THE 1720 IMPERIAL FESTIVAL IN ISTANBUL:

FESTIVITY AND REPRESENTATION

IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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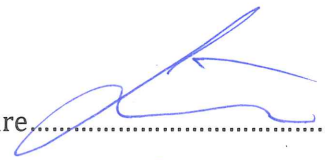

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ABSTRACT

The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul:

Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire

This dissertation focuses on the 1720 imperial circumcision festival that was held in Istanbul during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730). It intends to present the first comprehensive monograph on an Ottoman imperial festival through a holistic approach. This study addresses the ideological motives behind the Ottoman court's commissioning of this massive scale festival at this particular period, as well as exploring in-depth how it was planned, organized, staged and represented.

Due to its holistic approach, this dissertation combines the methodological tools of history, art history and performance studies, and, thus offers an interdisciplinary perspective to the subject. For the first time in the field it introduces a wide range of archival source basis to the study of an imperial festival. These sources are considered with the textual and pictorial narratives of the festival that are analyzed in terms of their codicology, iconography and narratology.

The scrutinized analysis of the rites of the 1720 circumcision festival and its representation in illustrated festival books brings to light hitherto unknown material, social, financial and semiotic aspect behind the planning of an imperial festival. At the same time it foregrounds substantial information on the Ottoman bureaucracy's organizational capacities as well as mobilization of human and material resources across the empire. In addition, this study illustrates the fascinating social dimension of the event, by unearthing the modes of involvement of ordinary people as contributors and as beneficiaries of the festival. This challenges the strictly state centered approach towards court commissioned festivals in the Ottoman Empire.

ÖZET

1720 İstanbul Şenliği:

On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Başında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Şenlik ve Temsil

Bu tez, 1720 yılında İstanbul'da Sultan III. Ahmet (r.1703-1730) döneminde düzenlenen sünnet şenliğini konu almaktadır. Bu çalışma bütünsel bir yaklaşımla ele aldığı şenliğin farklı yönlerine odaklanarak Osmanlı tarihi çalışmalarındaki en kapsamlı şenlik araştırmasını ortaya koyma iddiasındadır. Bu çalışma, şenliğin düzenlenmesinin ardındaki ideolojik boyutu irdelerken aynı zamanda şenliğin nasıl planlandığını ve ne şekilde temsil edildiğini açığa çıkarmaktadır.

Bu tez ele aldığı konuyu bütünsel bir yaklaşım ile incelemesi sebebiyle tarih, sanat tarihi ve performans çalışmaları dallarına ait kavramsal ve metodolojik yaklaşımları kullanmaktadır ve bu sebeple konuya disiplinler arası bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma ilk kez ortaya çıkarılan geniş bir arşiv kaynağına dayanmakta ve bu belgeler, kodikoloji, ikonografi ve anlatı yönünden incelenen şenliğe ait yazılı ve görsel kaynaklarla birlikte değerlendirilmektedir.

1720 şenliğini oluşturan unsurların ve şenliğin temsilinin detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesi bu şenliğin planlanma ve organize edilme aşamalarının ardında yatan bilinmeyen sosyal, ekonomik boyutu ve maddi kültürü açığa kavuşturmaktadır. Bu inceleme Osmanlı bürokrasisinin şenlik vesilesiyle saray dışındaki maddi ve insan kaynaklarını nasıl kullandığını ortaya çıkarırken aynı zamanda şenliğe katılan farklı tabakalara mensup insanları ele alması sebebiyle, şenliğin çarpıcı sosyal boyutunu da gözler önüne sermektedir. Bu yönüyle çalışma, Osmanlı'da sarayın düzenlediği şenlikler için söz konusu olan merkeziyetçi bakış açısını tartışmaya açmaktadır.

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To my husband Ömer

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In late July 1720 Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) ordered his officials to organize grand scale festival in Istanbul on the occasion of the circumcision of his sons Süleyman, Mehmed, Mustafa and Bayezid. This public festival encompassed complex rittes including processions of the elites, parades of the guildsmen, sumptuous banquets, gift exchange, circumcision of the uncircumcised boys from the imperial city, sportive, musical, martial and theatrical performances and the lavish display of certain material and visual symbols in the festival space. Thousands of people across social strata participated in these spectacles as voluntary and involuntary contributors, as benefactors and spectators. It can thus literally be said that the imperial city was temporarily turned into a forum of celebration and festivity.

This public festival that lasted for three weeks and that was celebrated day and night both within and outside the walled city would be one of the most famous public festivals throughout Ottoman history. Even if one only takes into consideration that the official narrative of this festival was the most extensively copied *sūrnāme* (the book of the imperial festival) text throughout Ottoman history[1] one may comprehend the significance of this event for Ottoman cultural history. Moreover, with its scale and huge organizational effort this circumcision festival

[1] Mehmed Arslan notes that only at Istanbul libraries there are 22 copies of the *sūrnāme* of Vehbi on the 1720 imperial festival. The earliest of these copies dates to 1735 and the latest to 1840. In addition, Arslan identifies one other copy at Vienna National Library, one at the British Library and another one at Paris Bibliothéque Nationale. To compare with the other *sūrnāmes*, for example the *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival written by Intizami has four extant copies, the *sūrnāme* of Abdi for the 1675 festival has nine copies and the *sūrnāme* of the 1708, 1709, 1710 and 1724 wedding festival has only one extant copy. Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri,* v. 1, 55-90.

would be the last of its kind and comparable only to two previous circumcision festivals in the history of the dynasty.

This extraordinary event of the early eighteenth-century Ottoman history has been a point of scholarly concern for almost half a century thanks to the textual and pictorial representations of the festival in contemporary books. These detailed festival narratives and colorful images of the festival are responsible for the fame of this particular event in modern historiography, art historiography and popular culture. Despite the frequent circulation of these festival images in the studies and recurring references to the morphology of the festival, until now, two critical questions related to the 1720 festival have never been addressed or answered: Why the Ottoman court organized such a grand scale festival at this particular juncture and how the Ottoman court and the bureaucracy designed and administered it? The first question is worth considering for understanding the ideological motives of the court behind staging this three-week long festival at a period when a number of smaller scale imperial festivals were also held in the imperial city. The second question on the other hand is important because during this period Ottoman state structure was increasingly bureaucratized, which went hand in hand with the rising significance of documentation and record keeping. Thus, examining how this vast bureaucracy worked for staging this grand scale event will not only illuminate the festival's unknown social, material and financial dimension but it will also strikingly illustrate the transformed bureaucratic mechanism of the Ottoman state in the early eighteenth century.

This study aims at providing an alternative methodological and conceptual framework for the study of Ottoman festivals by analyzing different aspects of the festival in an in-depth manner. As a part of this consideration, the planning and

provisioning of the festival, food-related rites, gift giving rites, the circumcision of crown princes and urban city dwellers, public performances and pictorial representations of the festival will be examined on the basis of an extensive body of hitherto unknown archival documents as well as festival narratives. Certainly, such an undertaking requires an interdisciplinary approach and this study utilizes the methodological tools of history, art history and performance studies to understand and elucidate diverse aspects of an extraordinary episode from the Ottoman past.

Finally, this dissertation argues that the imperial festival dwelled on a traditional and significant concept, which was the display and distribution of the benefaction of the sultan towards people across social strata. While at this particular juncture, the Ottoman court conspicuously used various cultural forms to highlight the role of the sultan and the dynasty within the whole patronage-clientage system this festival was perhaps the most explicit manifestation of such an intention. Moreover, while the sultan was, in theory, the ultimate host of this extraordinary event, his powerful grand vizier, who was represented in the narratives of the festival as if he was the real host of the event, overshadowed him. This study contends that, rather than the sultan, the grand vizier was the behind the scenes commissioner of this festival and its illustrated books.[2]

1.1 The reign of Ahmed III and cultural predilections of the period

Ahmed III's reign (r.1703-1730) started just after the tumultuous events of the 1703 rebellion, which resulted in the dethronement of his uncle Mustafa II, (r. 1695-

[2] For some of the studies that address the central role of the grand vizier in Ottoman political and administrative structure and also in the patronage of arts see Yılmaz, "The Sultan and the Sultanate"; Fador, "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier"; Stavrides, *The Sultan of Viziers*; Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite"; Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 113-152; Abou el-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State*; Idem, *The 1703 Rebellion*; Kunt, "Naîmâ, Köprülü and the Grand Vizierate," Idem, *The Sultan's Servants;* Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 139-194; 243-296; Idem, "From Print to Trace"; Necipoğlu, "A Canon for Arts"; Idem, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power."

1703).[3] As the events that surrounded this uprising had shown, the disastrous memory of the Karlowitz Treaty that led to the loss of huge territories in the western provinces of the empire was still alive.[4] In addition, the mismanagement of the state, the nepotism of certain dignitaries and the Ottoman sultans' choice of Edirne as the seat of government were major sources of criticism for those diverse groups of people who were involved in the rebellion, including armorers, artisans, janissaries, students and members of the ulema. It can thus be said that by the early eighteenth century the Ottoman house was living through a severe legitimacy deficit.[5]

Ahmed III's reign actually started with the return of the court to Istanbul. In his early reign, the new sultan and his dignitaries seem to have been concerned with recovering some of the lost territories at Karlowitz. While Ottoman troops could get some military achievements against Russia in 1709-1710 and later against Venice 1714-1715, the Ottoman capture of Morea initiated another war, this time against the Habsburgs.[6] In spring 1716 Habsburgs declared war against the Ottomans due to the violation of the stipulations of Karlowitz Treaty. In 1718, this conflict resulted in signing of another Treaty, the Passarowitz, which declared the Ottoman loss of the city of Belgrade and the Western Wallachia.[7]

According to the traditional historiography, this treaty initiated an era of peace and western style reforms under the tenure of Damad Ibrahim Pasha (1718-1730), who was assigned to this position just before the conclusion of the treaty. In particular some events such as the opening of the fire brigade department, the initiation of the printing press in Arabic letters, the establishment of the European

[3] Abou el Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion.*
[4] Abou el Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion,* 36; also see Idem, *The Reisülküttab and Ottoman Diplomacy*; Idem, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz."
[5] Faroqhi, "Guildsmen Complaining to the Sultan," 181; Idem, "Crisis and Change," 430.
[6] Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 83-128.
[7] Ibid. 102; Özcan et al. *Tarih-i Raşid*, v. II, 1115-1136.

style artillery corps and the sending of the first resident ambassador to the Europe were highlighted in this westernization rhetoric. Given that the 1720 imperial festival was held during his grand vizierate, this perception also designated how the festival was conceptualized in Ottoman historiography and art historiography. Ibrahim Pasha remained in this top ranking position for twelve years, which was an exceptionally long period, perhaps comparable only to the long tenures of the grand viziers during the reign of Süleyman I, Selim II, the early years of Murad III, and Mehmed IV.[8] During this period through networks of patronage-clientage and also through marriages, Damad Ibrahim Pasha consolidated his power and prestige.[9] In addition to that, due to the bureaucratic transformations of the second half of the seventeenth century the office of the grand vizierate was physically and institutionally separated from the imperial palace. And, the offices that were attached to the grand vizier had grown immensely.[10] So, in the early eighteenth century this powerful grand vizier was also the head of an extended bureaucracy with an increasing range of administrative authority.

