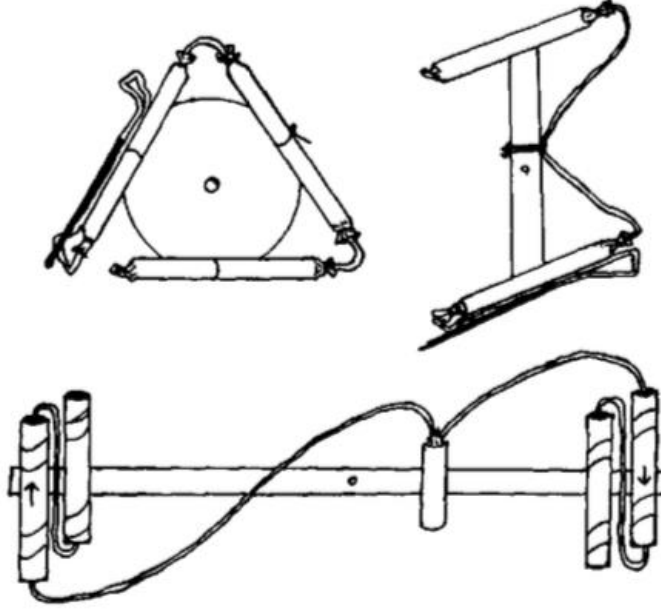
According to current fireworks studies, there were a variety of wheel mechanisms inspired by the artists' ingenuity. The earlier types of devices commonly had one pivotal spot on which the device revolved. They could be set up horizontally and vertically. Both of these installations were made from a long piece of timber with a hole drilled in the centre.⁴⁷⁶ The device could also be made out of plywood and hardboard, which was common in the 1675 registers. Another similar type of wheel was called Saxons, which were immobilised devices composed from similar materials.

Experiments indicated that potassium nitrate, meal gunpowder, sulphur and charcoal mesh were required to make Saxons.⁴⁷⁷ They could be seen in the miniatures of the 1720 festival, and for this reason, their presence in 1675 is supported, even though there was no written narrative or drawing. Moreover, the required items to make Saxons were already present in the firework registers. Thus, the firework makers in 1675 would have been able to include making such devices.

⁴⁷⁶ Check the other type of installations, Ronald Lancaster, *Fireworks*, 335-338.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 264-270.

Illustration 31: The scheme of small wheels (Lancaster, *Fireworks*, 264).



In the previous section, Evliya Çelebi mentioned a fireworks maker who also performed shadow-plays. Presumably, the mastery of fireworks could measure the extent of an artist's ingenuity; he did not necessarily need be an artillerist or a member of the gunpowder factory. Nevertheless, Evliya Çelebi highlighted the importance of the military in the fireworks business, and claimed that fireworks experts were all soldiers.⁴⁷⁸ According to Covel's diary, a Venetian and a Dutch renegade were in charge of the fireworks display.⁴⁷⁹ We do not know if these persons were members of the military or not. As previously mentioned, some of the fireworks makers' names were indicated in official registers. According to festival books, Turmuş Ağa, or possibly Durmuş Ağa was responsible for taking care of the purchased items. Abdi claimed that he was one of the officers at the head of the financial department.⁴⁸⁰ His name had been recorded many times in different entries

⁴⁷⁸ Faroqhi cites Evliya Çelebi's claim and adds he also dwelt upon the civilian uses of this technology (Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fireworks in Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 186).

⁴⁷⁹ George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 107. Unfortunately, there was no record of these Dutch and Venetian people in the archival sources.

⁴⁸⁰ Abdi, *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, 488.

such as five balls of red coarse woollen cloth (*aba-i sürh*) purchased in his name and the cost of coffee that he bought recorded next to the construction materials.⁴⁸¹

Likewise, an amount of 15,330 akçe purchased was recorded under the name of Bombardier (*kumbaracı*) Musli Ağa. In his inventory, vinegar (*sirke*), starch (*nişasta*), mastic (*sakız-ı çam*), linen (*keten*), white coarse woollen cloth (*beyaz aba*), large tin (*teneke-i kebir*), horse (*Kobrig-ı esb?*), goatskin (*post-ı keçi*), case (*kutu*), water pump (*tulumba*), Istanbulian paper (*kağıt-ı İstanbul*) and *metol?* are recorded. Because of the cloth and storage items ordered, Musli Ağa's inventory was reminiscent of gunpowder production. Even though there was no recorded *lata*, which were used to attach wheels to animals, the animals that were recorded must have been used to turn wheels, or simply used as carriers.⁴⁸² According to Gölen's study, the gunpowder produced needed to be stacked in leather or textile-covered tubs before spending time being transported.⁴⁸³ Presumably, firework makers and officers ordered materials during the festival in order to maintain manufactured gunpowder and other related material stocks.

Table 16: The inventory of Musli Ağa the Bombardier in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.

1	<i>Sirke</i> 4 kıyye 20 akçe	<i>Nişasta</i> 10 kıyye 120 akçe	<i>Sakız-ı Çam</i> 6 kıyye 120 akçe	<i>Keten</i> 10 kıyye 220 akçe	<i>Beyaz aba</i> 3 top 720 akçe	<i>Teneke-i kebir</i> 5 aded 300 akçe
2	<i>Kobrig-ı?</i> <i>esb</i> 2 aded 20 akçe	<i>Post-ı keçi</i> 1 aded 60 akçe	<i>Kutu</i> 10 aded 200 akçe	<i>Tulumba</i> 1 aded 400 akçe	<i>Kağıt-ı İstanbul</i> 250 deste fi 140 11,250 akçe	<i>Metol?</i> 210 aded fi 10 2,100 akçe
Total:				15,530 akçe		

Furthermore, the names of Indian firework makers' expenses were recorded in the register. Unfortunately, the festival books did not mention Indian artists or firework makers. Nevertheless, we found them in the archival documents: 'Beciheti

⁴⁸¹ 23 kıyye coffee had been bought for 2,990 akçe (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A).

⁴⁸² Gölen states that *latas* were needed to be replaced when they broke or became unsound (Gölen, 2006, pp. 197).

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 186. 188 leather (*meşin*) recorded in the register of 1675 festival (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B).

mühimmat-ı fişengci-i Hindi'. Their total cost was recorded as 236 akçe.⁴⁸⁴ In addition to the Indian realm, we can see the connection between Christendom and the Ottoman Empire, especially when we see Venetian and Dutch people present in the 1675 festival. Faroqhi stressed this issue as a 'propaganda weapon' which served as a legitimising tool for both realms. In other words, similar fireworks display took place at various courtly festivals on different sides of the Mediterranean.⁴⁸⁵ Fireworks allow unlimited access to the people, from all social levels and walks of life, by the fact that their noise and visual spectacle can be viewed from most locations and by all citizens alike.

These fireworks entertainment displays were constructed to showcase the entire universe of empirical achievement with the help of audio and visual extravaganzas. Therefore, the art of fireworks display was an essential festive vehicle to achieve the goals of the imperial festival. In a sense, fireworks display turned the entire city into an arena, involving everyone, even those who did not participate directly. Murphey stated that 'the attempt to reach a maximum audience and to radiate the sultan's power and presence among as many as possible of the common people is most clearly perceptible in the night entertainments.'⁴⁸⁶

5.3 FIREWORKS MAKERS

The expense registers for fireworks revealed those who were employed to make which kinds of fireworks devices. We could determine the wages of the employees recorded at the end of the register. First of all, the terms used by the officer in charge

⁴⁸⁴ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

⁴⁸⁵ For instance, mock battles were one of the most common festive practices for both realms. Artificial animals and models were also one of the most popular and intensive. See details in Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fireworks in Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 188-191. Moreover, Hakan Karateke also stated that 'different techniques and performances in Ottoman festivals were designed as a result of close contact with people at the forefront of European pyrotechnic development.' (Hakan Karateke, "Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial," 294).

⁴⁸⁶ Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 181.

of recording the register was worth attention. He used two terms to differentiate the numbers of fortresses. *Kala* (today, *kale* means fortress in modern Turkish) referred to one fortress model and the word *kıla*, the plural version of the term *kala*, indicated more than one fortress. Sometimes, he wrote only one word of the ordered item as a shorthand method, instead of writing down the full name. ‘Nails of Budun,’ for instance, were recorded as ‘Budun’ only, indicating the nails of Budin via their number and cost.

Turmuş Ağa granted 10,000 akçe to the chief officer given the duty for the setup of the entire firework organisation.⁴⁸⁷ However, the register highlighted which items were ordered and by whom, therefore distinguishing between the names of the firework makers: Musli Ağa, Ahmed Ağa, Emine, Yusuf Çelebi, Müezzîn Ali Çelebi, Ekmekçizâde, Ustazâde, Burusevi Mehmed Çelebi, Seyid Emir, Baba Hindi, Hızır Mansur, İzzet Mısri and Zileli Mustafa Ağa.⁴⁸⁸ Among these records, the most unusual name is Emine, which is traditionally a woman’s name, still in use in Turkey to this day. It did not seem possible to find a female fireworks-maker in the late seventeenth-century.⁴⁸⁹ There was no other female name recorded in the registers in the imperial festivals in general, especially considering the 1720 festival as the festival of more recent date. Perhaps it was the name of a non-Muslim. It could also be speculated that Emine was a man, whose name was miswritten most likely by the officer in charge of writing the register.

However, Emine was recorded in the same manner as the other group leaders.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, Emine had his/her own company, but was not mentioned in reference to the others’ daily wage. Perhaps he/she laboured on the use of a device,

⁴⁸⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

⁴⁸⁸ I discussed the Egyptian fireworks makers at the beginning of the chapter. The names of Baba Hindi, Hızır Mansur and İzzet Mısri were mentioned in the wage records. Their names were not recorded as foreman, a position in charge of the making of a fortress or the other devices.

⁴⁸⁹ Regardless, women artists did have appearances in the imperial palace, according to the archival sources of previous centuries. To see their wages and the status of the women artists in the palace, see Hilâl Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 270-273.

⁴⁹⁰ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

which was not required to be built for days. According to Emine's inventory, his/her company made a fortress for the use of fireworks display. For instance, there was no wheel in that inventory, whilst the other inventories had several, thus their artefact was deemed stationary, or had a different method of being carried. It was also probable that Emine prepared a tower rather than a fortress, but the items recorded were the same as the others.⁴⁹¹

Table 17: The inventory of Emine in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.

1	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir</i> 20 aded fi 18 360 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i sagir</i> 35 aded fi 8 280 akçe	<i>Baha-i ıhlamur tabanı</i> 6 aded fi 40 2,240 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i boran</i> 40 aded fi 7 280 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı bükme</i> 760 aded 60 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı sayis</i> 800 aded fi 119 akçe
2	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı elvah</i> 500 aded fi 63 akçe			<i>Baha-i mismar-ı budun (budin)</i> 1,500 aded 83 akçe		
Total:				1,505 akçe		

The cost of the inventory of another firework-maker, called Yusuf Çelebi, was more than two times greater than Emine's.⁴⁹² Even so, except for some items (such as wheels and mat -keçe-), the construction materials seemed similar. According to these records, a small-scale fortress required plaque (*elvah*), different types of nails (*mismar*), a large and small cabin (*kulübe-i kebir*, *kulübe-i sagir*), a base made of lime wood (*ıhlamur tabanı*), tin (*teneke*) and wheels (*tekerci Faris*). Considering the high number of plates and nails, Yusuf Çelebi should have built a larger fortress than Emine.

⁴⁹¹ Giants and tower models were mentioned in the festival books.

⁴⁹² D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

Table 18: The inventory of Yusuf Çelebi in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.

1	<i>Baha-i tekerci Faris</i> 22 aded fi 18 392 akçe	<i>Baha-i sicim-i girge</i> 50 aded fi 5 250 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı yarma çam</i> 20 aded 180 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kulube-i kebir</i> 25 aded fi 18 450 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı lokma</i> 32 kıyye 210 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı elvah</i> 1,000 aded 129 akçe
2	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı karaağaç</i> 1 aded 100 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı ebken</i> 10 aded fi 35 350 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı şişe</i> 3,500 aded fi 20 70 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan</i> 110 aded fi 7 770 akçe	<i>Baha-i taban-ı ıhlamur</i> 4 aded fi 50 200 akçe	
3	<i>Baha-i bınar</i> 10 aded fi 5 50 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı zagra</i> 500 aded 160 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı Budun</i> 3,000 aded 165 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı nalin</i> 1,000 aded 20 akçe		
Total:				3,502 akçe		

The inventory of Müezzın Ali Çelebi was a different one altogether. The title of his inventory indicated several fortresses and included lamp glass and linen.⁴⁹³ Similar to Emine's, Müezzın Ali Çelebi's inventory did not include wheels and base plates. The total costs of the items were similar between these foremen, while the title of the Müezzın Ali Çelebi's inventory indicated several fortresses. It was possible that their artefacts were made as hanging models on poles within the festival site. Therefore, the size of the fortresses built could have been different between these firework makers.