1.1.1 The successive marriage festivals of the period and the 1720 circumcision festival

The early eighteenth century, especially the reign of Ahmed III, was a period when one sees the Ottoman court's staging of a series of imperial festivals in the imperial city. In 1708, 1709, 1710, 1724 and 1728 the reigning sultan married his nieces and

[8] One shall remember long tenures of Ibrahim Pasha (1523-1536) and Rüstem Pasha (1544-53/1556-61), Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (1565-1579) and Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661-1676).
[9] Two significant figures, the steward of the Grand Vizier, Mehmed Pasha and the grand admiral (Kaymak) Mustafa Pasha were son in law of the grand vizier. Apart form these men, at some other significant bureaucratic positions; the retinues of the grand vizier were assigned who also enjoyed long tenures. For a detailed analysis of the wealth and material belongings of these three figures see Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend*; Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin."
[10] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 249-267; Ahıshalı, "The Institution of the Imperial Council"; Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve Siyasal Karar Organı*, 28-30, 142-150.

daughters to the officials of the court.[11] As a part of these marriage rituals and celebrations, a number of processions were held in the imperial city, including the betrothal of tokens (*alāy-ı nişān*), procession of the trousseaus (*alāy-ı ciḥāz*), and the wedding procession (*alāy-ı ʿarūż*). These royal processions enabled the city dwellers to witness the material luxury, wealth and pomp of the court and the dynasty. At the same time, these processions displayed and recreated the social and material distinctions between the courtiers and dignitaries and the subject community, while enhancing the prestige of the former. Apart from that the growing visibility of the festivity in urban locale was also related to much deeper socio-cultural transformations in urban life that went back to the late sixteenth century such as the growing eminence of urban institutions, public spaces and leisure activities.[12]

Tülay Artan writes that such sumptuous court spectacles of the early decades of the eighteenth century served the need of the dynasty to reinscribe itself to space and society after its return from Edirne in 1703. Indeed, the architectural projects of the court and especially that of the royal women intended to enhance the visibility of the Ottoman dynasty in the urban locale.[13] Without any doubt, the Ottoman court's frequent appearances in the imperial city, either through pompous spectacles or through their architectural patronage, was a form of "public manifestation of power."[14] Indeed, when one considers the political and social turmoil of the recent past, the reason behind this notable emphasis on the royal visibility becomes clearer.

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[11] Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizierate."
[12] For recent studies that address such broad socio-cultural transformations in the early modern Ottoman urban life see Quataert, "Introduction," 1-14; Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips"; Hamadeh, *The City Pleasures*; Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire," 133-170; Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture*, 140, n. 79; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life"; Idem,"Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüpte Yaşam," 51, 57; Idem, "Arts and Architecture"; Idem, "Istanbul in the 18th century"; Hanna, *In Praise of Books*; Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus*; Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night," 243–269; Wishnitzer, "Into the Dark," 513-531.
[13] Artan, " Architecture as Theatre of Life"; idem, "Istanbul in the 18th Century" 302-305; Idem, "Arts and Architecture," 465-467.
[14] Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 305.

Perceiving the successive imperial festivals of the period against this backdrop, one still wonders why the court intended to commission a much larger scale festival, which would last twenty-two days, cost millions of *akçes* and would occupy various court units and officials for months. The marriage festivals of the period were smaller scale procession based events. Celebrations were often held inside the palace of the new couple and sometimes they extended outside the palace. This means that apart from the public display of the splendor of the court and dynasty, the public dimension of these festivals was relatively limited, especially in comparison with the 1720 circumcision festival. In the circumcision festival, however, one encounters a massive public celebration through the incorporation of various rites such as the processions and parades[15], banquets, sportive, theatrical and competitive games, music and dance performances, gift exchange, and display of some material forms.[16] Indeed, the 1720 festival continued day and night, extending to two particularly defined festival spaces one on land and one on the sea. Through its extensive rites and pomp, it addressed huge masses of people.

What, then, was the intention behind staging such a massive scale festival? Suraiya Faroqhi rightfully emphasizes the role of the Passarowitz Treaty in 1718, when the Ottomans lost a significant town, Belgrade, and the Western Wallachia to Habsburgs.[17] To compensate for this prestige loss, the grand vizier and some other

[15] It is worth mentioning how this study defines a procession and a parade. In its dictionary definition, procession refers to the march of an eccleciastical group and parade refers to the walk of a military troop after a leader. As in Ottoman texts, guilds' march in public festivals was referred to as *ordu alayı*, I have used the term "parade" for this event. The march of the sultan, dignitaries, the court elite and ulema on the other hand was referred to as *alay-ı hümayun* or simly as *alay* if the sultan was not present. To differentiate this latter event from the former I have used the term "procession" for this march of the courtiers, dynasty and ulema. For the definitions of these terms see Marin, "Establishing a Signification for Social Space," 39.

[16] Alessandro Falassi in his seminal study on the semiotic aspect of the festivals says that a complete festival morphology corresponds to the incorporation of various rituals that in turn made up the festival complex. See Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 6.

[17] Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 401; Idem, "Ibrahim Paşa and the Marquis de Bonnac," 289.

officials might have intended to hold a great scale public festival to emphasize "the continuing strength and above all bounty"[18] of the reigning sovereign. Certainly, one of the main functions of courtly celebrations was to distract attention from the political or economic problems and rather to emphasize the power and magnificence of the rulers.[19] Similarly, in the time of the 1582 circumcision festival, the Ottomans were in at war with the Safavids and the court explicitly sought legitimation through the projection of power, strength and bounty during the public festival.[20]

When the 1720 festival is concerned, apart from distracting attention from a sudden military failure, the Ottoman court's deliberate need for a manifestation of the power of the sovereign by showing and distributing his benefaction might also be related to some broader political and social transformations that the Ottomans had been experiencing since the late sixteenth century. The voluntary beneficent giving was always a significant concept in Islamic societies and in the political culture of Turco-Mongol dynasties. Parallel to that the display of benefaction in the form of distribution of food, grants, robes, money, and positions was closely associated with the ruler and the rulership.[21] In the patrimonial political and social structure of the Ottomans, in theory, the sultan was at the top of this benefaction distribution mechanism, albeit even in the so-called "classical period"[22] there were some semi-independent bodies functioning on their own terms.[23] But, the socio-political and economic transformations of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century were

[18] Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 401.
[19] Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 183-197. On the uses of the ceremonial for the legitimization of the political power and image making in the European context see Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*; Ellenius ed. *Iconography, Propaganda and Legitimation*; Adamson ed. *The Princely Courts of Europe*.
[20] Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival."
[21] Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*.
[22] For a critical assessment of the classical age denomination see Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age. For the discussion of the classicism in Ottoman art historiography see Necipoğlu, "A Canon for the Arts"; Idem, *The Age of Sinan*.
[23] See Adanır, "Semi Autonomous Provincial Forces"; Khoury, "The Ottoman Center"; Idem, *State and Provincial Society*.

especially critical, after which the political and economic structure truly transformed into a corporate system.[24] At the same time, the central position of the Ottoman dynasty in the patronage-clientage system was severely curbed. In this process, the establishment of the vizier and ulema households was very significant.[25] While these households almost monopolized the revenue collection system, at the same time they "represented an alternative form of organization to the imperial palace."[26] Parallel to that by the second half of the seventeenth century the members of these households or those people that were attached to them through bonds of patronage and clientage began to dominate all major appointments both in the center and provinces.[27] This means that the most significant official positions in the military/administrative system and in the religious establishment were filled by the "graduates" of these households, whose actual source of benefaction was neither the sultan nor the Ottoman court.

This study argues that one major motive of the Ottoman court in commissioning the 1720 imperial circumcision festival was to remind the continuing significance of the sultan and Ottoman court in the overall patronage-clientage system. This was put in practice by holding an imperial circumcision festival during which the sultan's benefaction (*iḥṣān*) could have been distributed in a hyperbolic manner to thousands of people across social strata in the form of providing unrecompensed food, clothing, circumcision and through sumptuous display of the material wealth. As Rhoads Murphey has put it, a circumcision festival was an

[24] Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, 102; Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities"; Abou el-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion*; Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin"; Idem, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule"; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*. Baki Tezcan on the other hand, defines the transformed political structure as a shift towards the constitutional monarchy. Also see Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.
[25] Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*; Abou el Haj, "The Ottoman Vizier and Pasha Households"; Idem, *1703 Rebellion*; Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule." For the earlier phase see Tezcan, "Searching for Osman," 116-124.
[26] Barkey, *The Empire of Difference*, 207.
[27] Abou el Haj, "The Ottoman Vizier and Pasha Households"; Idem, *1703 Rebellion*.

occasion "which all (or at least the Muslim majority) could relate and share on a personal basis."[28] Non-Muslims could also share the festival on a personal basis since they participated in the festival as spectators and they too benefited from the public banquets. Indeed, this festival also provided the opportunity to ritualistically and visually enact and perpetuate the established hierarchies between dignitaries and courtiers who were subject to the sultan. Thus, while representing the might, wealth and power of the sultan, at the same time the festival symbolized the top position of the sultan and the dynasty in the political, social and economic structure albeit in reality, organizing and staging such a giant scale festival exceeded the material resources of the sultan and the court.

Actually, the newly appointed grand vizier, Damad Ibrahim Pasha, might have been the behind-the-scenes architect of this decision to commission a circumcision festival and illustrated books for its representation.[29] If one accepts the sentence of Marquis de Bonnac (the French ambassador of the time), the grand vizier once had tried to convince the sultan to distribute his benefaction over his subjects to retain their loyalty.[30] Indeed, as will be discussed in this dissertation, the grand vizier seems to have been involved also in the patronage of the illustrated books for the representation of the festival.

Unlike the former examples, this time the festival and its illustrated books were planned simultaneously. This aspect of the patronage pattern of the illustrated books on the 1720 festival indicates their ideological significance for the commissioner/s of the festival. The central imagery of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha throughout these books urges one to think that; he might have been

[28] Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 175.
[29] In some panegyric poems and chronograms that were written to eulogize the imperial festival, authors mentioned that the festival was organized though the initiative of the grand vizier. See Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v. 8, 340-360.
[30] Cited in Faroqhi, "Ibrahim Paşa and the Marquis de Bonnac," 289, n. 32.

the patron of these festival narratives. As will be discussed later, these kinds of illustrated history books were significant tools of image making, especially in the past of the dynasty, and the grand vizier might have aimed to revive this tradition to link the past with the present while highlighting the prevailing prestige and power of the dynasty, the court elite and himself within the social structure.

1.1.2 The semiotic aspect of the festival complex and the festival space

According to Alessandro Falassi a festival complex typically included some basic rites such as the rite of valorization, the rite of passage, the rite of display, the rite of consumption, the rite of exchange and the rite of competition.[31] All these rites were associated with particular events in the festival's program. For example, the rite of valorization denoted the selection and preparation of a festival space, the rite of consumption referred to all food-related events, and the rite of competition included all shows and games.

Ottoman public festivals embodied all these components. The sumptuous banquets, gift exchange, public performances of various groups, the circumcision of boys and crown princes, and the display of technical gadgets, candy gardens, fireworks were some of these rites that comprised a typical Ottoman circumcision festival. While *sūrnāme* texts and sometimes their images provide evidence to the general schedule and outline of these rites, so far their semiotic aspect has not been properly addressed. For example, often in festivals and ceremonies the opening and closing evens are given significance as they frame the whole event. Generally, a particular ceremony, procession or parade inaugurates the occasion that put on display the social structure of a particular group, reaffirming the established

[31] Falassi, "Festival,"1-10.

hierarchies within this group. In the 1720 festival, during its opening and closing, there were two sumptuous processions. In the opening, the sultan's procession launched the festival. The sultan, who was the host of the event, marched towards the festival space at Okmeydanı in the company of his dignitaries and retinues who were richly dressed in their ceremonial attires. The procession started from Tersane Palace at the Golden Horn, where the sultan was residing during the course of the festival, and ended at Okmeydanı. In the closing procession, this time the crown princes' procession was held. The princes who were accompanied by a larger group of dignitaries, court officials, high ranking members of the military and the ulema, enacted a solemn procession that started from the Old Palace and finished at the imperial palace.

This explicit concern with putting the sultan, his family and the hierarchically arranged dignitaries on display during the inauguration and closing of the festival should be understood against the backdrop of the social and political history of the period. As has been discussed before, in the early eighteenth century the Ottoman dynasty and the courtiers frequently held such ceremonial displays in the imperial city to enhance their visibility in the urban space and to manifest the magnificence and power of this distinguished group. Thanks to the richly decorated trappings of horses, the splendid accessories and garments of the dignitaries, officials and courtiers and the orderly march of the group, these public processions were just like spectacles. But at the same time, these events enacted and displayed the social hierarchies among this group and between this distinguished group and the spectators. The launching and closing of the 1720 festival with similar events highlighted these messages during the two most significant phases of the whole festive event. Processions were not always performed at the beginning and closing of

Ottoman festivals. For example, during the 1675 imperial circumcision festival, on which the morphology of the 1720 festival largely based on, there were no processions during the inauguration or at the end. The circumcision procession of the crown princes was held at the eleventh day of the festival, in the middle of the program. Thus, the planners of the 1720 festival seem to have deliberately shifted from the earlier practice and adjusted the program according to the needs of the present time.