Table 19: The inventory of Müezzın Ali Çelebi in firework expenses of the 1675 festival.

1	<i>Baha-i samanlı mertek</i> 30 aded fi 8 240 akçe	<i>Baha-i domruk-ı ıhlamur</i> 6 aded fi 40 240 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan</i> 35 aded fi 7 245 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i sanduk</i> 20 aded fi 14 280 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı Budun</i> 4,000 aded 220 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı şayka</i> 4.5 kıyye fi 60 270 akçe
2	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı şişe</i> 1,000 aded 20 akçe			<i>Baha-i mismar-ı elvah</i> 1,500 aded fi 4.5 252 akçe		
Total:				1,767 akçe		

⁴⁹³ There was a third item in the title that we unable to understand.

The inventories of Burusevi Mehmet Çelebi, Musli and Ahmed Ağa and Ustazâde conveyed similar items.⁴⁹⁴ However, the Seyid Emir's contained a unique artefact, which was mentioned in the inventory as a 'galleon.' Presumably, he was in charge of making items for the mock battles of two galleys, which was mentioned in the festival books and witness accounts. All of the other items were consistent with the making of fortresses, except one piece of tent column.⁴⁹⁵ Also, seven rolls of blue textiles had been purchased in the name of a ship.⁴⁹⁶

Table 20: The inventory of Seyid Emir's making of the artificial galleon.

1	<i>Baha-i taban-ı ihlamur</i> 5 aded fi 40 200 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı ebken</i> 10 aded fi 35 350 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir</i> 20 aded fi 18 360 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı sayis</i> 500 aded 100 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı elvah</i> 1,500 aded 252 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı lokma</i> 500 aded 45 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i sanduk</i> 50 aded fi 14 700 akçe
2	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan</i> 50 aded fi 7 350 akçe	<i>Baha-i bınar</i> 20 aded fi 5 100 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı Budun</i> 4,000 aded 225 akçe	<i>Baha-i elvah-ı aga</i> 2 aded fi 20 40 akçe	<i>Baha-i tirgahlık-ı sagir</i> 4 aded fi 9 36 akçe	<i>Baha-i ihlamur</i> 3 aded 60 akçe	<i>Baha-i sütun-ı çadır</i> 1 aded 40 akçe
Total:				6,853 akçe			

The wages of these firework makers were also recorded in the registers. According to the records, the largest company belonged to Ustazâde, Müezzîn Ali, Yusuf Çelebi and Hafizzâde preceding him in order. A minimum number of workers were employed in Hafizzâde's company. Moreover, not only the wages had been written down in the registers, but we could also study the consumption of food. Müezzîn Ali's company had eleven individuals on his team, and they were given twenty-two loaves of bread.⁴⁹⁷ Therefore, each company had two loaves of bread per person. Bread and candles were counted, and the others were measured

⁴⁹⁴ Musli and Ahmed Ağa were recorded in one inventory. Their account was much higher than the others, 9.870 akçe (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B). Check the appendices.

⁴⁹⁵ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

⁴⁹⁶ 'Baha-i bogasi-i mai beray-ı derya-i kalyon' (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A).

⁴⁹⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

with kıyye. Workers' daily food included two loaves of bread and one bowl of pilaf with meat per person. They were allowed to use four or five candles each day, without discriminating between the crowd and small companies.

Table 21: Number of the participant and their requirements in the firework makers companies.

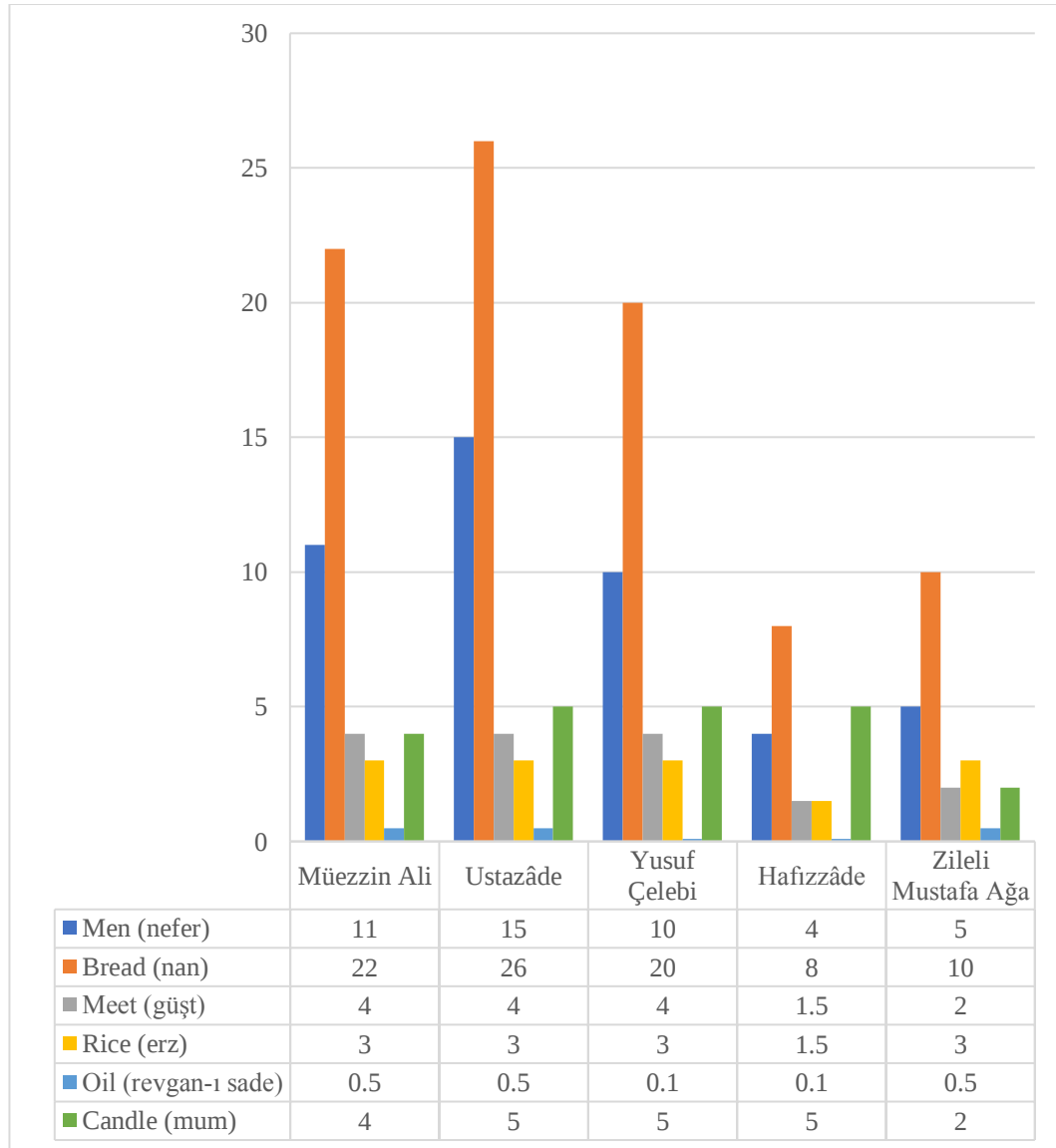
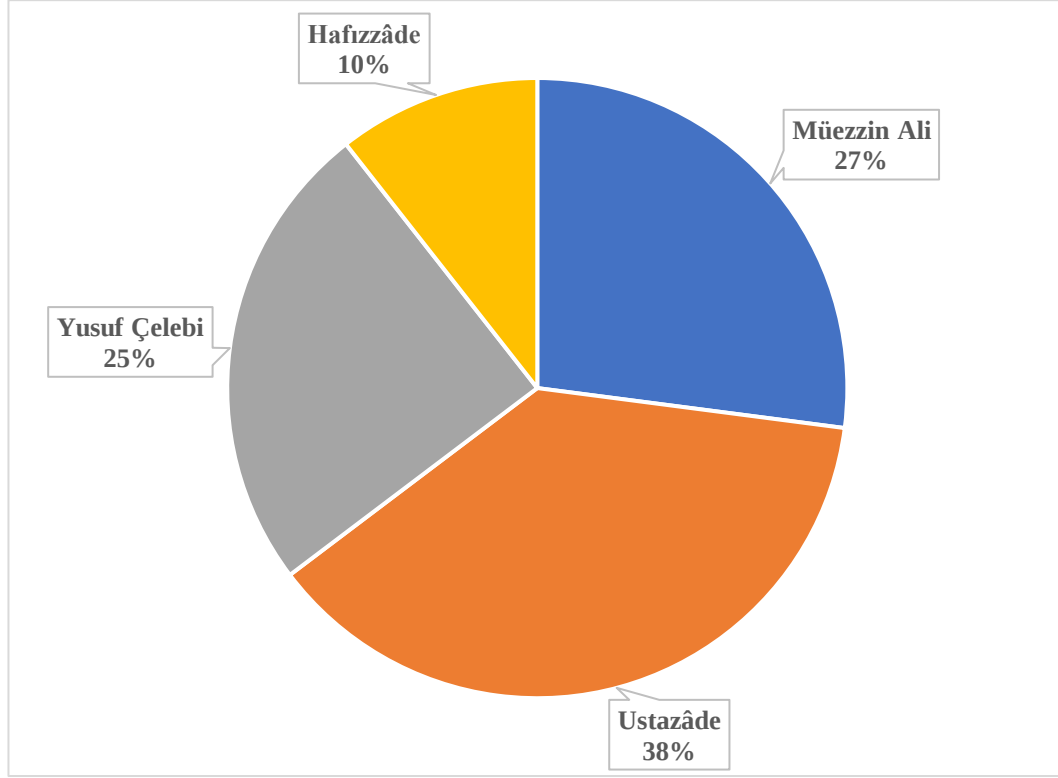


Table 22: Wages of the firework makers according to expense registers of the 1675 festival.



According to the registers, the fireworks makers began labouring five months prior to the date of the festival, on the twentieth Zilkade until the fifteenth Rebiülevvel.⁴⁹⁸ They were hired for 122 days in total.⁴⁹⁹ Presumably, due to different labour days, the wage of Burusevi Mehmet Çelebi was written down separately, but the content of the records was similar to the others: ten loaves of bread, 1.5 kıyye rice, 1.5 kıyye meat, four candles and an unnumbered quantity of oils. Considering the number of breads, predictively, Burusevi Mehmet Çelebi and his company were five people in total, and they laboured from fifteenth Zilkade to fifteenth Rebiülevvel.⁵⁰⁰ Thus, they began to work five days earlier. While Hafızzâde was in charge of 180 akçe for four people, Burusevi Mehmet Çelebi was

⁴⁹⁸ Paul Rychaut stated that firework makers employed for four months as he received from reports (Richard Knolles & Paul Rychaut, *The Turkish History*, 252).

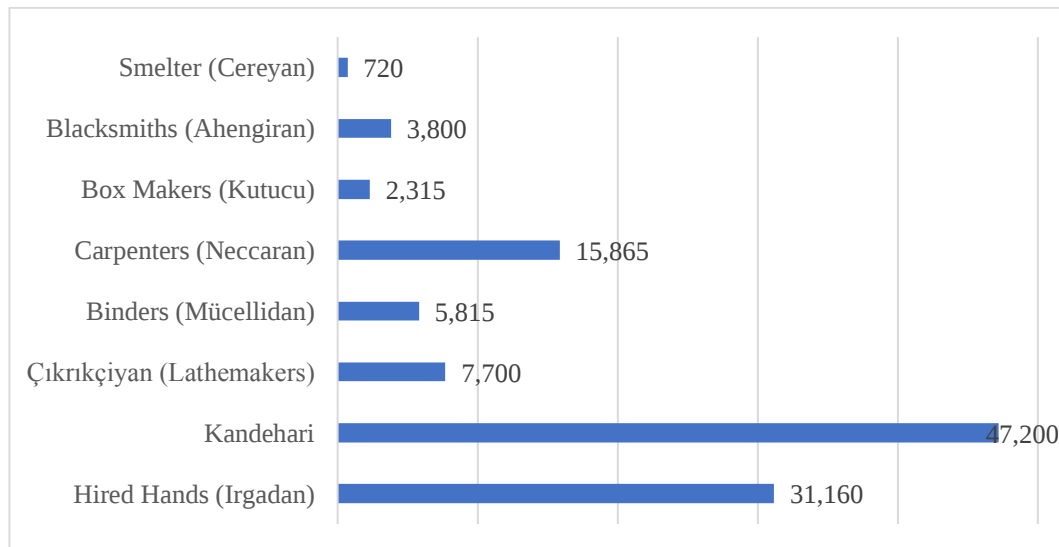
⁴⁹⁹ ‘Beciheti nafaka-i fişenkçıyan-ı mezburin an 20 zilkade sene 1085 ila 15 rebiülevvel sene 1086’ (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B). It is also recorded at the end of the script, ‘Vacib an 20 zilkade sene 1085 ila 15 rebiülevvel sene 1086, Eyyam 122, 207.400 akçe.’

⁵⁰⁰ Total working period recorded as 124 days (D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B).

in charge of 220 akçe for five. In other words, firework makers were paid 44-45 akçe per worker. Zileli Mustafa Ağa's own cost was not mentioned in the records. Only recorded were the costs of the daily provisions for his company, amounting to 2,736 akçe.⁵⁰¹

The name of Turmuş Ağa was mentioned as a master of a fireworks maker company. According to the registers, Turmuş Ağa and his crew had been paid for 68 days, 6,460 akçe in total. There was also a record which recorded the cost of Turmuş Ağa's dogs, '*Baha-i kelp an ıştırı-i Turmuş.*' 3,590 akçe was recorded for this inventory, with records of dogs' clothing (*tazı çulu*).⁵⁰² Similar to Zileli Mustafa Ağa, there was no specific amount of money recorded in his name. Besides, there were some people who had been paid individually, such as Hızır Mansur and İzzet Mısri. Neither of these people took daily wages. The wages of Hızır Mansur were four times higher than İzzet Mısri.⁵⁰³ Hızır Mansur also had been hired for much longer than his counterpart, and he laboured for 38 days while İzzet Mısri received payment for nineteen days.

Table 23: Wages of the other labour groups according to expense registers of 1675 festival.



⁵⁰¹ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 A

⁵⁰² D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 A

⁵⁰³ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 A

5.3.1 Accomodation of the Firework Makers

As previously mentioned, the place that was appointed to firework makers during the festival was the Ayiſe Hatun Hanı. The name is indicated that the building was on behalf of Ayiſe Hatun (Ayſe in modern Turkish) who owned several donated buildings in the city of Edirne. The building mainly functioned as a large commercial building/public house. The other name of the building, the Ekmekçizâde Hanı, was also recorded in the same register. One of the inventories, which contains fortress items, was assigned to the Ekmekçizâde Hanı, ‘Beceheti mühimmat-ı beyaz kıla der Han-ı Ekmekçizâde.’⁵⁰⁴ The total price of the inventory (9,383 akçe) and the number of items justified that there were several fortresses built, and the title of the inventory indicated the colour of the artefacts were white.

However, I searched the building in Edirne and photographed the structure.⁵⁰⁵ The general architecture of the building resembled a typical caravanserai with several lodging rooms with fireplaces. There was a great courtyard within the main entrance, and a multi-door gate which opened to a main hall. Inside the main hall, two gates faced each other on opposite sides. These gates opened to larger halls, which were identical to one another. Based on the fireplaces and lodging places, presumably accommodation took place in these halls.

Consequently, the Ayiſe Hatun Hanı was a proper place in order to accommodate a large number of workers and artificial models. The size of courtyard enabled it to contain several fortresses and galley models at the same time. The secretary of the French ambassador claimed that a significant number of

⁵⁰⁴ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

⁵⁰⁵ The building was under restoration at present. However, one of the officers allowed me to visit the construction.

slaves from the imperial prison built several ships and galleys to prepare the entertainment of naval combats.⁵⁰⁶ Archival sources confirmed this claim; according to the fireworks registers, fireworks makers and their companies, the porters, smelters and many other artisans had been paid daily.⁵⁰⁷ According to the register, the sailors, who were labouring in the imperial arsenal in Istanbul were also brought to Edirne for this task.⁵⁰⁸

When I studied the registers, it seemed problematic to sum up how many workers had been employed. Even so, the fireworks makers' employees reached a number of 40 people. The total wage of Burusevi Mehmet Çelebi indicated that his company contained 28 people, and comparing them with the other firework makers total wage, there were approximately 40 *kandehari* workers, recorded with the same fee as the fireworks makers' sum. There were 25 hired hands, carpenters (*neccaran*) numbered around twelve, 24 smelters (*üstadiye cereyan-ı nevaddı tuç*), six lathe makers (*çıkırıkcıyan*), five binders (*mücellidan*), two box makers (*kutucu*) and three blacksmiths (*ahengiran*).⁵⁰⁹

Additionally, there were records of shipyard workers, recorded as fifteen individuals, listed under the leadership of Solak Mehmed the Sailor (*Kalyoncu*). These fifteen workers had been paid 18 *akçe* for 89 days. Two of these workers had taken new wages (70 *akçe* per person), while each of the other workers received 40 *akçe*. These workers had been hired for a different schedule. The price of workers' caps, called a fez (*fes*), was also recorded in the registers. Fifteen fezzes, 67 *akçe* for each, had been purchased for the workers. In sum, 200 people had worked at the same time and were accommodated at the Ayiçe Hatun Hanı for several months.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁶ François Pétis de la Croix, *Mémoires du Sieur*, 92-93.

⁵⁰⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B

⁵⁰⁸ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 A

⁵⁰⁹ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B. The carpenters seemed to be the most advantageous guilds, considering their income from fireworks-making and gifts during the guilds' procession, as discussed in the third chapter. Papermakers also collected acquisitions in the firework expenses.

⁵¹⁰ The number of artisans in each group match with the organisation scheme of the preparations of *nahıls* and candy gardens in the 1720 festival. See table 8, Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul," 103.

According to Paul Rycaut's sources, 240 workers were employed for four months making for the fireworks.⁵¹¹ Considering the unknown number of slaves, Rycaut's speculations might be correct.

However, the workers accommodation dates were not always at the same time, but still, during most of these months, their labours coincided. Perhaps organisers did not pay their accommodation, but the building also was suitable as such, therefore presumably the workers had slept at the same building where they prepared the constructions. In other words, organisers did not choose such a large building for a small number of firework makers; they also arranged the accommodation of a significant number of workers hailing from different ranges of work.

Illustration 32: Bird's-eye view of the building (Red signs pointed courtyard and entrance, stars points out the halls).



⁵¹¹ Richard Knolles & Paul Rychaut, *The Turkish History*, 252.

Moreover, the capacity of the building allowed the required materials to be stored inside. The height of the walls encircled and enclosed the courtyard. Thus, the courtyard became a safe zone to keep towers and fortresses, even for stockpiled purchased items. Besides, when they built constructions indoors, they would have been able to move models (considering the purchased wheels) quite easily from outdoors through the three great gates, which directly leads to the main entrance within the courtyard.

Illustration 33: The Ayiçe Hatun Hanı, from the courtyard, looking toward the entrance (Authors own photo).



Illustration 34: One of the halls of the Ayiſe Hatun Hanı (Authors own photo).

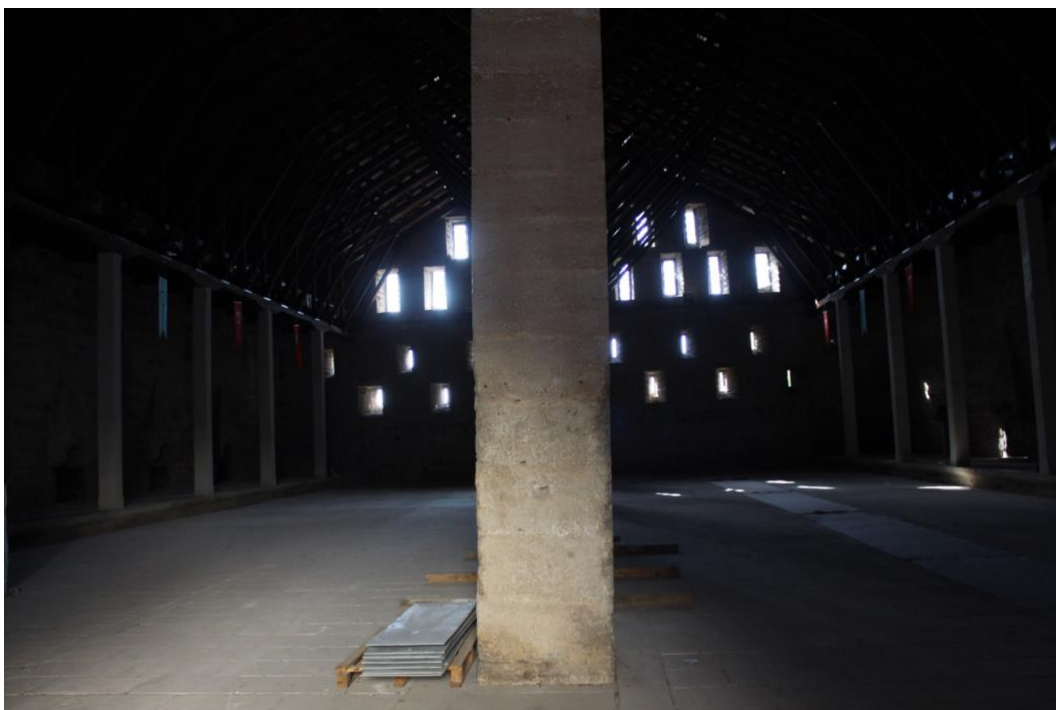


Illustration 35: Main body of the Ayiſe Hatun Hanı, below the dome (Authors own photo).



5.3.2 Transportation of the Provided Items

Construction materials such as beams (*kiriş*), wood (*tahta*), chests (*sanduk*), wire (*tel*), sieves (*elek*), clippers (*mikras*), beetle (*tokmak*) and withe (*saz*) were supplied through the grand admiralty. They were recorded in the grand admiral's account, '*Beciheti baha-i bazı eşya-i ırsaliye-i hazreti kapudan paşa*.'⁵¹²

The empire's supply routes were in service in order to maintain festival requirements.⁵¹³ After acquiring all of the necessary items in Istanbul, the demanding task of transporting these items to the festival commenced. At the end of the grand admiral's account, the cost of transportation of the materials from Istanbul to Edirne was recorded. All of the items were transported by 19 carts, each cart costing 1,000 akçe. There was also an additional fee for nine carthorses, which was 360 akçe per horse. In sum, 22,240 akçe had been paid for the transportation of the items from the grand admiralty to the Ayişe Hatun Hanı in Edirne.⁵¹⁴ The total price of transportation was the cost of only some items that were recorded in the name of the grand admiralty.

⁵¹² D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 B

⁵¹³ In the case of the 1582 imperial festival, Suraiya Faroqhi discussed the account of Edward Webbe, an English master gunner, who was imprisoned in the Naval Arsenal of Istanbul. According to Webbe's account, Faroqhi cited that he had transported a shipload of fireworks for the festival. Faroqhi questioned the reliability of the source. Nevertheless, it seemed considerably right to think shiploads of fireworks, indeed, were required for such a great event. Because of the grain size analysis of imported firework materials in 1675, more than one ship was required to guarantee the feast's provisions. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fireworks in Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 184.

⁵¹⁴ They were recorded separately. Due to organisers' need to minimise expenditures, it was highly probable that they used affordable carts and paid for only cart animals. Nine carthorses may be used for substitute transportation between the two capitals, or may be used for nine other vehicles (See the transportation expenses, D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A). In the expense registers of the imperial palace in the previous century, similar supply routes appeared in the records. The imperial palace paid 130,092 akçe to export and transport similar items, such as potassium nitrate (*güherçile*), black powder (*barut-ı siyah*) and sulphur (*kükürd*). In this vein, the state put its trade routes to use for the firework requirements (Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İstanbul Sarayına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," 50-52).