Some other rites of the 1720 festival may also be considered in terms of their semiotic dimensions. The most obvious example is the banquets that were held each day. The banquets started with the imperial council members headed by the grand vizier and continued with the members of the religious hierarchy, high-ranking members of the military, provincial governors and court officials and others. In addition, a public feast was offered to the spectators and a scramble for food was organized for the janissaries. As will be discussed later, the distribution of food during these occasions was the most basic form of gifting and of showing the host's benefaction. Parallel to that, during the festival, all participants across social strata received food from the sultan. Yet food-related rites also had additional meanings. The seating arrangements, the objects used during these occasions, the daily ordinance of banquets and the types and ingredients of foods communicated the social hierarchies among participants. Parallel to that, when one reads the *sūrnāmes* of the 1720 festival, a clear focus on recording the names and seating arrangements of all participants takes the attention, signifying the deliberate concern of the authors for remarking the established hierarchies between dignitaries, guests, courtiers, and members of the religious as well as military establishment. This detailed narrative of

the protocol of the imperial banquets is also seen in *sūrnāmes* of the 1675 festival, but not seen in the extensive *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival.

What further attracts attention in the 1720 festival is the number of banquets that were given to the members of the religious establishment. During the festival, the military judges, the professors of law, sheikhs of the sultanic endowments, imams and preachers of sultanic and vizieral mosques, imams and preachers of mosques and lodges at Üsküdar, Galata, Eyüp and Kasımpaşa were given separate banquets on different days. Certainly, these separate banquets that were offered to different groups that formed the religious establishment signify the hierarchical distinctions between these groups and also point to their extension and significant place in the overall social structure of the Ottoman Empire. Offering two separate banquets to the preachers is worth paying attention, as it reflects the growing visibility and significance of preachers in Ottoman cultural and intellectual life from the seventeenth century onwards.[32] Similar to what one sees in the 1720 festival, in the 1675 festival separate banquets were given to all these groups. However, in the 1582 festival one does not see such a differentiation of the groups that formed the religious establishment.

Similar to these examples, one should also pay attention to the semiotics of the festival spaces. Events such as festivals, ceremonies, and rituals are "temporally bounded" occasions that create a periodicity or, in other words, a temporal break in time and space.[33] This temporal break begins as soon as the event is announced including the process of the preparations for the event. Especially the selection and organization of the ceremonial or festival space is of critical significance in this process since it "modifies the daily and usual function of space." These spaces also

[32] Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 37-42, 122-127; also see Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*.
[33] Stoelje and Baumann, "Semiotics of Folkloric Performance," 591. Also see Falassi ed. *Time Out of Time.*

have a significant role in structuring the whole event and communicating certain messages related to the ideological dimensions of the occasion. Yet often these semiotic aspects of the festival and ceremonial spaces have been overlooked.[34] During the 1720 festival, two sites outside the historical peninsula were selected as festival spaces. A large open space at Okmeydanı (literally means the archery ground) was the main festival space, where most of the daytime shows took place. In the 1675 festival in Edirne, a large open space namely Sırık Meydanı was selected as the festival space as well. At these open grounds the elaborate tent of the sultan, dignitaries, court officials and the tent of the festival kitchen as well as other service related tents were pitched in a hierarchical order almost resembling a military encampment.[35] The drawings of the British priest John Covel on the configuration of these tents at the 1675 festival space and a double-page painting by Levni in the official *sūrnāme* of the 1720 festival provide glimpses of how what this orderly arrangement of the tents might have looked like at the festival spaces.[36] Even the mere physical appearance of these tents in the large open ground seems to have created a visual spectacle.

One event indicates that, even during the phase of preparations, the festival space was a place to be seen and visited. An undated archival document shows that before the start of the festival, the resident envoys at the imperial capital sent a petition to the court through the agency of their translators requesting the royal permission to visit the festival space and see the tents. At the left margin of the

[34] Stoelje and Baumann, "Semiotics of Folkloric Performance," 592.
[35] Similarly, Gülru Necipoğlu argues that the configuration of the architectural units of Topkapı Palace resembles the Ottoman military encampment. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*.
[36] Drawings of John Covel exist in a manuscript at British Library under title *Dr. John Covel's Diary (1670-1679),* with inventory number Add. 22, 912. His diary was published without the drawings in the nineteenth century. Metin And in his 40 *Gün 40 Gece* published some of these drawings including also the one that depicted the festival space. See And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 82; Bent ed. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.* For Levni's painting TSM. A. 3593 fol. 11a-10b; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sürnāme*, 45-46; also see Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*.

petition, one sees the imperial order of the sultan that permitted all of them to go there and see (the spectacle).[37] Although the petition does not bear a date, *sūrnāmes* mention that at 9 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (12 September, 1720), six days before the start of the festival all of the tents were pitched. Thus, the visit of these envoys must have had happened during these six days. The reports of the French ambassador Marquis de Bonnac also verifies this visit, as he says that, on the assigned day of the visitation there was a heavy rain, so another day was set for his visit.[38]

While Okmeydanı was the main festival space, especially for the daytime shows, the Tersane Palatial Complex across the Golden Horn was preferred for the majority of the nighttime spectacles. As seen in Figure 1, these sites were in close proximity, so both the sultan, the dignitaries and their retinues were moving between two spaces. This extension outside the walled city and across the waterfront was certainly related to the transformations in the cityscape and in urban forms of sociability since the seventeenth century.[39] In the seventeenth century contemporary authors such as Evliya Çelebi, Eremya Çelebi, and Silahdar Mehmed pointed to the increasing leisurely activities across the shores of the city.[40] The Tersane Palatial Complex for example, was already a site of public celebrations during the second half of the seventeenth century[41] so, it would not be wrong to say that the uses of these spaces during the 1720 festival dwelled partly on the earlier urban practices.

[37] BOA. AE. SAMD. III. 223/21487: "cümlesine iẕn-i hümāyūnum olmuşdır, vārūb seyr itsünler."
[38] Marquis de Bonnac, *LAmbassade de France*, 142, cited in Faroqhi, "İbrahim Paşa and Marquis de Bonnac," 291, n. 43.
[39] For an overview of these transformations see Artan, "Arts and Architecture." Also see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*; Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night"; Wishnitzer, "Into the Dark."
[40] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I; Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi;* Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnāme.*
[41] See Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnāme.*

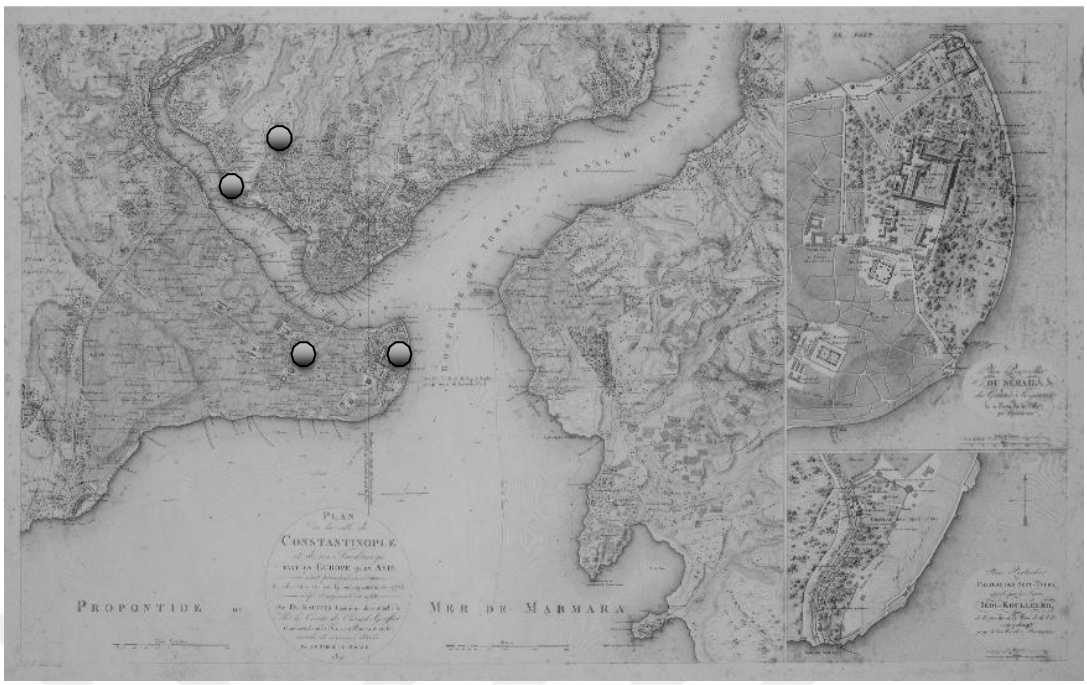

Fig. 1. Antoine Ignace Melling. Map of Istanbul and it's surroundings showing the locations of Old palace and Topkapı palace, Okmeydanı and Tersane palatial complex. (Reproduced from *Voyage Pitturesque de Constantinople et des lives de Bosphore,* Paris, Chez les éditeurs, 1819).

These festival spaces also symbolized the new self-image of the court and dynasty. At the large open ground of Okmeydanı, the sultan's tent was not strictly separated from the rest. Light and ephemeral barriers were placed around this tent but they were very often taken away. As the pictorial representations of the festival show, the sultan was watching the performances from his tent or from the portable kiosk that was constructed for this purpose. In all cases, he was visible to the public while sharing the same space with the audience and performers. When the festival was held across the Golden Horn, the sultan was watching shows from the balcony of the Pearl Kiosk (İncili Köşk) of the Tersane Seaside Imperial Palace (Tersāne-i ʿĀmire Sāḥil-Sarāy-ı Hümāyūn). Yet he was still visible to the spectators who were watching the shows from boats and to the performers who were passing in front of the kiosk in floating rafts. This situation stands in stark contrast to what one sees in the pictorial representations of the 1582 circumcision festival, where the sultan was

spatially separated from the rest of the participants and dignitaries, as he was watching the shows from the balcony of the Ibrahim Pasha complex at the Hippodrome.

Apart from that, the physical advantages of these spaces, especially the main festival space on land, might have also been instrumental in the choice of the sultan or the planners of the festival. Although narratives of the festival underrepresent the presence of the spectators at the festival space, one might still surmise that a huge crowd must have filled Okmeydanı. Indeed, as opposed to Hippodrome, Okmeydanı could obviously have hosted a larger group of spectators who might have scattered all around the festival space. Similarly, shows at the Golden Horn could have been watched from the shores of Balat, Fener and Hasköy. Indeed, nocturnal firework shows must have provided vistas even to those residents of the imperial city who did not come to the festival space to watch the performances. These festival spaces therefore provided opportunity for the participation of a larger group of people, manifested the new self-image of the court and also reflected upon the broader socio-cultural transformations.

1.2 The theoretical and historiographical framework

Ahmed Refik (Altınay) in his famous book *Lale Devri* (The Tulip Age) defined the period between 1718 and 1730, which juxtopposes to the grand vizierate of Damad Ibrahim Pasha, as an instantaneous opening of the Ottomans towards western culture as reflected through arts, social life, consumption patterns and material culture.[42] In his book, he also narrated in detail the vibrant leisure activities of the urban dwellers and indoor as well as outdoor excursions of the elites by explicitly highlighting the

[42] Ahmed Refik's series of articles under the title "Tulip Age" was published in journal *İkdam* between March and April 1913. After their publication in journal, in 1915 they were published in book format. Altınay, *Lale Devri, 1130-1143*, Istanbul 1915.

notion of the pleasure and enjoyment (*ẕevḳ ü ṣefa*), which, according to him characterized the social life of the period. These two themes the westernization and the culture of pleasure and enjoyment have later become almost the hallmarks of the period that are recurrently used in the scholarship and in popular culture to define the socio-cultural milieu of the so-called Tulip Age. [43] Indeed, the period is perceived almost as a detached and unique era in the Ottoman past, while ignoring continuities with the preceding and following periods. Strikingly, this conceptual framework became so persistent in Ottoman historiography and art historiography that "it turned into a paradigm determining the way in which a certain phase in Ottoman history is conceptualized."[44] As will be discussed below, even if a revisionist scholarship is intending to challenge the presumptions of this paradigm, it can certainly be said that the "Tulip Age legend"[45] still permeates and it continues to determine how the cultural and artistic predilections of the period is conceived in the scholarship.