According to the registers, 1,320 akçe were paid to Salih Çavuş (sergeant) for the transportation of the items from the shipyard.⁵¹⁵ It was noted that 600 akçe of this sum was for provisions, the rest being recorded in the name of the sergeant. There were the additional records of two donkeys, which were purchased for the purpose of fireworks as the registers indicated, ‘*Baha-i humar beray-i lazıme-i fişeng.*’ The donkeys cost 2,275 akçe in total.⁵¹⁶

The last entry of the registers indicated the remaining tasks: an oxcart hired for the bronzeworking to bring items from Istanbul to Edirne cost 1,200 akçe.⁵¹⁷ Ten oxcarts were hired for the transportation of the firework items from Pamuklu village to Edirne. Each oxcart was charged with 42 akçe (420 akçe in sum), an number approximate to the wages of a worker.⁵¹⁸ Three carts, which were hired to bring in sailors from the imperial arsenal to Edirne, cost 1,800 akçe. The items that were conveyed from the imperial palace (mentioned as *ova sarayı*) by the *sur emini* and Turmuş Ağa cost 8,263 akçe. 3,000 of the sums was paid to *sur emini* and the rest went to Turmuş Ağa.⁵¹⁹ As a result, 35,243 akçe had been paid exclusively for transportation, adding the transportation cost in the grand admiralty to the records in the last chapter in the registers.

⁵¹⁵ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

⁵¹⁶ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A

⁵¹⁷ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

⁵¹⁸ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

⁵¹⁹ D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A

CONCLUSION

When scholars discuss the genesis of the modern state in Europe, they emphasise four essential instruments of propaganda and legitimisation: literary, political, symbolic and ceremonial.⁵²⁰ With respect to the 1675 festival, we observe these features in the Ottoman world as well. Thus, the sultan's court hired several notable authors to record the celebration, this act being an example of literary propaganda with apparent political ends. The organisation and construction of the festival spaces was, indeed, highly symbolic; and ceremonial devices, such as parades and firework displays were present too. A close study of the primary sources covering the festival, such as witness diaries, chronicles and festival books has shown the central concerns of the relevant authors, concerning the construction of the festival square, the provision of banquets, food consumption and service, gift-giving and popular entertainments such as shadow puppet performances and above all, firework displays.

The festival demonstrated the use of Ottoman ceremonial resources in the service of the political aims of the sultan and his chief advisers. Above all, it was the political aim to ensure the continuity of the sultanate; and the court mobilised material consumption, including banquets and firework displays, in the service of this chief concern. The typology of popular state-sponsored festivals' all over Europe was roughly similar; and the participation of religious figures and spaces was essential in both contexts. In 1675, the participation of the sultan's preacher Vani Efendi, the congratulations brought by a messenger from the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as well as the use of the prestigious Sultan Selim Mosque for festive purposes all re-established relationships between the ruler and the Islamic religion.

⁵²⁰ José Manuel Nieto Soria, "Propaganda and Legitimation in Castile: Religion and Church, 1250-1500," in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. Allan Ellenius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 109. While Nieto Soria stresses the iconographical' issues as well, the latter is not a concern of the present study.

In this thesis, I have adopted a revisionist approach, which has emerged mostly after 2015, when the number of festival studies notably increased and historians discovered the value of archival, as opposed to literary and pictorial sources. Thus, the field has changed considerably since the seminal study of Metin And, which first appeared in 1959.⁵²¹ However, as the literature review shows, other features have endured over the decades. Thus, Ottoman works on festivals typically have featured close connections to other disciplines, including art history and theatre studies. More recently, with archival documents relevant to festivities becoming better known, political historians have paid some attention as well.

In this context, the present thesis has highlighted the centrality of the grand vizier instead of the sultan, who had been a dominating presence in 1582. Remarkably, Hezarfen Hüseyin in his notable festival book did not mention the sultan at all. Moreover, the official chronicler to Mehmed IV, Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha, after describing the festival, bluntly stated that the grand vizier's office was 'the most powerful and empowered position in the imperial hierarchy.'⁵²² In the same vein, M. Fatih Çalışır has found that the code of law compiled by this same Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha, which included the responsibilities of viziers, dwelt on this subject more intensively than had been customary in the previous century.⁵²³ Grand viziers of the late 1600s may even have contravened the wishes of the sultan. Thus, the commander of the siege of Vienna (1683), the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha 'had acted in a manner independent of the court's wishes. It was a clear indication of the level of freedom the Köprülüs had attained in the conduct of Ottoman state affairs.'⁵²⁴ Therefore, one may ask whether the high position

⁵²¹ Metin And, *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece*.

⁵²² Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, "A Virtuous Grand Vizier: Politics and Patronage in the Ottoman Empire during the Grand Vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha" (1661-1676) (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2016), 100.

⁵²³ Ibid., 100. See further discussion on the vizierate of Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, who was grand vizier in the 1675, on pages 100-107.

⁵²⁴ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 46.

accorded to the grand vizier in the imperial festival of 1675 was an early indication of the overwhelming power that this dignitary was to hold a few years later.

In the first chapter, I have discussed the manner in which the Ottoman bureaucracy secured the men and supplies needed for the festival, using the festival books as my main source. In addition, surviving artefacts in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Istanbul) have proven helpful, as this collection contains plates of the kind that the organisers may have used for the Edirne festival. Apart from locating pots, pans and plates, finding workers with the requisite qualifications was a major challenge. For it would have been impossible to circumcise three thousand boys in addition to the princes, if the officials had not located a large number of barber surgeons.

In the second chapter, I have paid special attention to the ceremonial space of the 1675 festival focusing on the evaluation of space construction and time perceptions as recorded in the primary sources. To locate the festival site with certainty, I have utilised the latest archaeological excavations and studies of architectural historians. To illustrate time concepts, I have in addition presented the daily schedule of the festival in some detail, showing that officialdom paid a great deal of attention to the use of dates carrying symbolic meanings according to the Islamic calendar, as well as ensuring the efficient management of time.

With these concern in mind, I have examined the possible routes of the procession that carried the trousseau of the princess about to become a bride, and established the most likely route. In particular, I have succeeded in locating the tournament sites by closely investigating the area as it is now. Using written sources, I have been able to figure out which constructions existed in 1675 but have long since disappeared. These simple but essential findings are a significant contribution of the present thesis. Beyond this mundane concern, the use of time and space had symbolic meanings: all processions, including the princes' cavalcade

and the artisans' pageant, were performances that demonstrated the continuity of the sultanate and the wealth of the empire.

In the third chapter, which focuses on consumption, I have discussed the setting of the dinner tables and the different quantities and qualities of food served, referencing their symbolic meanings. In order to crosscheck the narratives of the literary sources, festival books, chroniclers and travellers' accounts, I have addressed archival sources as well. As gift giving is an important aspect of any festive consumption, I have studied the inventories listing gifts to the sultan, which reflect the imperial hierarchy, as well as the political aims and concerns of individual officers. Judges, governors, and even retired officers presented their gifts according to protocol. According to gifting inventories some dignitaries took advantage of gift giving to promote their careers. In 1675, Kaplan Mustafa Pasha made enormous gifts to the sultan and his career took off as a result.

After the sultan had received the dignitaries' gifts, the guilds' pageantry followed. Regrettably, for my purposes, not all of the guilds took part in the parades. According to the register of counter-gifts presented in the sultan's name to the participating guilds, it was a privilege to participate in the event. In fact, the festival could serve the economic interests of certain artisans, as it took place at crucial junctions, where many inhabitants of Edirne, including merchants and traders, were likely to see the relevant craft products. In a sense, I propose that we can regard the festival as an open fair, at which artisans could display their work. While the French ambassador described the event as a 'funfair,' straightforward economic interests came into play as well.

In the fourth chapter, my thesis covers street level entertainments, with the help of the accounts of travellers, who have visited different parts of the empire during the same period. As a framework for this chapter, I refer to the theory of Mikhail Bakhtin, searching for the Ottoman version of 'marketplace language' in shadow-puppet performances and their carnivalesque elements. Besides, the

documentation on fireworks shown at the 1675 festival has allowed me to introduce and elaborate the application of pyrotechnic devices. The latter, involved a colossal waste of money, but written sources are full of descriptions of daily firework entertainments.

The prominence and magnificence of fireworks requires a broader investigation than is possible within this study. Some authors assume that enrapturing the senses of the audience was a major concern. As in other princely festivals all over Europe, pyrotechnics in the 1675 festival served as a means of demonstrating the close relationship between the ruler's power on earth and his claim to dominate the heavens as well. As Simon Werrett's studies have indicated, 'states expended considerable sums of money on fireworks not as diversions for the public, but as a powerful mode of propaganda. Fireworks carried messages that explosive pyrotechnic effects served to amplify and impress on audiences' minds.'⁵²⁵ The pyrotechnic experience, which appealed to several senses such as vision, smell and hearing, was thus a means of enhancing the distinction of the monarch.

As Neslihan Sönmez has observed, the expense registers of the Ottoman court offer information that is very difficult to analyse; and my own experience confirms this dictum.⁵²⁶ On the other hand, these sources are very rich; and with their help, my thesis has revealed many aspects of the festival that otherwise remain unclear, such as the mechanics of firework manufactures. Thus, I have been able to present aspects of technology, including the types of materials used in firework manufacture and their characteristic features, the costs and procedure of transportation, the provenance of materials, the types of equipment used, and the duties and wages of the workers employed. As a result, we now have some

⁵²⁵ Simon Werrett, "Watching the Fireworks," 173.

⁵²⁶ Neslihan Sönmez has explained the terminology of the expense registers (Neslihan Sönmez, *Yapı ve Malzeme Terimleri Sözlüğü*).

information on the firework makers' companies and the identity of the workers employed on the project.

With the help of these texts, I have identified recognised pyrotechnic devices, and studied the construction of models such as giants and fortresses. In particular, the firework registers allow us to visualise the use of fortress models during the evening celebrations. Evidently, manufacturers built the frameworks of their models out of non-combustible materials, which they 'dressed up' in different ways for shows on consecutive dates. In addition, I have established where the firework manufacturers lived for the duration of their work, namely in the khan known as the Ayiçe Hatun Hanı, which is still extant.

In the end, the firework display in the festival was more than a 'natural magical performance'; rather, it was a device suitable for making a propagandistic impact on crowds. Travellers interpreted the firework display as a reminder of the force of nature, 'il semblait par la chute des artificielles que c'étaient les naturelles qui tombaient.'⁵²⁷ Werret has pointed out that firework display was 'reinstating distinction from the masses by expressing a horror which previously had needed to be suppressed.'⁵²⁸ As noted, the expenditures for such a gargantuan festival, as an instrument of state propaganda, required a colossal waste of money. This aspect was not lost upon the common people. In the revolt of 1703, which occurred twenty-eight years after the festival, the rebels deposed the sultan and justified their act by the latter's neglecting of the welfare of Muslims, while spending huge amounts of money on his daughters' weddings.⁵²⁹

In conclusion, I identify the principal agents of the 1675 festival. As shown throughout the thesis, the chief organisers were the grand vizier, the bridegroom, the third vizier, the head treasurer, the deputy of the grand vizier and the queen

⁵²⁷ Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur*, 198.

⁵²⁸ Simon Werrett, "Watching the Fireworks," 180.

⁵²⁹ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 71.

mother. As the processions and symbolic gestures make clear, especially the latter appeared as a shareholder in monarchical power. As for the authors of festival books, they had the authority to compose the image of the festivities for transmission to future generations, dedicating their works to different viziers, who were their primary sponsors and protectors. The head of the religious and legal hierarchy (*şeyhülislam*) and the sultan's preacher Vani Efendi were the secondary agents. While the authors of the festival books accorded literary symbolism to the grand vizier, high-level religious scholars including the *Şeyhülislam* administrated moral propaganda. Thus, the grand vizier and the *Şeyhülislam* came together in the festival organisation, making the ceremonial space into a stage of religious and imperial rule.

The authority of these persons became apparent in every kind of festive and ceremonial demonstration including daily banquets, tournaments, gift-giving ceremonies and royal processions. By means of the festival, the chief dignitaries of the empire reiterated their claim to rule in the streets and in the surrounding nature as well.⁵³⁰ In the context of festival studies, I have identified the organisers of the 1675 festival as the creators of a stage, where they could have the political and diplomatic tensions of the period performed at a symbolic level.