The image of the 1720 imperial festival holds a significant place in this conceptual framework. Traditionally, on the basis of festival paintings that were made by Levni, the 1720 imperial festival is seen as a reflection of the assumed pleasure and enjoyment spirit of the period. Indeed, some stylistic and compositional aspects of Levni paintings are approached from the framework of westernization.

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[43] This comprises a huge list of studies that focus on Ottoman art history and history. For the most relevant studies in the art historiography that perceived the period from this conceptual framework and used this denomination see Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında*; Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting;* And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*; Renda et. al, *A History of Turkish Painting*; idem, "Türk Resminde Batılılaşma Yönünde İlk Denemeler," 33-37; Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*; İrepoğlu, *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Color*, Bağcı et. al, *Ottoman Painting*; Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*. For the paradigm in Ottoman historiography see Tunaya, *Türkiyenin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma*; Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Berkes, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*; Shaw, *History of Ottoman Empire*; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age"; Idem, "*The Tulip Age,*" 131-145; Göçek, *East Encounters West*; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*; Zilfi, "Women and Society in The Tulip Age"; Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*; Idem; "The Wealth of Ottoman Princesses During the Tulip Age." For a comprehensive analysis of the Tulip Age paradigm in modern Turkish historiography see Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*

[44] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?* 2.

[45] I have borrowed the term from the title of Selim Karahasanoğlu's dissertation, which challenges the paradigm by looking at the consumption patterns of the period. Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend*.

Thus, these lively and colorful festival images of Levni are regarded almost as symbols of the Tulip Age. To this end, although criticizing the paradigm is not among the major objectives of this study, since the 1720 festival has so far largely been studied through these paintings, it is necessary to provide here an outline of the relevant studies that address the paradigm. Besides, as will be discussed later in detail in Chapter 7, it is worth mentioning briefly how this study perceives these festival paintings that determined our perception of the 1720 festival. Although they are seen as the beginning of the "westernized" style painting in Ottoman pictorial tradition, neither was this the first encounter of the Ottoman painters with the western visual idiom nor this appropriation denoted a passive copying process. Indeed, besides their novel features, these festival paintings dwelled on traditional representational conventions of album and narrative painting, and partly, on trends in visual representation that emerged in the seventeenth-century trends. To this end, rather than seeing them as symbols of the so-called Tulip Age, study perceives their novel stylistic and compositional aspects from a transcultural framework.

1.2.1 The Tulip Age paradigm in the secondary literature

In the last two decades, a number of studies that either approached the Tulip Age paradigm from a different conceptual framework or directly challenged it have been introduced in the scholarship. Studies in the former group deconstruct some assumptions of the paradigm yet continue to use the Tulip Age denomination in their title or in their text, which leads to the perpetuation of the paradigm. The latter category on the other hand, comprises those studies that offer a truly revisionist perspective towards the conceptualization of the period.

To begin with the first group of studies, one shall start with the work of Ariel Salzmann, which proposes a cross-cultural economic approach to the period. She proposes to perceive the tulip as a transcultural commodity of confluence in the early modern global consumer market.[46] While acknowledging the existence of "the age of tulips," on the other hand Salzmann deconstructs the pleasure and enjoyment assumption. As she says, the social and political tension that arose at the end of the period was more about social struggles over economic agency and the distribution of resources to diverse social groups, a phenomenon that was also observed in eighteenth-century Eurasian urban settings.

Another study that deserves mention here is an article by Maurice Cerasi.[47] In his relatively short article, Cerasi challenges the westernization rhetoric by stressing the multiple sources of artistic transference, local and foreign, for the configuration of open spaces during the Tulip Age and throughout the eighteenth century. Yet, once again, one sees that the existence of a Tulip Age during this particular period was taken for granted.

Deniz Çalış-Kural approaches the topic from the viewpoint of the Ottoman gardening tradition during the so-called Tulip Age.[48] She emphasizes the notion of interpretation during the process of cultural and artistic translation, whether the source was the west or the east. This argument actually stands in contrast to the established conceptions of the westernization paradigm that ascribes a passive position to the receiver culture. Nevertheless, both in this study and later in her book she acknowledges the existence of a "Tulip Age" during this period. Moreover, in

[46] Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips," 83-106.
[47] Cerasi, "Frenk, Hind ve Sind," 16-23.
[48] Çalış-Kural, "Gardens at the Kağıthane Commons during the Tulip Period," 239-266.

her book she contends that this period was a "cultural revolution that enabled all its citizens to enjoy the city as paradise."[49]

A recent study by Bora Keskiner stresses the ongoing significance of some traditional artistic forms and their revival during the reign of Ahmed III. He argues that during this period the cultural predilections of the court were intended to establish links with the Ottoman past such as the establishment of an Iznik tile factory and the perusal of some calligraphic samples from the late fifteenth century Timurid and Aqqoyunlu albums.[50] However, after saying this Keskiner concludes that this was a new era in the Ottoman past "when the Empire turned its face from Isfahan to Paris."[51]

The second group of studies on the other hand directly challenges the Tulip Age paradigm and refrain from using this denomination. Although they approach the period from very different subjects (i.e. history of architecture, economic history, social history, cultural history) as a common point, most of these studies emphasize that this period in Ottoman history does not represent a sharp break from the past.

One shall begin with the book of Can Erimtan, which offers the first historiographical analysis of the formulations of he paradigm.[52] Erimtan approaches this paradigm within the context of the late nineteenth-century intellectual and political history. Thus, he asks what two late nineteenth-century reform-minded intellectuals might have had in mind while inventing this periodization/denomination to conceptualize a particular period in Ottoman past. Through an analysis of the republican historiography, he discusses how the assumptions of the paradigm became persistent in modern scholarship. In another study, this time Erimtan

[49] Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz,* 13.
[50] Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730)". For the reuse of earlier calligraphic samples in the eighteenth century see Uluç, "The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums."
[51] Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730)," 58.
[52] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West*?

approaches the westernization rhetoric of the paradigm from the example of an iconic architectural project of the period, the Sadabad project.[53] He contends that rather than the west, actually the east, particularly Safavid Isfahan, might have been the source of artistic translation behind this novel configuration of the palace, garden and kiosks.

Shirine Hamadeh also addresses the issue of the westernization of Ottoman artistic forms in the eighteenth century.[54] She openly criticizes the perception that regards the transfer of the western artistic knowledge or material culture as entirely novel and peculiar to the early eighteenth century. Rather, she emphasizes the interconnectivity between the Ottoman world and the rest of the world, including both the west and the east. Similar to Erimtan, she also argues for the persistent significance of Persian cultural and artistic forms in the eighteenth-century Ottoman world.

Tülay Artan criticizes this conceptual framework and periodization from different subjects, including the visual arts, consumption patterns, material culture and ceremonial forms. However, two of her studies in particular deserve special mention here. In her study on the ceremonial culture of the early eighteenth-century Istanbul, she deconstructs the strict periodization of the paradigm and the exceptionality argument by stressing the continuities between the reign of Ahmed III and the late seventeenth century in terms of the cultural tendencies of the Ottoman court.[55] Through a discussion of the successive wedding ceremonies of the period, she draws attention to the ceremonial revivals of the Ottoman court, which aimed at enhancing the public image of the dynasty (especially its female members) and of the powerful grand vizier. In another study, Artan questions the myth of the Tulip Age

[53] Erimtan, "The Perception of Sadabad."
[54] Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity."
[55] Artan, "Royal Weddings and Grand Vizierate."

and calls for a careful evaluation of the material culture and social-political history of the period.[56] By challenging the traditionalist perception towards the life style and material culture of the elites of the period, she innovatively interprets the conspicuous consumption as a form of image-making.

Selim Karahasanoğlu also examines the consumption patterns of the period; he focuses on the most powerful figures of the period, including also the grand vizier, whose name is considered almost synonymous to the Tulip Age.[57] Both in the title of his dissertation and throughout his study, Karahasanoğlu attacks this conceptualization, and basically says the notion of tulip "does not indicate the historical realities of this period."[58] Just like the former examples, he rather emphasizes the continuities with the former periods.

Ünver Rüstem focuses on the architectural culture of the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire with a particular focus towards imperial mosques in Istanbul.[59] Similar to the aforementioned studies, Rüstem criticizes the periodization of the paradigm and the perception that the visual arts of the period represent a sharp break from the tradition. Different from other studies however he highlights the growing significance of the western artistic forms for the Ottomans in the eighteenth century. Rüstem perceives this growing pace of the translation of the western forms as an indication of the eagerness to be part of a transcultural artistic taste for communicating more with the cosmopolitan audience. Thus, he moves beyond criticism by introducing a new conceptual framework to the period.

[56] Artan, "18. Yüzyılda Yönetici Elitin."
[57] Karahasanoğlu, "A Tulip Age Legend."
[58] Ibid. 9.
[59] Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age."

1.3 The secondary literature on Ottoman festivals and festival books

The secondary literature on Ottoman imperial festivals and *sūrnāmes* is not extensive and those studies that focus particularly on the eighteenth century are even more scarce. As Suraiya Faroqhi has put it in her recent article that draws a detailed outline of the secondary literature on festivals, ceremonies and rituals in the Ottoman context, one can roughly categorize those studies as historical, art historical and finally literary studies.[60] As most of the historical and art historical studies used the same type of sources and since they exclusively focused on the morphology of the events, it is suitable to evaluate them together.

One should start with the pioneer study of the field Metin And's, *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece* (*40 Days, 40 Nights*) which was first published in 1959 and was then expanded and published two more times in 1982 and 2000 respectively.[61] In these books, Metin And elucidated the general program, main rites, indispensible material/visual forms and the attendants of the Ottoman imperial festivals with the extensive use of the narrative and visual sources of the Ottoman and the European observers and authors. In addition, he occasionally mentioned some archival documents, albeit briefly. His use of such a variety of source basis for the study of festivals is illuminating. As one of the obstacles of these studies however, book paintings and the European engravings or drawings are used in a decontextualized manner, either as visual testimonies to the arguments of the author or as subordinated illustrations to the textual narratives. From these studies, one gets a general insight into the morphology of Ottoman imperial festivals. Nevertheless, the diachronic, semiotic or the social aspect of these significant events is completely missing in these studies. Thus, Ottoman festivities are depicted almost as frozen moments in the

[60] Faroqhi, "Research on Ottoman Festivities," 24-68.
[61] And, *Kırk Gün, Kırk Gece;* Idem, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*; Idem, *40 Gün 40 Gece.*

past. Indeed, this methodological approach towards Ottoman festivals and ceremonies is still persistent in the literature.

After the first publication of the seminal work of Metin And, in 1966 Robert Stout Elliot finished his dissertation, which focused on the 1582 imperial circumcision festival.[62] Stout's work follows the thematic arrangement of the book of Metin And. Like And Stout also used Ottoman narratives of the festival alongside the accounts of European observers. Nevertheless, just like Metin And, Stout subordinated the visual representations to the textual accounts. In addition, he did not address the diachronic or semiotic aspect of the rites that made up of the festival. Rather, he focused merely on the morphology of the event.

In his book entitled *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne Şenliği* (The Festival of Mehmed IV in Edirne) Özdemir Nutku focused on the imperial circumcision festival that was held in Edirne in 1675.[63] Just like the aforementioned studies, with the use of the extant *sūrnāmes* as well as some contemporary European accounts, Nutku proposed an analysis of the general outline and content of the festival. This study differed, however, in that it also addressed the notion of change as it briefly provided a comparison of some material and visual aspects of the 1675 festival with the former and later festivals based on the festival narratives. Although highlighting the change and continuity between different events is a significant contribution of the study, unfortunately, Nutku did not explore the social, material, or financial dimensions: he did not consider the extant archival sources on those topics at all.

Similar to these studies, art historical studies dwelled mostly on the *sūrnāmes*. Nurhan Atasoy, in her book on the paintings of the 1582 imperial circumcision festival, mainly discussed the general outline of the festival and the

[62] Stout, "The Sûr-ı hümâyun of Murad III."
[63] Nutku, *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne Şenliği*.

production process of the paintings. [64] The author published a select number of miniatures from the illustrated *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival (mostly those on guild parades) and provided an explanation of these miniatures. Yet in these explanations rather than referring to the textual narrative of the *sūrnāme,* Atasoy often dwelled on the accounts of European observers. One of the most significant contributions of this book was to make a substantial number of paintings available to researchers and to the general public.