Moreover, my field research has shown how the Ottoman governing apparatus asserted its possession of the natural habitat around Edirne, including hills, fields, rivers and streams, as well as collective memory spaces such as bridges, dervish lodges and graves. Thus, the sultan and his dignitaries made ordinary townspeople and peasants of the surrounding villages remember the festival by means of Edirne's natural environment and memorable spaces. After all, in the late 1600s, the Ottoman governing apparatus had begun to abandon the capital city, Istanbul, and adapted formal ceremonies and symbols of the sultan's administration

⁵³⁰ See different state-sponsored festival examples, José Manuel Nieto Soria, "Propaganda and Legitimation in Castile," 207-210.

to sites in Edirne. By assigning landmark palaces in Istanbul to non-courtly purposes, the Ottoman elite consciously or unconsciously constructed Edirne as the new imperial capital, an issue that would resurface in 1703 when Istanbul soldiers and artisans refused to accept this demotion.⁵³¹

⁵³¹ Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 68.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

- Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (TSMA.d. 154)
Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri (BOA. DBŞM.d. 295)
Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri (BOA. MAD.d. 3770)

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Abbott, George Frederick. *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy, 1674-1681*. London: Macmillan, 1920.
- Abdi, Abdurrahman. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi: Osmanlı Tarihi (1648-1682)*, edited by Fahri Ç. Derin. Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008.
- Abdi. *Sûr-i pür sürûr-i Hümayûn*, edited by Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri 4-5: Lebîb Sûrnâmesi, Hâfız Mehmed Efendi (Hazin) Sûrnâmesi, Abdi Sûrnâmesi, Telhîsü'l-Beyân'ın Sûrnâme Kısmı*. Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2011.
- Abdi. *Surname: Vakayi-i Hitan-i Şehzadegan-ı Hazret-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gazi*, edited by Aslı Göksel, "The 'Surname' of Abdi as a Sample of Old Turkish Prose." Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1983.
- Arslan, Mehmet. *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnâmeler: Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 1999.
- Barkan, Ömer Lutfi. "Istanbul Sarayına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, no.9(13) (1979).

Carswell, John. *Chinese Ceramics in the Sadberk Hanım Museum*. Istanbul: The Vehbi Koç Foundation-Sadberk Hanım Museum, 1995.

Chardin, Jean. *Chardin Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul, Osmanlı Toprakları, Gürcistan, Ermenistan, İran 1671-1673*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos. Translated by Ayşe Meral. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014.

Coke, Thomas. *A true narrative of the great solemnity of the circumcision of Mustapha Prince of Turkie eldest son of Sultan Mahomet present emperour of the Turks. Together with and account of the marriage of his daughter to his great favourite Mussaip at Adrianople, as it was sent in a Letter to Person of Honor*. London: Printed by James Cottrell for William Crook, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar, 1676.

Covel, John. *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü* (Original name: Extracts from The Diaries of Dr John Covel 1670-1679). Translated by N. Özmelek. Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2009.

Covel, John. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant: I.- The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600. II.- Extracts from the Diaries of Dr John Covel, 1670-1679. With Some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, edited by Bent, James Theodore. Farnham: Ashgate, 1892.

Covel, John. *Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677*, edited by J.-P. Grémois. Paris: Réalités Byzantines, 1998.

Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (10. Kitap), edited by Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman & Yücel Dağlı. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008.

Evliyâ Çelebi. *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: İstanbul* (Vol. 1), edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman & Yücel Dağlı. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011.

Galland, Antoine, *İstanbul'a ait günlük hâtıralar (1672-1673)*. Translated by N. S. Örik. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987.

Hezarfen Hüseyin. *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, edited by Sevim İlgürel. İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998.

Knolles, Richard & Rycart, Paul. *The Turkish History, Comprehending the Origin of That Nation, and the Growth of the Othoman Empire, with the Lives and Conquests of Their Several Kings and Emperors* (Vol II). London: Printed for Isaac Cleave, Abel Roper, A. Bosvile and Rie Basset, 1701.

Kömürciyan, Eremya Çelebi. *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988.

Mehmed, Râşid. *Târîh-i Râşid*, edited by Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır & Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli: Râşid Mehmed Efendi ve Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi (1071-1141/1660-1729)* (Vol. I). İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013.

Mundy, Peter. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667* (Vol. I). Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907.

Nabi. *Nabi'nin Surnâmesi: Vakaayi'-i Hitân-ı Şehzadegân-ı Hazreti-i Sultan Muhammed-i Gaazi Li Nabi Efendi*, edited by Agâh Sırrı Levend. İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1944.

North, Roger. *The life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North, knt. ... : and of the Honourable and Reverend Dr. John North ...* . London: Printed for the editor and sold by John Whiston, 1744.

Pétis de la Croix, François. *Mémoires du Sieur, Cy-Devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople*. Paris: Seconde Partie, 1684.

Rycaut, Paul. *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Polity, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion... Their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of Their Forces Both by Sea and Land. Illustrated with Divers Pieces of Sculpture, Representing the Variety of Habits Amongst the Turks*. London: Printed for Charles Brome, 1686.

Sarı Mehmed Paşa. *Zübde-i Vekayiât, Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116-1656-1704)*, edited by A. Özcan. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995.

Sâz, Leyla. *Harem'in İçyüzü*. Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974.

Saz, Şair Leyla Hanım, *Anılar: 19. Yüzyılda Saray Haremi*. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000.

Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa. *Silahdar Tarihi*, edited by Aslı Göksel, “The 'Surname' of Abdi as a Sample of Old Turkish Prose.” Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1983.

Thévenot, Jean. *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi*, edited by Stefanos Yerasimos. Translated by Ali Berktaş. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009.

Vandal, Albert. *L'odyssée d'un Ambassadeur: les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel, 1670-1680*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1900.

Vehbî. *Sûrnâme: Sultan Ahmet'in Düğün Kitabı*, edited by Mertol Tulum. Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2008.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at. *The 1703 Rebellion and The Structure of Ottoman Politics*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984.

Alkım, V. Bahadır; Antel, Nazime; Avery, Robert; Eckmann, Janos; Huri, Sofi; İz, Fahir; Mansuroğlu, Mecdud; Tietze, Andreas. *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük* (First published in 1997).

Altun, Ara; Carswell, John; Öney, Gönül. *Turkish Tiles and Ceramics*. Translated by Tülay Artan. Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 1991.

And, Metin. *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu: Köylü ve Halk Tiyatrosu Gelenekleri*. Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1985.

And, Metin. *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece*. Ankara: Taç Yayınevi, 1959.

And, Metin. *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982.

And, Metin. *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018.

Argıt, Betül İpşirli. *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, 1640-1715*. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014.

Artan, Tülay, “Was Edirne a Capital and a Royal Court in the Second Half of the 17th Century?”, paper presented at the *Voyvoda Caddesi Konuşmaları Series*, 16 April 2003.

Artan, Tülay. “Royal Weddings and The Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century.” In *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration*. Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997.

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

Baer, Marc David. *At Meydanı'nda Ölüm: 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Hoşgörü ve İhtida*. Translated by Pınar Yanardağ. Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016.

Baer, Marc David. *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by H. Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Bilgin, Arif. *Osmanlı Taşrasında Bir Maliye Kurumu: Bursa Hassa Harç Eminliği*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2006.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Harper Torchbook, 1978.

- Çakır, Merve. "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü: Şehzâdelerin Sünnet Merasimi ve Hatice Sultân'ın İzdivâc Töreni." *Uluslararası Edirne'nin Fethinin 650. Yılı Sempozyumu*. Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2011.
- Corteguera, Luis R.. *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580-1640*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Çalışır, Muhammed Fatih. "A Virtuous Grand Vizier: Politics and Patronage in the Ottoman Empire During the Grand Vizierate of Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661-1676)." PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2016.
- Chrościcki, Juliusz. "Ceremonial Space." In *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, edited by Allan Ellenius. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Devellioğlu, Ferit. *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat: Eski ve Yeni Harflerle*. Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 2016 (First published in 1993).
- Doğru, Halime. *Lehistan'da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed'in Kamanîçe-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006.
- Duindam, Jeroen; Artan, Tülay & Kunt, Metin. *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Ellenius, Allan. *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (first published in 1998).
- Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem. "Chasing Documents at the Ottoman Archive: An Imperial Circumcision Festival Under Scrutiny." *The Medieval History Journal* 22, no.1 (2019): 156-181.

Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem. “1720 Şenliği’nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak.” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no.50 (2017): 117-152.

Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem. “The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in The Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire.” Phd diss., Boğaziçi University, 2017.

Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem. “Kimmiş Bu Tulumcular?” paper published in *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.297 (2018).

Falassi, Alessandro. “Festival: Definition and Morphology.” In *Time out of time*. New Mexico: University of New Mexico, 1987.

Faroghi, Suraiya. “Fireworks in Seventeenth Century Istanbul.” In *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Arzu Öztürkmen & Evelyn Birge Vitz, 181-194. Brepols, 2014.

Faroghi, Suraiya. “Research on Ottoman Festivities and Performances.” In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroghi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 24-68. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.

Faroghi, Suraiya. “The parades of Ottoman guildsmen: Self-assertion and submission to the sultan’s command.” In *Material Culture – Präsenz und Sichtbarkeit von Künstlern, Zünften und Bruderschaften in der Vormoderne/ Presence and Visibility of Artists, Guilds, Brotherhoods in the Premodern Era*, edited by Andreas Tacke, Birgit Ulrike Münch & Wolfgang Augustyn, 157-173. Munich: Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2018.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. “When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, Was Everyone in a Festive Mood? Or, Who Worked on the Preparation of Sultanic Festivals and Who Paid for Them?”. In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 208-224. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi: 1600-1914* (Vol. II), edited by H. İnalcık & D. Quataert. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004 (First published in 1994).

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*. Munich: Tauris, 2005 (First published in 1995).

Goffman, Daniel. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Gölen, Zafer. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Baruthâne-i Âmire (XVIII. Yüzyıl)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006.

Gordon, Steward. “A World of Investiture.” In *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, edited by Steward Gordon, 1-20. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Gordon, Steward. “Robes, Kings, and Semiotic Ambiguity.” In *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, edited by Steward Gordon, 379-386. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

İrepoğlu, Gül. *Levnî, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*. Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ni Sevenler Derneği; T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999.

Kafadar, Cemal. “How dark is the history of the night, how black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love: The changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early modern Istanbul.” In *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by. Arzu Öztürkmen & Evelyn Birge Vitz, 243-269. Brepols, 2014.

Karateke, Hakan. “Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial.” In *God Is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture*, edited by Jonathan Bloom & Sheila Blair, 282-307. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Kazan, Hilal. *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*. Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2010.

Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681), Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamanice, Part 1: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Komaroff, Linda. *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011.

Lancaster, Ronald. *Fireworks: Principles and Practice* (3rd Edition). New York: Chemical Publishing Co., Inc, 1998.

Maltitz, Ian von. *Black Powder Manufacturing, Testing & Optimizing*. Pennsylvania: American Fireworks News, 2003.

Mizrahi, Daryo. “Ciddi Hayatın Komik Gölgeleeri: Osmanlı’da Karagöz Oyunları.” In *Hayal Perdesinde Ulus, Değişim ve Gelenegin İcadı*, edited by Peri Efe, 48-63. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013.

- Mizrahi, Daryo. "Language and Sexuality in Ottoman Shadow-Puppet Performances." In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 275-292. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.
- Mizrahi, Daryo. "One Man and His Audience: Comedy in Ottoman Shadow Puppet Performances." In *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Arzu Öztürkmen & Evelyn Birge Vitz, 271-286. Brepols, 2014.
- Murphey, Rhoads. *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800*. London: Continuum, 2008.
- Necipoğlu, Gülru. *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. MIT Press, 1991.
- Nesin, Aziz. *Pırlantan Bal*. Istanbul: Nesin Yayınevi, 2018 (First published in 1976).
- Neumann, Christoph K.. "Political and Diplomatic Developments." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, 44-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Nieto Soria, José Manuel. "Propaganda and Legitimation in Castile: Religion and Church, 1250-1500." In *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, edited by Allan Ellenius. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Nutku, Özdemir. *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği (1675)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972.

Oral, Ünver. *Kukla ve Kuklacılık: Yapım ve Oynatım Tekniği, Yardımcı Bilgiler*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.