Sezer Tansuğ's book *Şenlikname Düzeni* (The Structure of the Book of Imperial Festivity) is the first study that compares the paintings of the 1720 festival (only those by Levni) with those of the 1582 festival.[65] From a stylistic point of view, the author compared the general compositional and stylistic details of these festival paintings. In her analysis of Levni's paintings, Tansuğ focused on their serial aspect and their marked movement, and she asked whether these miniatures might be analyzed using cinematographic techniques. As will be discussed below, Esin Atıl would later make the same argument for Levni images, yet neither Tansuğ nor Atıl further elaborated on this point. Another scholar would propose such a cinematographic analysis to the study of the 1720 paintings four decades after the studies of Atıl and Tansuğ. Surprisingly, the work of Tansuğ has rarely been mentioned in the secondary literature, especially with regard to 1720 festival. Rather, the work of Esin Atıl has become the main reference study for the topic.

Indeed, the first scholar that focused specifically on the 1720 festival is Esin Atıl, whose book *Levni and the Sūrnāme*[66] has virtually become the foundation text

[64] Atasoy, *1582 Sūrnāme-i Hümayun.*
[65] Tansuğ, *Şenliknâme Düzeni*.
[66] This book that is published in 1999 is based on Esin Atıl's Ph.D. thesis entitled "Surname-i Vehbi an Eighteenth Century Ottoman Book of Festivals" that was submitted to the University of Michigan in 1969. Although there are three decades in between the thesis and the launch of the book, the work of Atıl has neither been further developed not revised by another scholar. Atıl also published an article

in the field. In this book and in an earlier article on the same subject, after providing a general outline of the morphology of the Ottoman imperial festivals, Atıl made an in-depth iconographical analysis of Levni's paintings of the 1720 festival. Like Tansuğ, she dwelled on the aspects of seriality and movement. Following the general tendency in the field, Atıl examined these festival images independent of the textual narrative. The textual narrative is not taken into consideration except for a few instances where she recounted the schedule of the festival. Besides, she claimed a clear-cut dissociation between the audiences of the pictorial and textual representations. Indeed, she contended that compared to the text images appeal to a wider audience.[67] In addition to this underestimation of the textual narrative, she did not take the second illustrated manuscript of the same book and its painter into consideration at all. Atıl perceived Levni's miniatures of the 1720 festival as specific to the cultural and artistic milieu of the so-called Tulip Age. She assessed them as primary examples of the Europeanized style of painting in the Ottoman culture and as paintings reflecting the spirit of this age of "enlightenment and reform."[68] As has been mentioned before, this perception towards Levni's festival paintings still prevails in the secondary literature. [69]

Later works on Levni and on the 1720 festival have mostly reproduced the arguments set by Esin Atıl almost in their entirety, and without putting any further assessment and research on the topic. General art historical studies also follow the same format. Gül İrepoğlu is one of the few scholars who focused specifically on

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on the topic a few years before the publication of the book. See Atıl, "The Story of An Eighteenth Century Ottoman Festival." 182-200; idem, *Levni and the Surname;* idem, "Surname-i Vehbi an Eighteenth Century Ottoman Book of Festivals."

[67] Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth Century Festival," 182.

[68] Ibid. 22.

[69] Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, 74; And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, 98-99; Renda et al. *A History of Turkish Painting*, 51-68; idem, "Türk Resminde Batılılaşma Yönünde İlk Denemeler,"33-37; İrepoğlu, *Levni: Painting, Poetry, Color*; Bağcı et al, *Ottoman Painting*, 262-311; And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 1: Minyatür*, 94; Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*, 170.

Levni. In her book *Levni, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*[70] *(Levni, Painting, Poetry, Color*) she devoted a section to the paintings of Levni on the 1720 festival, where she merely repeated arguments of Atıl.

Doğan Kuban in his article "The Miniatures of Sūrnāme-i Vehbi"[71] addressed the subjective aspect of Levni's paintings, specifically mentioning the limited representation of ordinary people in these paintings. Apart from that, in this brief article, Kuban argued for the necessity of using the text when evaluating these paintings.

Stephanos Yerasimos in his article "The Imperial Procession: Recreating a World's Order," [72] focused on the structure of the 1720 imperial festival with a sole consideration of the festival narratives. Yerasimos elucidated some rites such as gift-giving, processions, and the parade of guilds, banquets. For each of these categories, Yerasimos provided brief comparisons with the former festivals. Nevertheless, parallel to the aforementioned considerations, Yerasimos perceived this festival as peculiar to the Tulip Age and did not explore questions beyond the morphology.

An exception to this kind of uncritical and essentialist assessments of the *sūrnāmes* is Derin Terzioğlu's thought provoking essay "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," which introduced an interpretive approach to the subject.[73] As opposed to the automatic reading of the text and image, Terzioğlu addressed the semiotic aspect behind these representations through a critical reading of *sūrnāmes* and other narrative sources. In addition to this, for the first time Terzioğlu extended the discussion of an Ottoman festival beyond morphology by questioning the functions and significations of Ottoman imperial festivals. In doing

[70] İrepoğlu, *Levni: Nakış,Şiir, Renk.*
[71] Kuban. "The Miniatures of Sūrnāme-i Vehbi," 15-22.
[72] Yerasimos, "The Imperial Procession: Recreating a World's Order," 7-14.
[73] Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival," 84-100.

so, she uses Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of carnivalesque elements in the medieval European festivals while proposing the appropriation of this perspective to the Ottoman context. As Terzioğlu put it, Ottoman imperial festivals were significant cultural events that communicated aspects of and reflected the political and social situation. While placing the Ottoman imperial festivals in between an official feast and carnival, Terzioğlu introduced a novel conceptual framework to the topic.

Rhoads Murphey also addressed the semiotic aspects of Ottoman imperial festivals in a particular chapter of his book on the ideological and ceremonial formulations of the Ottoman sultanate. Although Murphey did not provide an in-depth evaluation of the primary sources on the subject, he discussed the political, social, and ideological motives behind this tradition of commissioning imperial festivals, especially circumcision festivals in Ottomans. Significantly, he perceived an imperial festival as a forum for the display of the might, power and benefaction of a ruler and for the subjects to show homage.

More recently, in a number of studies, some scholars examined other imperial festivals with a considerable focus on their semiotic aspect. Tülay Artan provided an analysis of the wedding festival of 1724.[74] Artan discussed the political agenda behind the court's staging of the imperial festivals in the early eighteenth century and conceived the urban ceremonial within the context of image making and representation. Through a meticulous analysis of the related *sūrnāme*, she contended that urban space was manipulated through ceremonials.

Zeynep Yelçe focused on three successive imperial festivals (1524, 1530, 1539) of Süleyman I's reign.[75] With a comparative analysis of various narrative sources (Ottoman or European), Yelçe provided information on the general schedule,

[74] Artan, "Royal weddings and the Grand Vizierate."
[75] Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals."

organizational pattern and function of these imperial festivals. As she argued although these festivals were held under different political circumstances, still they dwelled on a similar festival program, which implies the significance of tradition in such cultural forms. Apart from that, the article is significant for highlighting the court's possible motives for staging these imperial festivals. As Yelçe argues, the imperial festivals were tools of image-making and political legitimation.

Besides this concern for addressing the semiotic aspect behind the festivals, a number of studies focus on the material and social dimension of the festivals. These studies stand apart from the others in that they introduced archival material to the study of festivals. The studies of Hedda Reindl-Kiel on the gift exchange rites during the court ceremonies and imperial festivals are particularly significant in this respect.[76] One particular study worth mentioning here is that of Reindl-Kiel, who compares gifts that were presented by the dignitaries and guild members to the sultan during three major imperial festivals, the 1582, 1675 and 1720, respectively.[77] In this article the main objective of the author is to delineate the changes in types of gifts. As the primary sources, she utilized *sūrnāmes* as well as gift registers from Topkapı Palace Archives. While for the 1582 and 1675 festival, she used the complete gifts registers, for the 1720 festival she only used some partial registers. Although the article's comparative perspective offers an insight into understanding the aspect of change and continuity in gift giving rites during the imperial festivals, it only considers one side of the gift exchange process. The gifts of the sultan bestowed upon dignitaries, courtiers or to guild members are not considered in the article.

[76] Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission"; Idem, "Osmanlı'da Hediye (16-17. Yüzyıl)"; Idem, "Luxury, Power Strategies and the Question of Corruption"; Idem, ""Breads for the Followers, Silver Vessels for the Lord"; Idem, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange"; Idem, "Dogs, Elephants, Lions."
[77] Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission."

Suraiya Faroqhi's studies on the material and social aspects of the 1720 festival are illuminating.[78] In a number of articles on the 1720 festival, Faroqhi addressed unexplored issues such as the financial aspect of the festival, its organization process and its social dimension. In these articles, Faroqhi contemplated various aspects of the organization such as the repairs, provisioning, borrowing processes. She also considered rites such as gifting and feasting. An especially significant aspect of these studies is their mention of the contribution of various urban groups (non-Muslims, artisans, pious foundations of the city) to the imperial festivals either monetarily or in kind. Thus, these studies draw attention to the involvement of people across social strata in occasions staged by the court. These studies' use of a wide array of sources including archival documents, courts records, *sūrnāmes* as well as accounts of European observers also proposes a totally different methodological approach to the subject.

Finally, a number of literary studies on the topic should also be mentioned. Critical editions of a number of imperial festival books and their analysis have shown the peculiar vocabulary of this genre in Ottoman cultural history. While bringing these texts to the attention of a wider scholarly audience, at the same time these studies discussed the subjective agenda of the authors and the complicated process of the production and commissioning of such texts. In this respect, the assumption of the earlier literature on the objectivity of the information contained in these texts has been challenged. Among studies by Mübeccel Kızıltan, Gisela Prochazka Eisl, Hatice Aynur, Ali Öztekin, Seyyid Ali Kahraman and Mertol Tulum

[78] Faroqhi, "Ottoman Sultan and His Guests"; Idem, Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them"; idem, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast."

on the *sūrnāmes,*[79] the voluminous study of Mehmet Arslan deserves special attention. In his eight-volume book on the Ottoman imperial festivals, Arslan provides annotated transcriptions of the extant *sūrnāmes* that were written in prose and in verse.[80] In addition, he also provided a brief outline of the morphology of Ottoman imperial festivals and of the *sūrnāme* tradition. Despite the contributions of these studies, festival narratives and their illustrations are, unfortunately, still perceived as decontextualized textual or visual testimonies. Besides, except for a few studies that have been mentioned above, the scholarship has not yet explored sources other than the festival narratives to study these events. Thus, the social, material, financial dimensions of the festivals are still not properly known.

1.3.1 Between traditionalism and transculturalism

Having reviewed the relevant studies in the literature, it is necessary to discuss how this dissertation will approach the 1720 festival and its representations within this particular historical context. This study argues that Ottoman court's commissioning of the 1720 imperial circumcision festival and two illustrated narrative books for its representation should be conceptualized in a two-folded theoretical framework: traditionalism and transculturalism. The conspicuous utilization of the traditional cultural forms during this period was useful for "linking the past with the present,"[81] while stressing the continuity in time and ascribing legitimacy to the present. The form of the event, *sūr-ı ḫitān* (the imperial circumcision festival) and the genre of the

[79] Kızıltan, "The Surname of Mehmed Hazin"; Prochazka Eisl, *Das Surname-i Hümayun*; Aynur, *Wedding Ceremony of Saliha Sultan*; Öztekin, *Camiu'l-buhur der Mecalis-i Sûr*; Kahraman, ed. *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*; Tulum, ed. *Sūrnāme*. Apart from these studies one should also mention Reşad Ekrem Koçu's book on Vehbi's *surname,* which provided a brief summary of the text. Koçu, *Surname: Üçüncü Ahmed'in Oğullarının Sünnet Düğünü*.
[80] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*.
[81] Stoelje and Baumann, " Semiotics of Folkloric Performance," 592.

illustrated narratives, *sūrnāme* (the book of the imperial festival), manifest this traditionalist predilection of the Ottoman court.

As has convincingly been argued in the literature, there are various examples of this revivalist tendency of the court after its return to Istanbul. The grand scale architectural patronage of the dynasty and the highest ranking elite, the decorative vocabulary of some architectural projects of the court (Ahmed III library, Ahmed III fountain, Sadabad),[82] the reopening of Iznik-type tile production at Tekfursarayı kilns, and the reuse of the calligraphic samples from the Timurid and Aqqoyunlu albums are some of the most obvious examples. In addition, this period also witnesses the revitalization of some ceremonial forms including the re-configuration of the Hippodrome as a site for court processions and the revival of the tradition of grand vizier's banquet to the dignitaries, which was held in Eyüp during the month of Ramadan. Indeed, the conspicuous use of ceremonials to enhance the public image of the court and the dynasty also recalls the situation of the early sixteenth century, the early reign of Süleyman, which also witnessed a series of public imperial festivals in the course of only two decades.[83]

As far as the 1720 festival is concerned, its obvious link with tradition was also stressed by taking the former circumcision festivals as reference. As will be discussed throughout this study, on the basis of the archival evidence the morphology, scheduling of this festival and the rules of protocol dwelled largely on the former circumcision festival that was held in 1675 at Edirne.[84] However, different from this festival and other former examples, the extremely complicated organization and planning processes of the 1720 festival were documented in minute

[82] Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 43-64.
[83] Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals"; Idem, "The Making of Sultan Süleyman."
[84] On this festival see Nutku, *IV. Mehmed'in Edirne Şenliği;* Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v.5; Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü"; Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival."

detail, which enable us to thoroughly examine social, material, financial and bureaucratic dimension of the festival. At the same time, the extensiveness of these archival records designates the growingly bureaucratized Ottoman state structure in the early eighteenth century. Although this bureaucratic transformation and the increasing significance of documentation and surveillance is mostly studied in the context of the late eighteenth century,[85] the present study shows its earlier phase from the specific example of an imperial festival.

For the representation of the festival, on the other hand, the illustrated festival book of the 1582 festival seems to have set the precedent.[86] The court's patronage of two illustrated history books for the 1720 festival symbolizes a revival of the tradition of commissioning illustrated history books in the Ottoman court after a break of almost a century.[87] And, without any doubt, the illustrated *sūrnāme* (of the 1582 festival) was the point of reference.[88] Obvious similarities between the heavily ornate narrative styles of the official *sūrnāmes* of the 1582 and 1720 festivals, their chronological organization, and parallels between their pictorial programs further indicate that these affinities might not have been coincidental.[89] Apart from that,

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[85] Kırlı and Başaran, "Some Observations on Istanbul'a Artisans"; Idem, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı"; Başaran, "Remaking the Gate of Felicity."

[86] On this festival see Atasoy, *1582 Sūrnāme-i Hümayun*; Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival"; Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri,* v.2; Prochazka, *Das Sūrnāme-i hümāyūn*; Öztekin ed. *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli*.

[87] The tradition of commissioning illustrative narrative history books seem to have been very popular in the Ottoman court especially from the mid sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, later this trend seem to have waned. For an overview of the topic see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting,* 92-227.

[88] This illustrated manuscript on İntizami's *sūrnāme* is today preserved at Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library with inventory number TSM. H. 1344. It is made up of 432 folios and 427 paintings but originally it includes more paintings that its present condition. The manuscript has three other non-illustrated copies at Atatürk Library, Süleymaniye Library and at Vienna. Mehmet Arslan transcribed the text of this Topkapı copy and Atatürk copy, which he says are very parallel to one other and must have been the later edited copies. Gisela Prochazka transcribed the text of Vienna copy, which seems to have been parallel to Süleymaniye copy, both of which are earlier draft copies of the text. Also the second volume of the *Şehinşahname* (ca.1597-1598, TSM, B. 200) that was made for sultan Murad III includes forty-two miniatures on the same festival. See Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri,* v.2, 34-50; Prochazka, *Das Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn.*

[89] Mehmed Arslan also mentions similarities between the organization of the *sūrnāme* of Vehbi and İntizami. Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, vol. 2, 193.

some explicit comparisons with the splendidness and pomp of the 1582 festival, as one sees both in the *sūrnāme* of Seyyid Vehbi and in the chronogram of another contemporary poet Osmanzade Taʿib Efendi, imply that for the organizers of the 1720 festival, surpassing the grandeur of the 1582 festival might also have been an additional motive.[90]

As Tülay Artan says, this traditionalist outlook of the dynasty dates back to the late seventeenth century, which means that what was happening in the eighteenth-century, was part of an ongoing process. During the latter part of the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) one also sees the revitalization of some traditions. For example, on the eve of the Vienna campaign, the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha is known to have commissioned a dynastic genealogy, a genre that was conspicuously used for the self-representation of the dynasty especially in the late sixteenth century.[91] Apart from that, after a long break, one sees the revival of the tradition of sultan-led military campaigns,[92] after which the court commissioned a sumptuous marriage and circumcision festival in Edirne.

Alongside this phenomenon of the revival of tradition, in the eighteenth century there was also an increasing inclination towards communicating with an "international" audience, accompanied by the growing significance of trade and diplomacy in world relations. Parallel to that, some events that took place during the

[90] This chronogram exists in a *mecmūʻa* (an anthology of poems) entitled *Ṣıḥḥatnāme ve Sūr-ı Ḫitāna Müteʿalliḳ Ḳaṣā'id that* is preserved at Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library with the inventory number TSM. Revan 826. *Mecmūʻa* is made up of sixty-nine folios. After folio 17b, the *mecmūʻ* includes *kasides* (panegyric poems) and *suriyye tarihleri* (chronograms on imperial festivals) that were written to commemorate the imperial festivals. A substantial amount of these poems and chronograms are on the 1720 festival. In the *mecmūʻa* one also sees the chronogram of Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, who was the author of the 1720 *sūrnāme.* This aforementioned chronogram of Osmanzade Taib Efendi can be seen between folios 28a-29a. For the transcription of the *mecmūʻa* see Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri,* v.8

[91] For the illustrated genealogies of the Ottoman house see Necipoğlu, "The Word and Image"; Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*; Idem, "From Print to Trace"; Renda, "Üç Zübdet-üt Tevarih Yazmasının İncelenmesi." For Musavvir Hüseyin see Majer, "Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women," 463-471.

[92] Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizierate," 353. For Kamaniçe campaign see Artan, "The Departure Procession of 1672," 60-67.

1720 festival's program imply that the programmers of the festival as well as some of the highest-ranking elites in decision-making positions might have searched for international recognition, even if this might not have been their primary concern. This can be observed in the Ottoman authorities' treatment of the invited envoys during the festival. Unlike all former festivals, the envoys and their retinues were given banquets during their regular times of eating and the western style chairs were placed in their tents so that they could comfortably watch the shows. In addition, some shows were adopted according to their taste as "Frankish style" music was performed in front of their tents and textiles exhibiting a Frankish taste (*ḳumāş-ı Fireng pesend*) were used to cover the interior.[93] These details indicate that communicating with an international audience, a European one in particular, was a part of the political agenda of the Ottoman court during this festival. Indeed, from a wider perspective, the conformity to westernized standards, even if it was limited to the treatment of envoys in this festival, also points to some broader transformations in Ottoman diplomatic practice and in political thought particularly dwelling on the Ottoman perception of the Western Europe.[94]

In addition to that, some of the stylistic and compositional aspects of paintings of the illustrated narratives of the festival that were commissioned by the court might also be perceived in this conceptual framework. This study argues that their obvious novel aspects do not indicate a sharp break from the Ottoman pictorial tradition nor do they represent the first acquaintance of the Ottoman painters/designers with the western visual forms. On the contrary, their novelty lies in the fact that the Ottoman court preferred a blend of traditional and the western

[93] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 655.
[94] See Hagen, "Afterword" 247-255; Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim," 189-199; Hathaway, "Re-writing eighteenth century," 29-53; Beydilli, "Küçük Kaynarca'dan Tanzimat'a Islahat Düşünceleri," 25-64.

style pictorial forms for the representation of an imperial festival. Certainly, since these books—at least one of them initially—were intended for the imperial treasury and other one for the grand vizier's household, the audience of these paintings was the courtiers, to whom this two-folded cultural predilection must have been legible and meaningful.

1.4 The sources, methodology, and objectives of the study

This study aims at proposing the first comprehensive examination of an Ottoman imperial festival through an in-depth inquiry into the planning and organizational phases, different rites and representation of the 1720 festival. In a holistic manner and thus without prioritizing one over another, the social, material, financial and semiotic dimension behind these phases and rites, and their interrelationships will be examined to foreground how the festival was planned, administrated, staged and represented. While acknowledging the significance of the festival's narratives to understand the morphology of the event and its ideological dimensions, this study argues that, at the same time, there is a need for undertaking archival research on the subject and a joint evaluation of all these sources to grasp various aspects of the festival.

The use of the archival sources for the study of Ottoman festivals is very limited in the scholarship due to the extremely scattered and complicated nature of these sources in the archives. This study, however introduces a huge archival source basis to the topic through the discovery of 3,482 non-inventoried archival documents that are kept in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.[95] These documents, most of

[95] These documents are found at Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (hereafter BOA) under catalog *Bab-ı Defteri, Baş Muḥasebe Kalemi, Sur-ı Hümayun* (hereafter D.BŞM. SRH). All 19 dossiers include approximately 150 to 220 documents. These dossiers are digitalized. Yet, they are non-inventoried and indeed some of the dossiers were misdated. The first number refers to the number of

which are dated, are found in the same catalogue and are divided into 19 different dossiers. While almost the half of these are petitions, the rest consist of various types of documents such as books of registers, official correspondence between different court units or officials, receipts, lists, draft notes, copies of protocol books and former festivals. In addition, dozens of other types of inventoried documents at the Topkapı Palace and the Prime Ministry Archives (under different catalogues) are also related to the 1720 festival and they will be used in conjunction with the aforementioned documents.[96]

The chief organizer of the festival and his attendants seem to have kept most of these documents, and the clerks of the accounting bureau kept some others during the preparation phase and after the end of the festival. These extensive documents strikingly illustrate even minor organizational and preparatory details related to the planning (i.e. banquets, gifts, public shows), provisioning (of food and drink, gadgets, cloths, utensils, objects of display) and the day-to-day organization of the festival. At the same time they designate the meticolussness of the vast Ottoman bureaucracy for record keeping and documentation in the early eighteenth century.

They also reveal how the Ottoman bureaucracy handled this task in a very strict time-line of only 52 days and how they utilized human labor and the material means of the city dwellers and of some provinces for the organization of such a grand-scale festival. In addition, they also reveal in a striking manner the

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the non-inventoried dossier (*dosya usulü envanter* [D.S.E]) and the second number refers to the number of the document inside the dossier such as BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/12.

[96] At Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (hereafter TSMA) there are books of registers and documents kept by the imperial treasury. At the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives apart from the aforementioned catalog (D.BŞM. SRH) under different catalogues there are separate documents and books of registers, most of which seem to have been dated and inventoried. These catalogs are *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* (hereafter MAD.d.), *İbnü'l Emin Hilat* (hereafter IE_HLT), *İbnü'l Emin Maliye* (hereafter IE.ML), *Ali Emiri Ahmed III* (hereafter AE. SAMD. III.), *Bab-ı Asafi Defterhane-i Amire* (hereafter A.DFE), *Cevdet Tımar-Zeamet* (hereafter C.TZ.), *Bab-ı Defteri, Baş Muḥasebe Kalemi Matbah-ı Amire Eminliği* (hereafter D.BŞM. MTE.) and *Yabancı Arşivler, Bulgaristan Arşivi* (hereafter YB 04).

involvement of the ordinary people (such as guildsmen, workers, dwellers of the imperial capital city, attendants and musicians, dancers, acrobats, and puppet players across the empire) as voluntary/obligatory contributors to and as beneficiaries of the festival. Exploring this unknown social dimension of the festival will uncover the dynamic human aspect of this significant event, and, it will lead to a novel conceptualization of a court commissioned festival.

These archival sources will be jointly considered alongside the festival's textual and pictorial narratives as well as other primary sources such as the registers of former festivals, panegyric poems written for imperial festivals, contemporary chronicles, and travelogues of foreign visitors in order to shed light on five main aspects related to the 1720 festival: the planning and preparation, food-related rites, gifting, public performances, and the representation of the festival. The primary objective will be to exhibit and elucidate the material, social and financial details of these preparatory phases and rites of the festival, as well as to address their semiotic aspects to understand what they might have symbolized or articulated in the context of this particular festival.