Ortaylı, İlber. "Gifts and the Topkapı Palace." In *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, edited by Linda Komaroff, 167. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011.

Özer, Mustafa; DüNDAR Mesut; Uçlar, Hasan; Ayhan, Gökben & Güner, Yavuz. "Edirne Sarayı (Sarayı Cedîd-i Âmire) Kazısı 2014 Yılı Çalışmaları." 37. *Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu. III*. Erzurum: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2015 (11-15 May).

Özer, Mustafa. *Edirne Sarayı (Sarayı Cedîd-i Âmire): Kısa Bir Değerlendirme*. Istanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014.

Ozouf, Mona. *Festivals and the French Revolution*. Translated by A. Sheridan. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Peirce, Leslie P.. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Phillips, Amanda. "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma." In *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, edited by Marios Hadjianastasis, 111-138. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015.

Pollard, Lucy Petica. "Curiosity, learning and observation: Britons in Greece and Asia Minor, 1603-1688." PhD diss., Birkbeck College, University of London, 2010.

Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Second ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 (First published in 2000).

Raby, Julian & Tanındı, Zeren. *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: the Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, edited by Tim Stanley. London: Azimuth Editions, 1993.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Luxury, Power Strategies, and the Question of Corruption: Gifting in the Ottoman Elite (16th–18th Centuries)." *Şehrâyîn*, no.107-20 (2012).

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries)." *Turcica*, no.41 (2009): 37-88.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "The Chickens of Paradise: Official Meals in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Palace." In *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Christoph K. Neumann, 59-88. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2003.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans." In *Inventories of Textiles – Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, edited by Thomas Ertl, Barbara Karl, 143-164. Vienna University Press, 2017.

Renfrew, Alastair. *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2015.

Russell, Michael S. *The Chemistry of Fireworks*. Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry, 2000.

- Şahin, Kaya. "Staging an Empire: An Ottoman Circumcision Ceremony as Cultural Performance." *The American Historical Review*, no.123(2) (2018): 463-492.
- Samancı, Özge, & Bilgin, Arif. "II. Mahmud Dönemi İstanbul ve Saray Mutfağı/Ottoman Istanbul and Palace Cuisine in the Era of Mahmud II." In *II. Mahmud: Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecinde İstanbul-Istanbul in the Process of Being Rebuilt*, edited by Coşkun Yılmaz. Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, 2010.
- Samancı, Özge. "İmparatorluğun Son Döneminde İstanbul ve Osmanlı Saray Mutfak Kültürü." In *Türk Mutfağı*, edited by Özge Samancı & Arif Bilgin, 199-219. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2008.
- Şentürk, Şennur. *Kumaş'k: Yapı Kredi İşleme Koleksiyonundan Örnekler*. Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999.
- Sevinçli, Efdal. "Festivals and their Documentation: Surnames Covering the Festivities of 1675 and 1724." In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 186-207. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.
- Sevinçli, Efdal. "Şenliklerimiz ve Surnamelerimiz: 1675 ve 1724 Şenliklerine İlişkin İki Surname." *Journal of Yaşar University*, no.1(4) (2006): 377-416.
- Sönmez, Neslihan. *Yapı ve Malzeme Terimleri Sözlüğü*. Istanbul: Yem Yayınları, 1997.
- Soo, Lydia M.. "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire': The English Experience of Ottoman Spectacle in the Late Seventeenth Century and Its Consequences."

In *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Marcus Keller & Javier Irigoyen-García, 217. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Stanley, Tim. "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take." In *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, edited by Linda Komaroff 149-170. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011.

Tansuğ, Sezer. *Şenlikname Düzeni: Türk Minyatüründe Gerçekçi Duyuş ve Gelişme*. Istanbul: De Yayınevi, 1961.

Terzioğlu, Derin. "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation." *Muqarnas*, no.12 (1995): 84-100.

Tezcan, Hülya. "Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans." In *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, & Christoph K. Neumann, 63-80. Istanbul: Eren, 2004.

Tuncer, Şaduman. "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675: An Attempt at Historical Contextualization." Master Thesis, Fatih University, 2011.

Werrett, Simon. "Watching the Fireworks: Early Modern Observation of Natural and Artificial Spectacles." *Science in Context*, no.24(2) (2011): 167–182.

Wishnitzer, Avner. *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Yelçe, Zeynep. "Evaluating three imperial festivals: 1524, 1530 and 1539," In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 71-109. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.

Yi, Eunjeong. *17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Lonca Dinamikleri*. Translated by B. Zeren.
Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018 (First published in 2004).

APPENDICES

A.1 The Portrait of the Sultan Mehmed IV (The Hunter)

In 1686, Sir Paul Rycaut published different portraits of Ottoman court members in his book. I would like to share one of these inspiring depictions which belong to the Sultan Mehmed IV (The Hunter) when he was 26 years old.⁵³²

⁵³² Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 6.

*Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperor
of the Turkes aged 26 years Anno 1669*



A.2 Fişeng Defteri (BOA. DBŞM.d. 295)

Because it is not possible to regulate the large-scale table of the expense registers within this document's margins, the registers are presented horizontally, instead of vertical.

Veçhi meşruh üzere mahalline kayd ola

Defter masarîfî fişeng der hitan-ı sur-ı hümayun elvakiğ der sene 1086 maa ârus-ı hümayun

Fi'l-asl

Ani'l-havâlât an canib'i cebehane-i amire
Kükürd Barut-ı siyah
79 kıyye kıyye

Minha el masarîf
1.233.062 akçe
Minha baha-i eşya-i mezburin
459.963 akçe

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 B					
1	<i>Baha-i kükürd 871 kıyye fi 22 19.198 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i zirniç 54,5 kıyye 5.700 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i hatab-ı söğüt 29 hımıl 1.466 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i cimşir 47,5 kıyye fi 7 332 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i ağac-ı kızılıcık 42 aded fi 11 314 akçe</i>
2	<i>Baha-i engüşt ahen 13 hımıl 981 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i tar beray-ı lazıme-i kandehari 9 kıyye 132 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i saz-ı mahî 40.000 adet 2.400 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i çanak ve değnek ve gayruhu 160 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i yumurta 855 akçe</i>
3	<i>Baha-i dibek-i acem Beray-i lazıme-i fişeng 9 aded 1.800 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i tekne 30 aded fi 35 1.050 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i çanak-ı ağaç 21 aded fi 15 315 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i bağzı eşya-ı mezburin der-vakti numune-i fişeng kalıban elvakiğ sene 1085 ba defteri müfredat 3.597 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kiriş Beray-ı lazıme-i kandehari 800 akçe</i>

4	<i>Baha-i kamış 30.500 aded 49.812 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i desti 20 aded fi 10 200 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i bağzı eşya-ı mezburin der-vakti numune-i fişengi kandehari elvakiğ der sene 1085 ba defteri müfredat 7.665 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kirış-i keman 13 aded deste 790 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kirış beyaz beray-ı lazıme-i kelderi 1 top 440 akçe</i>
5	<i>Baha-i hayimhane beray-ı lazıme-i kelderi 3 aded fi 300 900 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kumaş-ı sandal beray-ı lazıme-i kelderi 25,5 zira 1.375 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i halka-i pirinç 200 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i barut-ı siyah beray-ı kandehari 10 kıyye fi 120 1.200 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i fitil 130 zira fi 3 390 akçe</i>
6	<i>Baha-i tomrık beray-ı nev sahten şadırvan 9 aded fi 45 405 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i meşin 188 aded fi 3555 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kirış keman 40 aded fi 20 800 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i mikras 10 aded fi 20 200 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i sabun 40 kıyye 759 akçe</i>
7	<i>Baha-i kemer kolan 30 aded 230 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kağıt-ı haşebi 11.240 deste 134.480 akçe El masraf 7.400 deste El baki 3.840 deste</i>	<i>Baha-i ücret-i nevsahaten-i havan-ı tuç 30 aded 8.000 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i güherçile 2.420,5 kıyye 107.882 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i çuka kenarı 47 kıyye fi 50 2.350 akçe</i>
8	<i>Baha-i deste-i zenk 6 aded fi 30 180 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kobrığ-ı? sincab 100 aded 65 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i cemşir tokmak 31 aded 275 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i astar-ı dest 2 aded fi 120 240 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kiçe-i beyaz beray-ı lazıme 26 aded 780 akçe</i>
9	<i>Baha-i aba-i siyah lazıme-i suret-i hüccet 2 top fi 390 780 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i aba-i beyaz 8 top 3.150 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i frenk kâfurı 12,5 kıyye fi 880 8.860 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kabara? Beray-i tasvir 65 aded 440 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i astar zira 6 aded 440 akçe</i>
10	<i>Baha-i kağıt-ı İstanbul 20 deste fi 45 900 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i ahen-i sütun-u hayme 5 çift 400 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i boya-i aş 1,5 kıyye 39 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kilit 1 aded 16 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i nişasta 17,5 kıyye 252 akçe</i>

11	<i>Baha-i sürb 1 kıyye 34 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i şem-i asel kâfuri 14,5 kıyye fi 110 1.550 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kobrıg-ı? nişasta ve gayruhu 70 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i keçe-i sürh 5 aded fi 156 780 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i keten 5 aded fi 210 1.085 akçe</i>
12	<i>Baha-i çömlek beray-ı lazıme-i kumbara 252 aded fi 5 1.128 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i selmet-i sefid beray-ı kumbaracıyan 0.5 kıyye 330 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i ırak? beray-ı lazıme-i kumbara 10 kıyye fi 20 600 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kiriş zımmi 20 zira fi 8 160 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kiriş hayme 51 zira 918 akçe</i>

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.2 A					
1	<i>Baha-i fitil-i yedek 40 aded 240 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i sarh beray-ı lazıme- i div 2 kıyye 40 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i fitil-i penbe 3 kıyye 340 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i revgan-ı neft 4,5 kıyye 315 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i evhara-i? zerd 1 kıyye 80 akçe</i>
2	<i>Baha-i baha-i aba-i sürh 239,5 zira 333 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i aba-i sürh beray-i lazıme-i fişengci bemarkifeti Turmuş Ağa 5 top fi 360 1.800 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i çul beray-ı lazıme-i fişeng 1 aded 180 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i ahen-i ham 52 kıyye 520 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i isfidaç 8 kıyye fi 55 440 akçe</i>
3	<i>Baha-i kağıt-ı harci 300 deste 1.900 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i kağıt-ı şalita-i? Beyaz 1.500 deste fi 13 6.500 akçe 13.000 akçe 19.500 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i küfe beray-ı ser-div 26 aded fi 10 260 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i çulu tazı ve himar 12 aded 500 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i post-ı keçi 2 aded 90 akçe</i>
4	<i>Baha-i eşya-i mezburin beray-ı lazıme-i kalyoncu 510 akçe</i>		<i>Baha-i bogasi-i miskal ve donluk 3 top</i>	<i>Baha-i kobrıg-ı? esb 12 aded 490 akçe</i>	<i>Baha-i zenk ağacı beray-ı nev-sahten-i barut 4 aded fi 25</i>