As this study dwells on a substantial primary source basis, source criticism will be a major concern throughout. As has been mentioned before, due to the monolithic assessments of Ottoman festivals—solely through *sūrnāmes* and their images—the line between the representation of the festival and the festival proper often blurs in the studies. Accordingly, without a proper source criticism, whatever is recorded in the *sūrnāmes* has been taken as fact. Indeed, different narratives on the same event have not even been comparatively analyzed. Nevertheless, as these texts or images re-constructed the social reality of the festival, quite normally, their authors related and represented the narrative of the festival from their own point of

view. This subjective aspect of the representations of the festival, through text and image, will be highlighted in this study through an analysis of the *sūrnāmes* on the festival. Indeed, a comparison of the festival's narratives with the archival documents will reveal further possible objectives and priorities as well as omissions of the *sūrnāme* authors and the clerks who registered archival documents.

Although this study focuses on the 1720 circumcision festival when possible, comparisons with earlier circumcision festivals particularly with the 1582 and 1675 festivals will also be made. Such a comparative approach is meaningful and necessary because both in the contemporary narratives and in archival sources, the 1720 festival is seen as comparable only to these two former circumcision festivals. Indeed, comparing these festivals' morphology and their planning processes provides hints to understanding the continuities and changes between these events over time, which helps us conceive the structure and organization of the 1720 festival.

In sum, this study aims at vividly illustrating a particular episode from the early-eighteenth century Ottoman imperial city. In Ottoman studies, such micro level inquires that concentrate on particular events barely exist. Rather, quite often studies focus either on major theoretical questions or address major transformations in socio-political or economic history. Due to this, however, events from the daily life, their minor details and their material and human aspects have largely been underrepresented in the scholarship.[97] This comprehensive study of a three-week circumcision festival and its two-month preparatory period will fill this gap in Ottoman historiography. By unearthing almost every particular detail related to the preparation phase, organization and representation of the 1720 festival, this study

[97] One of the most well known micro history studies in the early modern cultural history is Nathalie Zemon Davis' book *The Return of Martin Guerre*. In Ottoman historiography, there are a few numbers of studies that offer a micro level inquiry of particular events. See Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy*, Kastritsiz, *Bayezid'in Oğulları*; Abou el Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion*.

will strikingly illuminate the social, financial, material and representative dimension of an Ottoman imperial festival. Moreover, it will also consider the ideological dimension of the festival. In this respect, while this study will introduce to the scholarship the first holistic examination of an Ottoman imperial festival, with its findings it intends to contribute to various sub-fields, including Ottoman social, cultural, and economic history and the history of material culture and art history.

1.5 The chapter outline

This dissertation starts by outlining the planning and organizational scheme of the festival. Chapter 2 introduces a relatively unknown group of officials and their attendants who were in charge of festival preparations. It details their most significant duties during the preparation phase and throughout the course of the festival. In the light of the archival documents, this chapter argues that the most critical and time-consuming tasks were the provisioning of copper utensils and kitchenware items for imperial banquets, and the preparation of giant scale *naḫıls* (literally means a date palm but refers to wooden objects covered with wax and decorated with fruits, flowers) and candy gardens. The chapter also illustrates individual details related to these two tasks. The discussion on the process of provisioning utensils unearths, in striking fashion, how the court had to depend on the material belongings of the officials, guildsmen, and residents of the city to stage this festival. For *naḫıl* and candy gardens, once again the court had to rely on the resources outside the court through the temporary employment of 255 craftsmen. A section of the chapter presents the most up to-date comprehensive discussion on the design and production process of these objects; at the same time, it addresses their semiotic aspect so as to help understand their significance in the festival.

Chapter 3 addresses the food-related aspect of the festival. The distribution and display of food was the most essential form of showing the sovereigns' benefaction over people across social strata. Thus, food-related rites held a very significant place in the overall morphology of festivals and the process of their preparation. During the 1720 festival, banquets were held for the guests, officials and spectators, food gifts were given to certain people, and daily food was distributed to those who had duties throughout the course of the festival. Such an abundance and visibility of food was extraordinary, which accentuated the pomp of the event and further highlighted power of the host. For these, the court had to provision enormous amounts of foodstuffs. In this chapter 3, I first elucidate this food provisioning process and then illustrate details of the distribution of daily substances to functionaries, the types and amounts of food gifts given to certain people, and the organization of the banquets. While in all of these rites one's association with food was clearly defined through his or her social rank or position, in the imperial banquets this inequality was most explicitly manifested. On the basis of the hitherto unknown menu of the festival, the ingredients of these dishes and the utensils provisioned for their preparation, this chapter illustrates how the benefaction of the sultan was socially differentiated and highly selective. At the same time it will uncover information on the culinary aspects of the festival in a close detail.

Chapter 4 approaches the gift exchange rites of the festival by examining the types, cost and possible significations of sultan's gifts to various dignitaries, officials and functionaries, and circumcised boys, not to mention gifts that were presented to the sultan in reciprocation by the dignitaries and the guildsmen. I first discuss the possible meanings of benefaction in the form of gift giving during such occasions. The monetary gifts and the robes of honor will be discussed with a focus on the

correlation between the material value of the gift and the social status of the beneficiaries. The chapter then turns to those gifts that were given to a less visible group of beneficiaries, the circumcised boys. Although this was a circumcision festival, and thus, the most obvious beneficiaries were the uncircumcised boys living in the imperial city, due to their underrepresentation in the festival's narratives, they have escaped scholarly attention. A section of the chapter brings to light the identities and participation process of these boys and discusses the hierarchical basis of the host's benefaction on these young beneficiaries. The chapter next turns to the reciprocal aspect of gift exchange, through a discussion of the gifts of the dignitaries and the guildsmen to the sultan. The section outlines the types and amounts of gifts presented to the sultan during the festival while considering whether they display marked differences from those in former festivals. In addition, it also addresses the possible significations of these obligatory gifts to the sultan and the burden of preparing them for some of the gift-givers.

Chapter 5 evaluates musical and dance shows, games, sportive, acrobatic illusionist and theatrical plays, and firework displays of the festival. In the narratives and archival sources, these kinds of public enactments were referred to as shows or spectacles, and as things to be seen and watched. This chapter evaluates all these shows and spectacles that were seen and watched during the festival under the inclusive conception of the performance. Public performances were indispensible aspects of all kinds of celebratory forms courtly and urban yet often the social background of their performers and their participation process in certain events and their material gains in return has remained unknown. This chapter intends to introduce the most comprehensive information on the performers of an Ottoman imperial festival by illuminating who they were, where they came from, how they

were differentiated among themselves, what kind of material or in-kind grants they received and how they were incorporated into the festival's program. Indeed, through a combined use of the archival, narrative and pictorial sources, this chapter reconstructs the structure of some particular games and shows and their material aspects. In addition, this chapter also evaluates the performative aspect of the guild parades. These parades vividly brought the material culture of the marketplace to the stage; at the same time, they included music, dance, and acrobatics, along with oral and theatrical performances. After discussing some of these performances that were enacted during guild parades, this chapter asks whether or not the organizers of the festival were instrumental in determining the scheduling of these parades and their performances or not.

Chapter 6 examines the commissioning of the illustrated festival books that for the 1720 festival. As these illustrated manuscripts were commissioned jointly with the festival, they were a part of the planning of the festival and its ideological dimension from the beginning. Thus, examining the patronage process, codicology of these manuscripts and the representative aspects of the paintings are as important as examining rites of the festival. The discussion will start with the production process of these illustrated festival books. On the basis of a detailed archival research, in this chapter I first bring the identity of the painter of the so-far unstudied copy, whose name was Ibrahim, to the light. Then, I propose a detailed analysis of the codicology of this neglected manuscript, with many pages missing, was bound out of sequence. Furthermore, by comparing the codicology of this copy with the other illustrated copy, this chapter illuminates aspects related to the production process of these illustrated narratives at the Ottoman court.

Chapter 7 focuses on the representational strategies of the illustrated festival books. The discussion starts by examining the narratologocial aspect of these paintings. While aiming at understanding how the text and images related in these manuscripts, this section intends to analyze the peculiar tools of the pictorial narrative. In this respect, especially the serial images of processions and parades that are peculiar to these two manuscripts hold a central concern. To understand how painters created the narrative of the festival in imagery, some tools of literary analysis that had formerly been introduced to the study of the western paintings, are also utilized. Next, the chapter provides a detailed comparative analysis of the paintings of Levni and Ibrahim in terms of the stylistic, compositional and representative aspects. Parallel to that, the focal points of their paintings, their conversations with the textual narrative and their diversified stylistic features are discussed. Finally, this chapter addresses the conceptual framework through which these festival paintings are studied. While these festival paintings have been crowned as the first examples of the beginning of the western trends in Ottoman pictorial tradition, their connections with the tradition have largely been overlooked. Rather than perceiving the stylistic and compositional features of these paintings as entirely novel, I argue that their visual vocabulary was somewhere between the tradition and novelty.

CHAPTER 2

THE PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE FESTIVAL

The narratives of the festival open with sections on the planning and organization of the festival. Briefly, they mention preparatory tasks such as the provisioning of foodstuffs and utensils and the preparation of the festival space. Rather than recording details of these tasks, these sections provide an introduction to the actual narrative of the festival events. This obvious underrepresentation of the narratives on the planning and organization phases of the festival leaves one with unresolved questions related to the material, social and financial dimension behind the commissioning of a vast-scale festival. Despite this lack of information in the narratives, the archival documents strikingly illuminate almost every single step that was taken for the planning and organization.

Our sources comprise copies from the former festival books, draft notes kept by the organizers of the festival, account books of the festival, gift registers, and books of provisions as well as the lists of the names of workers, and correspondence, and short notes.[98] From a broader perspective, these archival sources help us to conceive some larger issues related to the festival such as the configuration of the relationship between the court and the residents of the capital city, the court's material and human resource limits, and the integration of various voluntary/involuntary contributors to the festival's program. All these aspects reveal that even though this was a court-sponsored festival, the Ottoman court had to rely heavily on the workforce and material belongings of its subjects to stage such a

[98] These formerly unknown documents are in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive. Majority of them are catalogued under *Bab-ı Defteri, Baş Muḥasebe Kalemi, Sur-ı Hümayun* (D.BŞM. SRH) in non-inventoried (*dosya usulü tasnif* [D.S.E]) nineteen different dossiers. They include various types of documents such as *telḥīṣ, taḳrīr, 'arz, temessük, tez̲kire* and *defter*.

grand scale event. Indeed, even the organization phase was not as smooth as it is often thought to be. The officials dealt with some indirect tensions put forth by the urban dwellers and were concerned with a great number of petitions that demanded benefits. All these aspects of the festival obviously urge us to revise our general knowledge pertaining to an imperial festival in the Ottoman Empire.

The present chapter will begin by elucidating how this festival was planned from the day of its public announcement until its end. Related to that, the first section will discuss the chief officials in this huge organization and those assigned as their helpers and as service men. The following two sections will focus on the most prominent preparatory tasks of the festival, that is the provisioning of utensils for the festival's kitchen and for banquets, and the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens. To begin with the provisioning of different types of utensils for the festival, thanks to the authority of archival documents their types, amounts and their borrowing as well as delivery processes will be illuminated. This section will also question the material limits of the Ottoman court and its relationship to the urban dwellers, without whom staging such a festival would not have been possible.

Finally, the preparation and designing of *naḫıls* and candy gardens will be evaluated by considering archival documents, narrative descriptions and pictorial representations of these items. In addition, the semiotic meanings that were attached to these objects of display will also be discussed to better understand why they were considered indispensible elements in the Ottoman imperial festivals and why the Ottoman court spent an enormous amount of money and energy for their preparation.