	<i>Tirgahlık-ı kebir</i> 3 aded 150 akçe	<i>Domruk-ı ihlamur</i> 3 aded 180 akçe	<i>Elvah-ı karaağaç</i> 2 aded fi 90 180 akçe	400 akçe		100 akçe
5	<i>Baha-i çubuk-ı varil beray-ı lazıme-i div</i> 1.032 aded fi 2 2.064 akçe	<i>Baha-i hımar beray-i lazıme-i fişeng</i> 2 re's (baş) 2.275 akçe	<i>Baha-i bağzı eşya-i mezburin beray-i lazıme-i fişeng</i>			<i>Baha-i ücret-i halka-i hayme beray-ı lazıme-i fişeng</i> 1.800 aded 2.400 akçe
			<i>Sülüğen</i> 6 kıyye 480 akçe	<i>Zamk</i> 50 dirhem 10 akçe	<i>Şerit</i> 400 zira 800 akçe	
6	<i>Baha-i ahen-i gerdane-i kolan</i> <i>Beray-i lazıme-i mezbur</i> 8 aded 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i makara-i ahen</i> 5 aded 380 akçe	<i>Baha-i bağzı eşya-i mezburin beray-ı lazıme-i fişeng Musli Ağa Kumbaracı</i> 15.530 akçe			
			<i>Sirke</i> 4 kıyye 20 akçe	<i>Nişasta</i> 10 kıyye 120 akçe	<i>Sakız-ı Çam</i> 6 kıyye 120 akçe	<i>Keten</i> 10 kıyye 220 akçe
			<i>Kobrig-ı?</i> esb 2 aded 20 akçe	<i>Post-ı keçi</i> 1 aded 60 akçe	<i>Kutu</i> 10 aded 200 akçe	<i>Tulumba</i> 1 aded 400 akçe
						<i>Beyaz aba</i> 3 top 720 akçe
						<i>Teneke-i kebir</i> 5 aded 300 akçe
						<i>Kağıt-ı İstanbul</i> 250 deste fi 140 11.250 akçe
						<i>Metol?</i> 210 aded fi 10 2.100 akçe
7	<i>Baha-i tutkal</i> 23 kıyye 500 akçe	<i>Baha-i ahen-i lazıme-i ser-div</i> 5 aded 180 akçe	<i>Baha-i eşya-i mezburun</i>			<i>Baha-i sepet-i örme beray-ı lazıme-i fişeng</i> 17 çift fi 110 1.870 akçe
			<i>Tazı çulu</i> 60 aded 2.400 akçe	<i>Çul-ı hımar</i> 7 aded 560 akçe	<i>Baha-i kelp an ıştırı-i Turmuş</i> 3.590 akçe	
8	<i>Baha-i cild-i? tabib?</i> <i>Beray-ı lazıme-i zahire</i> 25 çift fi 150 3.900 akçe	<i>Baha-i kösele beray-ı barut-ı siyah</i> 3 aded fi 280 840 akçe	<i>Baha-i cild-i dövme ve selvan? beray-ı lazıme-i fişengçiyan-ı Mısır</i> 4 çift fi 380 1.520 akçe		<i>Baha-i bogasi-i mai beray-ı derya-i kalyon</i> 7 top 700 akçe	<i>Baha-i penbe ve kenevir hicab</i> 1.020 akçe
						<i>Penbe</i> 5 kıyye
						<i>Hicab kenevir</i>

					500 akçe	4 top 720 akçe
9	Baha-i sütun-ı hayme 10 aded fi 40 400 akçe	Baha-i tüy-i teber 600 aded fi 1 600 akçe	Baha-i kinnab 992 top fi 4 3.968 akçe	Baha-i kapak ve sirke ve keçe beray-ı lazime-i fişengciyan 956 akçe	Baha-i sini-i ağaç 68 aded fi 25 1.700 akçe	
10	Baha-i kahve beray-ı lazime-i fişengciyan ve Turmuş Aga ve gayruhu 23 kıyye fi 130 2.990 akçe	Baha-i kağıt-ı harci denk 4 aded fi 2.000 8.000 akçe	Baha-i aba-i sürh ve siyah ve beyaz Anyedi Karaçay Yahudi teslim ve Turmuş Ağa 3 top 960 akçe	Baha-i kağıd-ı rengamiz 500 deste fi 17 9.000 akçe	Baha-i	
	Beceheti mühimmatı fişenkcıyan-ı Mısır 7948 akçe					
1	Baha-i bınar 70 aded fi 5 350 akçe	Baha-i ketan-ı ihlamur 15 aded fi 45 675 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kule-i kebir 20 keyl fi 18 360 akçe	Baha-i çubuk-ı varil 200 aded fi 400 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 2.025 aded fi 50 925 akçe	
2	Baha-i mismar-ı Zagra 1.500 aded fi 3 495 akçe	Baha-i ağaç tabak 5 aded fi 25 125	Baha-i teneke 5 aded fi 60 300 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı aga 20 aded fi 20 400 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kule-i sagir 50 aded fi 400 akçe	
3	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 1.500 aded 300 akçe	Baha-i Budun 2.500 aded 165 akçe	Baha-i sagir ihlamur 20 aded fi 7 140 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı tirgahlık 50 aded fi 22 1.100 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 50 aded fi 14 700 akçe	
4	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 50 aded fi 8 400 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı elvah 1.000 aded 168 akçe	Baha-i fitil-i Mısır kulaç 100 aded 300 akçe		Baha-i fitil-i penbe kulaç 100 aded 300 akçe

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 A						
	Nev sahteni mühimmatı efreñç ve beyan-ı adem-i ve suret-i açte? der fişeng 4.889 akçe					
1	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 60 aded fi 7 420 akçe	Baha-i bınar 30 aded fi 5 150 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kule-i kebir 45 aded fi 18 645 akçe	Baha-i aba-i sürh 6 top fi 360 2.160 akçe	Baha-i keten-i ihlamur 5 aded fi 40 200 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 2 kıyye fi 42 84 akçe
2	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 1.000 aded 90 akçe	Baha-i Budun 1.000 aded 55 akçe	Baha-i sarı tutkal 5 kıyye 120 akçe	Baha-i isfidaç 2 kıyye fi 55 110 akçe	Baha-i selgin-i efreñç 2 kıyye fi 70 140 akçe	Baha-i nefte-i acem 1 kıyye 120 akçe
3	Baha-i zengar ve fülül-i varak 490 akçe			Baha-i 10 aded 100 akçe		
	Zengar 1 kıyye 420 akçe	Varak 10 deste 70 akçe				
	Nev sahteni kala-i Kumbaracı Musli ve Ahmed Ağa 9.870 akçe					
1	Baha-i mismar-ı Budun 3.200 aded fi 176 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 2.100 aded 357 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 60 aded fi 14 840 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 100 aded 17 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 255 aded fi 60 1.657 akçe	Baha-i kav-ı sale? 1 aded 150 akçe
2	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 129 aded fi 18 2.322 akçe	Baha-i tirgahlık-ı sagır 6 aded fi 20 120 akçe	Baha-i sicim-i katre? 25 aded fi 500 akçe	Baha-i sırık-ı gürgen 33 kıyye 330 akçe	Baha-i teneke 3 aded fi 60 120 akçe	Baha-i taban-ı ihlamur 4 aded fi 45 180 akçe
3	Baha-i katre? 29 aded fi 5 145 akçe	Baha-i tirgahlık-ı kebir 4 aded fi 38 144 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı yarma çam 20 aded fi 9 180 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 200 Kıyye 180 akçe	Baha-i zera 500 aded 165 akçe	Baha-i çelik 0,5 aded 10 akçe

4	Baha-i mısma-ı sayis 8 aded fi 60 480 akçe	Baha-i talaş-ı ham 10 aded fi 100 1.000 akçe	Baha-i sırık-ı söğüt 30 aded 310 akçe	Baha-i kıl elek 5 aded fi 15 75 akçe	Baha-i ağaç tabak 5 aded fi 25 125 akçe	
5	Baha-i revgan-ı zeyd 6 kıyye 108 akçe	Baha-i limon 3 kıyye 120 akçe	Baha-i mum 104 akçe	Baha-i nişasta 15 kıyye 240 akçe	Baha-i sirke 10 kıyye 60 akçe	Baha-i kavanoz 90 akçe
Becchetti mühimmat-ı dolab-ı sur ve dükkân-ı şekerçi der fişeng 6.613 akçe						
1	Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 50 aded fi 14 700 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 80 aded fi 520 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i sagır 50 aded fi 8 400 akçe	Baha-i keten ıhlamur 32 aded fi 45 1.440 akçe	Baha-i ıhlamur direği 6 aded 240 akçe	Baha-i eğri-i asiyab 6 aded fi 60 360 akçe
2	Baha-i sütun-ı dehliz 1 aded 90 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı karaağaç 4 aded fi 100 400 akçe	Baha-i bınar 40 aded fi 5 300 akçe	Baha-i mısma-ı lokma 500 aded fi 90 450 akçe	Baha-i mısma-ı elvah 42 kıyye fi 4 168 akçe	Baha-i mısma-ı Budun 3.000 aded 115 akçe
3	Baha-i mısma-ı sayis 8 kıyye fi 25 200 akçe		Baha-i çubuk-ı varil 90 aded fi 180 akçe	Baha-i sırık-ı ıhlamur 15 aded fi 7 750 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı ağa 20 aded fi 20 400 akçe
Nev sahteni kala-i fişeng 4.720 akçe						
1	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 80 aded fi 8 520 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 120 aded fi 14 1.560 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 40 aded fi 18 680 akçe	Baha-i bınar 50 aded fi 5 250 akçe		Baha-i mısma 2.000 aded 120 akçe
2	Baha-i mısma-ı sayis 1.000 aded 300 akçe	Baha-i Budun 4.000 aded 220 akçe	Baha-i mısma-ı lokma 1.000 aded fi 60 900 akçe	Baha-i şalika 1.000 aded 90 akçe		Baha-i taban-ı ıhlamur 4 aded fi 45 180 akçe
Beciheti baha-i bazı eşya-i ırsaliye-i hazreti Kapudan Paşa 137.114 akçe						

1	<i>Baha-i rugan-ı sâlâr</i> 43 aded 12.900 akçe <i>Beher dane</i> 66 kulaç 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i sicim-i kebir</i> 31 aded 9.300 akçe <i>Beher dane</i> 73 kulaç 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i sicim-i sagir</i> 28 aded fi 150 4.200 akçe	<i>Baha-i elduvan</i> <i>berayı lazime-i fişengciyan</i> 56 çift fi 15 840 akçe	<i>Baha-i ebken-i berayı</i> <i>lazime-i mezbur</i> 60 kıyye fi 60 3.600 akçe	
2	<i>Baha-i ebken-i</i> <i>Bartın</i> 60 aded fi 80 4.800 akçe	<i>Baha-i kinnab-ı berayı</i> <i>lazime-i fişeng</i> 1.498 aded fi 1,5 2.247 akçe	<i>Baha-i rişte-i penbe</i> 56 kıyye fi 40 2.240 akçe	<i>Baha-i zırnıh-ı taş</i> 20 kıyye fi 100 2.000 akçe	<i>Baha-i kiriş-i keçeci</i> 300 aded fi 4 1.200 akçe	<i>Baha-i kiriş-i hallaç</i> 300 aded fi 2 600 akçe

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.3 B						
3	<i>Baha-i kiriş-i keman</i> 50 deste fi 30 1.500 akçe	<i>Baha-i tel ve teneke-i</i> <i>sanduk</i> 7 aded <i>Be hesab-ı kağıd</i> 99 aded 22.512 akçe	<i>Baha-i nişadır berayı</i> <i>fişeng</i> 30 kıyye fi 40 1.200 akçe	<i>Baha-i sarı tel</i> 148 kıyye fi 140 25.720 akçe	<i>Baha-i elek-i ibrişim?</i> 30 aded fi 12 360 akçe	<i>Baha-i elek-i kıl</i> 30 aded fi 8 240 akçe
4	<i>Baha-i tel ve mih</i> <i>dane</i> 190 aded 930 akçe	<i>Baha-i eğe</i> 5 aded fi 20 100 akçe	<i>Baha-i mikras ve fesa</i> 85 akçe <i>Fesa</i> 3 aded 25 akçe <i>Mikras</i> 2 aded 60 akçe	<i>Baha-i burgu-i ...</i> 184 aded 400 akçe	<i>Baha-i çiriş</i> 289 kıyye fi 40 11.040 akçe	<i>Baha-i hurda ahen</i> 60 kıyye fi 120 7.200 akçe
5	<i>Baha-i saz</i> 20.000 aded 600 akçe	<i>Baha-i harc-ı felek</i> 50 aded 1.000 akçe	<i>Baha-i koç</i> 100 aded 960 akçe	<i>Baha-i tokmak</i> 60 aded 300 akçe	<i>Baha-i fitilha-i fişeng ve</i> <i>gayruhu</i> 1.800 akçe	

6	Beciheti ücreti arabaha-i seren berayı nakilkerden-i mühimmat an-Âsitane ila Edirne berayı tahmil-i fişengciyan ve mühimmatı saire Araba 19 aded fi 1.000 19.000 akçe					Beciheti kiraye-i bargirân-ı mekâri berayı tahmilkerdan-i mühimmat an- Âsitane ila Edirne Bargir 9 re's fi 360 3.240 akçe					
	Beceheti mühimmat-ı kalpzen ve kelderi 6.577 akçe										
1	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 80 aded fi 8 640 akçe		Baha-i sanduk teneke 30 aded fi 14 420 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı aga 10 aded fi 20 200 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı ebken 5 aded fi 35 175 akçe		Baha-i bınar 30 aded fi 5 150 akçe		Baha-i çelik 0,5 kıyye 20 akçe
2	Baha-i mismar-ı budun 7.000 aded fi 55 385 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı bükme 5.000 aded 420 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı şalika? 2.000 aded fi 60 180 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 300 aded 50 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı zagra 1.300 aded 439 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 20 aded fi 18 360 akçe
3	Baha-i zera 1 aded 40 akçe		Baha-i küştere 1 aded 40 akçe		Baha-i yekdest kebir 1 aded 250 akçe		Baha-i destere 1 aded 55 akçe		Baha-i zıvana 1 aded 20 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 10 aded fi 50 500 akçe
4	Baha-i keser-i dest 2 aded fi 35 70 akçe		Baha-i ışkî 1 aded 20 akçe		Baha-i burgu 5 aded 15 akçe		Baha-i bergal? 2 aded fi 20 40 akçe		Baha-i resen harci 2 aded 4 akçe		Baha-i tomruk-u ıhlamur 10 aded 450 akçe
5	Baha-i ... berayı lazıme-i kelderi 1 aded 180 akçe		Baha-i boya-i aşî 0,5 kıyye 10 akçe		Baha-i sicim 3 kıyye fi 40 120 akçe		Baha-i fireng ıhlamur 20 aded fi 5 100 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı aga 3 aded fi 20 60 akçe		Baha-i kağıd-ı Kamani 40 aded fi 6 260 akçe
6	Baha-i eşya-i mezburi 383 akçe					Baha-i ameden-i havaneli lazıme-i fişeng 280 akçe			Beciheti mühimmat-ı fişengci-i Hindi 236 akçe		
	Kilid 72 akçe	Limon 40 akçe	Şeker 153 akçe	Asel 57 akçe	Sabun 63 akçe	Havaneli 2 aded Be hesabı kıyye 10,5 210 akçe		Baha-i çivid 8 aded Be hesabı kıyye 3,5 70 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı aga 10 aded 200 akçe	
	Beceheti kala-i Emine 1.505 akçe										

1	Baha-i elvah-ı kulebe-i kebir 20 aded fi 18 360 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i sagir 35 aded fi 8 280 akçe	Baha-i ıhlamur tabanı 6 aded fi 40 2.240 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 40 aded fi 7 280 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı bükme 760 aded 60 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı sayıs 800 aded fi 119 akçe
2	Baha-i mismar-ı elvah 500 aded fi 63 akçe			Baha-i mismar-ı Budun 1.500 aded 83 akçe		
	Beceheti kala-i Yusuf Çelebi 3.502 akçe					
1	Baha-i tekerci Faris 22 aded fi 18 392 akçe	Baha-i sicim-i girge 50 aded fi 5 250 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı yarma çam 20 aded 180 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulube-i kebir 25 aded fi 18 450 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 32 kıyye 210 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı elvah 1.000 aded 129 akçe
2	Baha-i elvah-ı karaağaç 1 aded 100 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı ebken 10 aded fi 35 350 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı şişe 3.500 aded fi 20 70 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 110 aded fi 7 770 akçe	Baha-i taban-ı ıhlamur 4 aded fi 50 200 akçe	
3	Baha-i bınar 10 aded fi 5 50 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı zagra 500 aded 160 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı Budun 3000 aded 165 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı nalın 1.000 aded 20 akçe

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 B						
Beceheti mühimmat-ı kıla ve fanus ve keten ve süd? fişengci Müezzın Ali Çelebi 1.767 akçe						
1	<i>Baha-i samanlı mertek</i> 30 aded fi 8 240 akçe	<i>Baha-i domruk-ı ıhlamur</i> 6 aded fi 40 240 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i tüvan</i> 35 aded fi 7 245 akçe	<i>Baha-i teneke-i sanduk</i> 20 aded fi 14 280 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı Budun</i> 4.000 aded 220 akçe	<i>Baha-i mismar-ı şayka</i> 4,5 kıyye fi 60 270 akçe

2	Baha-i mismar-ı şişe 1.000 aded 20 akçe			Baha-i mismar-ı elvah 1.500 aded fi 4,5 252 akçe		
Beceheti mühimmat-ı beyaz kıla der Han-ı Ekmekçizâde 9.383 akçe						
1	Baha-i dökme-i/düğme-i sagir 40 aded fi 40 1.600 akçe	Baha-i bınar 280 aded fi 5 1.400 akçe	Baha-i tekerci Faris 65 aded fi 20 1.300 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 130 aded fi 7 910 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı Samako 10 kıyye fi 230 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 8 kıyye fi 42 336 akçe
2	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 4.400 aded 35,5 kıyye fi 25 887 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı Budun 6.000 aded fi 55 330 akçe		Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i sagir 60 aded fi 8 480 akçe	
3	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 500 aded 450 akçe		Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 25 aded fi 14 350 akçe		Baha-i mismar-ı zagra 10 aded fi 33 330 akçe	
Beceheti mahyalar 2.178 akçe						
1	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 100 aded fi 7 700 akçe	Baha-i bınar 30 aded fi 5 150 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 2,5 kıyye fi 42 103 akçe	Baha-i Budun 1.000 aded 55 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 50 aded fi 18 900 akçe	Baha-i karaağaç 2 aded fi 110 220 akçe
Beceheti mühimmat-ı Ustazâde 1.041 akçe						
1	Baha-i tirgahlık-ı kebir 4 aded fi 38 152 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı Bolu 12 aded fi 23 276 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı zagra 100 aded 23 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 100 aded 30 akçe	Baha-i tekerci Faris 10 aded fi 18 180 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 2.000 aded 340 akçe
Beceheti nev sahteni kala-i Burusevi 1.166 akçe						

1	Baha-i elvah-ı Karaman 20 aded fi 10 200 akçe	Baha-i bınar 5 aded fi 15 75 akçe	Baha-i Budun 200 aded 11 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 1 aded 18 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 200 aded 100 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı tahta 1.500 aded 252 akçe	
2	Baha-i mismar-ı şayka 1.500 aded 135 akçe		Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 10 aded fi 7 70 akçe		Baha-i sicim-i dereke 15 aded fi 7 105 akçe		Baha-i ahen-i çember-i sagir ve kebir 20 aded fi 10 200 akçe
Beceheti mühimmat-ı nev sahteni kalyon ve gayruhu beray-ı kul Seyid Emir 6.853 akçe							
1	Baha-i taban-ı ıhlamur 5 aded fi 40 200 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı ebken 10 aded fi 35 350 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı kulübe-i kebir 20 aded fi 18 360 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı sayis 500 aded 100 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı elvah 1.500 aded 252 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı lokma 500 aded 45 akçe	Baha-i teneke-i sanduk 50 aded fi 14 700 akçe
2	Baha-i teneke-i tüvan 50 aded fi 7 350 akçe	Baha-i bınar 20 aded fi 5 100 akçe	Baha-i mismar-ı budun 4.000 aded 225 akçe	Baha-i elvah-ı aga 2 aded fi 20 40 akçe	Baha-i tirgahlık-ı sagir 4 aded fi 9 36 akçe	Baha-i ıhlamur 3 aded 60 akçe	Baha-i sütun-ı çadır 1 aded 40 akçe

D.BŞM.d.00295 fol.4 A				
494.435 akçe				
1	<i>Beciheti kiraye-i araba-i kav der vakti amedeni Tunc tavan an Asitane ila Edirne 1 aded araba</i>	<i>Beciheti kiraye-i araba-i kav beray-ı nakli mühimmatı fişeng an karye-i Pamuklu ila Han 10 aded araba fi 42</i>	<i>Beciheti kiraye-i araba beray-ı tahmir-i neferatı kalyonciyan Han Asitane ila Edirne 3 aded araba</i>	<i>Beciheti ücret-i hammaliye beray-ı nakli bazı mühimmat an Han ila ova sarayı 8.263 akçe</i>

	1.200 akçe		420 akçe		1.800 akçe		Anyedi Turmuş Ağa 5.263 akçe		Anyedi emin-i sur 3.000 akçe	
2	Beciheti in'am Turmuş Ağa der vakti itmam-ı hizmet-i sur 10.000 akçe	Beciheti ücret-i üstadiye cereyan-ı nevaddı Tuç 24 aded fi 30 720 akçe	Beciheti beyaz kağıt-ı fişeng-i Mehmet Çelebi Burusevi der vakti amedegan iştira şode 3.876 akçe							
			Kağıd-ı beyaz-ı Edirne 11 aded Behesabı kuruş-ı esedi 22 fi 120 2.640 akçe	Süpürge-i çöp 10.000 aded 600 akçe		Kiriş-i keman 18 aded 144 akçe		Kiriş-i hallaç 10 aded 50 akçe		Maden çatalı 8 aded 50 akçe
			Maden demiri 1 aded 155 akçe		Çiriş 3 kıyye fi 40 120 akçe		Fitil-i şebhane 3 aded 120 akçe		Hasır 5 aded 65 akçe	
3	Beciheti baha-i kağıdı harcı den 4 aded fi 2.000 8.000 akçe	Beciheti ücret-i Baba Hindi 1.000 akçe								
4	Beciheti ücreti hatab-ı söğüt der Han 140 akçe		Beciheti harcırah-ı çavuş-ı tersane der vakti ameden 600 zahire 720 Salih Çavuş 1.320 akçe		Beciheti ücret-i kutucu beray-ı nev sahteni beyaz kıla nefer eyyam 2.315 akçe		Beciheti ücret-i ahengiran beray-ı nev sahteni beyaz alan-ı fişeng ve kumbara 3.800 akçe			
5	Beciheti ücret-i çıkırıkcıyan beray-ı nev sahteni beyaz alan ba-defteri hod 7.700 akçe		Beciheti ücret-i mücellidan beray-ı nev sahteni beyaz alan der Han Nefer eyyam 5.815 akçe			Beciheti ücret-i neccaran beray-ı nev sahteni beyaz alan fişenciyan ve gayruhu der Han an- selhi Zilhicce sene 1085 ila gayeyi Şın sene 1086 eyyam 15.865 akçe				
6	Beciheti ücret-i ırgadan beray-ı nev sahteni barut-ı siyah kandehari fişengci vesaire 31.160 akçe		Beciheti ücret-i mezburi			Beciheti nafaka-i kandehari-i fişenkci an Gurre-i Zilhicce sene 1085 ila gayeyi Safer sene 1086				
			Hızır Mansur Yevm 40 akçe		İzzet Mısri Yevm 10 akçe		Güşt 2,5 kıyye	Nan 20 aded	Ers 2,5 kıyye	Revgan -ı sade

								20 akçe	250 dirhem 25 akçe	
					</					

	48.190 akçe						Rebiülevvel sene 1086 Eyyam 122 207.400 akçe	34.596 akçe	
8	Beciheti nafaka-i Mustafa Ağa Zileli an 12 Zilkade sene 1085 ila 21 Safer sene 1086				Beciheti nafaka-i Turmuş Ağa An 22 Zilhicce sene 1085 ila safer ... sene 1086			Beciheti kalyoncu Solak Mehmed an gurre-i Zilhicce sene 1085 ila gaye-i Safer sene 1086	
	Güşt 2 kıyye 24 akçe	Nan 10 aded 10 akçe	Erz 3 kıyye 16 akçe	Revganı sade 0,5 kıyye 20 akçe	Nan 15 aded 15 akçe	Güşt 2,5 kıyye 30 akçe	Erz 2,5 kıyye 20 akçe	Güşt 1 kıyye 12 akçe	Nan 6 aded 6 akçe
	Mum 2 akçe	Yekün 72 akçe 38 eyyam 2.736 akçe			Revgan-ı sade 300 dirhem 30 akçe	Yekün 95 akçe 68 eyyam 6.460 akçe		15 nefer Yekün 18 akçe 89 eyyam 1.602 akçe Beray-ı ücreti mezbur an 12 Zilhicce sene 1085 ila 15 Rebiülevvel sene 1086 40.380 akçe	
								2 nefer Fiyevm 140 Vacib an 12 Zilhicce sene 1085 ila 15 Rebiülevvel sene 1086 93 eyyam 13.020 akçe	
9	Baha-i kaltakan ve fes beray-ı lazime-i kalyonciyan Nefer 15 2.205 akçe								
	Fes 15 aded fi 67 1.005 akçe					Baha-i kaltakan 15 aded fi 80 1.200 akçe			