2.1 The planning of the imperial festival

Seyyid Vehbi and Hafız Mehmed Efendi, at the beginning of their narratives for the 1720 imperial circumcision festival, mentioned that the preparations for the festival began with the appointment of the superintendent of the festival (*emīn-i sūr*). Accordingly, on 21 *Ramażān* 1132 (27 July 1720), Hacı Halil Efendi, who was the superintendent of the imperial kitchens, was invited to the presence of the grand vizier. There he was assigned to his new position, as superintendent of the imperial circumcision festival that was ritually marked by bestowing on him of a robe of honor.[99] *Sūrnāme* texts relate that four days later, on 25 *Ramażān* 1132 (31 July 1132), Halil Efendi appointed Mehmed Agha, who was the steward of the former chancellor Mehmed Paşa, as his deputy. This was how the phase of planning and preparation of the 1720 imperial festival began.[100]

In *sūrnāmes*, the huge organizational process that busied various branches of the Ottoman court for months before and after the festival and encompassed the participation of hundreds of workers, craftsmen, and residents across the city and performers across empire was only briefly mentioned. In two textual narratives of the festival, the introductory sections broadly draw an outline of festival preparations. While Hafız Mehmed, who was the preacher of the superintendent of the festival, was more detailed in recording some important details on festival preparations, this part of Vehbi's text seems much more cursory. This difference must have been related to the underlying agenda of the authors. Apparently, Vehbi's main motive was not to foreground the preparatory or organizational details of the festival. Rather, the court patronage of his *sūrnāme*, the heavily ornate style of his text and his long

[99] For political and semoitic aspects of robing rituals see Gordon, ed. *Robes and Honor*. For a comparison of the Abbasid, Mamluk and Ottoman practice of ceremonial robing and of the signification of this status object see Phillips, "Ottoman Hilat between Commodity and Charisma," 111- 138.

[100] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 469-480; Hafız Mehmed, *Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 179-186.

eulogies for his patrons signify that this narrative was intended for power projection of the grand vizier and of the sultan. Hafız Mehmed, on the other hand, was patronized directly by the superintendent of the festival. Parallel to that his main motive was to highlight the organizational skills and abilities of his patron. To this end, he paid more attention to the details of planning, organization and scheduling of the festival.

From both narratives, one can gain a general insight into the festival's preparations. Although their details are not specified, *sūrnāmes* point to some important preparatory tasks such as the surveillance of books about previous festivals, the provisioning of foodstuffs and copper utensils, the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens, the assignment of wages for workers, the registration of boys across the city in the book of circumcision and the preparation of gifts (clothing for boys, robes for dignitaries). These tasks had to be done properly and quickly, which required a meticulous and sophisticated process of organization by the court officials. Yet, *sūrnāme* texts do not provide information on their details. This led to a total lack of material and social dimension of the festival, which prevents us from comprehending what a grand-scale, labor-intensive and complicated process this was. Despite this silence of festival's narratives, the archival documents that were kept by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival and by the chief clerk of the imperial festival (*sūr-ı hümāyūn kātibi*) brings every single details to light. The earliest surviving document is from the day after the appointment of the superintendent of the festival, 22 *Ramażān* 1132 (28 July, 1720), and the rest of the documents continue almost in a daily fashion until the official end of the festival on 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1132 (10 October, 1720). In addition, there are some documents that were kept after the end of the festival as late as 14 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1133 (6 September,

1721), dating almost one year after the festival. These later documents include proofs of the return of the borrowed items to their place of origin and summary account books of the festival.

Such kind of archival documents seem to have been kept also for the former imperial festivals, albeit not as extensive as that of the 1720 festival. Especially pertaining to the 1720 festival are documents that were kept for the former circumcision festivals, the 1582 and 1675 festivals respectively. From both festivals, a number of books and gift registers of the treasury survived,[101] although they are not as extensive as those of the 1720 festival. Additionally, among documents of the 1720 festival there are some exact copies that were made of the registers of the 1675 festival. *Sūrnāmes* also mention this traditionalist tendency of the Ottoman bureaucrats. As *sūrnāmes* relate, the court officials had surveyed the registers of the previous festivals to acquire detailed information on the scheduling of festival's program and on organizational details. Archival documents provide us striking insights into that matter. Two of these documents, for example, show that for some important matters, the superintendent of the festival consulted these former registers. After learning the details of the former practices and the etiquette, he often asked the sultan whether the same format would be followed in this festival or not. One such document that was copied after the registers of the 1675 imperial festival indicates the amount and ordinance of dishes that would be served to the dignitaries and officials during imperial banquets. At the bottom of the document we see the note of the superintendent asking the sultan whether the same format would be followed

[101] For the 1582 festival's gift register see TSMA.d. 9614. Other two books of registers (TSMA. d.10022 and TSMA.d. 10104) include names of various performers including musicians, wrestlers, acrobats that took stage at the festival. The 1675 festival, its complete account books are preserved at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Achieve. See BOA. MAD.d. 3770; BOA. D.BŞM. 20606. For its gift registers see TSMA.d. 154; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH.d. 20605.

during the present festival.[102] Another document registers the number of utensils that had been borrowed from the officials during the 1675 festival. After mentioning the former practice on that matter, in a note on the retro side of the page the superintendent of the festival asked the sultan whether items would be borrowed from the state officials in the present festival.[103] A further interesting example is on the preparations of candy gardens and *naḫıls* (literally, "date palm"; in Ottoman culture, this refers to the wooden poles decorated with wax, flowers and ornaments). In one document, Halil Efendi informed the sultan on the most recent example. Accordingly, during the imperial festival that was held in 1707, the preparation of candy gardens lasted 30 days, and for the *naḫıls* it took 51 days. Saying this, Halil Efendi added that, for the present festival there was a need to finish them together.[104]

In these aforementioned examples, it is seen that the traditional practice provided a legitimate reference point for the festival's planners. This has both practical and semiotic reasons. From a practical perspective, consulting former examples helped organizers in scheduling the festival and for easily deciding on protocol-necessitating details. From a semiotic perspective, on the other hand, such cultural forms often "build themselves out of tradition"[105] as the incorporation of the known and familiar linked the present and the past. To this end, following tradition and adapting it to the needs of the present time meant adding a particular event to the

[102] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/1: "Devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Seksen altı tārīḫinde vāḳi' olan sūr-u ḫitān-ı hümāyūnda ḫayme-nīşīn vüzerā-yı 'iẕam ve sipāh ve silaḥdār ve yeniçeri ocaḳlarına ve sā'ir ricāl-i devletden ḫayme-nīşīn olanlarıñ ḫaymelerine ṣofralardan ru'unete (?) daḫi bālāda taḥrīr olunduġı vecḥe üzere ta'ām verilüb ve nān-ı ḫaş ve ḫarcī ve çörek-i harcī miḳdārları taḥrīr olunduġı üzere olmaġla bu def'a sābıḳı üzere mü olmak mı fermān buyurulur, ne vech fermān-ı 'alīleri buyurulur ise o vech emr ü fermān devletlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende El Ḥac Ḥalil, emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn."
[103] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/4: "ricāl-i devletten mi isti'āre fermān buyurılır."
[104] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/185: "Naḫıl-ı kebīr aded 4, naḫıl-ı saġir aded 40, bağçe-i şeker aded 4. Devletlü, saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Biñ yüz on tokuz senesinde tārīḫinde vāḳi' sūr-ı hümāyūnda yapdırılan naḫıllar bālāda taḥrīr olundıġı vech üzere yapdırılıb lakin naḫıl-ı kebīr elli bir günde ve şeker bağçesi otuz günde itmām olub ve'l-yevm ẕikr olunān naḫıl ve bağçe maʿān yapdırılmaḳ iḳtiża eyledigine binā'en … "
[105] Stoelje and Baumann, "The Semiotics of Folkloric Performance," 592.

genealogy of such a chain of events, through which prestige and legitimacy were ascribed to this cultural form. As has been mentioned in the introduction part, not only the scheduling details of the 1720 festival but also the revitalization of the form itself, the imperial circumcision festival and its festival book, the *sūrnāme,* illustrated the traditionalist outlook of the Ottoman court at that particular time towards its own past.

Interestingly, not only the superintendent of the festival was concerned with following traditional practices. In one document, one sees the petition of the chief imperial physician. He stated in the petition that, according to a former register he had found, during the 1675 imperial festival physicians were given daily allowances. On this ground, he asked for the distribution of daily allowances of physicians.[106] This intention of the chief physician to use the tradition for legitimizing his claim further designates the prominence of conventional practices in the minds of Ottoman officials.[107]

The archival documents that recorded even minor details related to the planning and organization also shows the Ottoman bureaucrat's obsession for documentation, which strikingly illuminate how the information was conveyed between different bureaucratic units of the Ottoman court. To this end, an analysis of these documents helps us to gain insights on the division of labor in the court and on the networks of communication between various officials for the daily organization of the festival.

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[106] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/54: "…elli nefer cerrāḥlara ta'yināt verilmek içün cerrāḥ bāşı efendi ḳulları 'arż-ı hal ider. Biñ seksen altı tārīḫinde vāḳi' olan sūr-u hümāyūnda cerrāḥa taʿyīn verildigi ḳaydı bulunmuşdır. Ma'lum düstūrı olduḳda emr-ü fermān devletlü sa'adetlü padişahım hazretleriniñdir."
[107] This tendency to seek legitimization by dwelling on the tradition also brings to mind the uses of the *kanun*, the dynastic law, by a group of Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats for defending their rights and privileges against a growing number of newly comers to the military-bureaucratic organization of the Empire starting with the late sixteenth century. For the dynastic law code ofof Mehmed II see Özcan, "Fâtih'in Teşkilât Kanunnâmesi," 7–56; for recent perspectives on the topic see Tezcan, "Kanunname of Mehmed II," 48-59; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 199-200; Abou- El-Haj, "Power and the Social Order: The Uses of the Kanun, " 77-102.

2.2 The major preoccupations of the chief officials

Sūrnāmes note that the festival's preparations began on *25 Ramażān* 1132 (31 July, 1720). Yet, as has been mentioned above the earliest surviving archival documents on the festival are from 22 *Ramażān* 1132 (28 July, 1720), one day after the appointment of the superintendent of the festival. Contrary to *sūrnāmes'* declaration these documents point out that the preparatory process had actually begun some days earlier. In one of these documents it was dictated to Halil Efendi that the chief torcher should prepare cannon torches for the festival in advance.[108] The account book of the festival indicates that in totality, 13,180 cannon torches were purchased for the festival and 59,350 *aḳçe* were paid for this purpose.[109] Another document is about the preparation of *māhyas* (roof ridges) that would also illuminate the festival space. The document is dated 2 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (5 September, 1720) and was written by *māhyacı* (the roof ridge maker) Ibrahim Çelebi. He noted that on that date he received 10,000 boxes[110] from *ḳuṭucılar ketḫüdāsı* (the steward of the official who was in charge of maintaining boxes), Abdullah Çelebi, to be used for preparing roof ridges. Hafız Mehmed in his text also mentions this information and in addition relates that 15,000 oil lamps were also provisioned for illuminations.[111] According to the account book of the festival, 8,980 kg olive oil was used in these lamps.[112] This immediate care for the preparation of torches and roof ridges is indicative of the significance of illuminating the festival spaces for nighttime shows throughout the festival program. As the textual and pictorial narratives of the 1720 festival clearly

[108] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/9: "sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni 'izzetlü efendi ḥażretleri inşāllah'ül haḳ işbu sene-i mübarek Ẕi'l-ḳa'desiniñ ġurresinde sūr-ı hümāyūna ibtidā ve mübāşeret olunmak üzere olmaġla meydan-ı sūrda iḳtiża iden meş'al ṭoblarını meş'aleci bāşı ma'ārifetiyle şimdiden yapdırub ḥāżır ve āmade eyleyesiz." Fi 22 Ramażān 1132."
[109] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 17.
[110] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/203.
[111] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181.
[112] BOA. MAD.d.1284, 31. The book indicates that in total 196,000 *aḳçe* were paid for this expense.

show, the festival continued day and night. Indeed, most of the marvelous firework displays took place at night, either at Okmeydanı or on the Golden Horn. The detailed accounts of Vehbi on the nocturnal shows reveal that the planners of the festival had carefully balanced daytime and nighttime events of the festival program, something different, for example, from the 1582 imperial festival. As some important studies have already put forth, this nocturnal aspect of the festival shall be seen parallel to the expansion of urban social life and advances in pyrotechnic technology.[113]

Apart from illuminating the festival space, another urgent task seems to have been preparing giant candy gardens, which were one of the most significant components of "the rites of display"[114] in the 1720 festival. Made out of tons of sugar, which was still a rare and luxurious food item in the eighteenth century,[115] these giant candy gardens almost embodied the might and authority of the host/s thus manifesting the benefaction of the sultan in the form of a conspicuous display. Signifying the prominence of these display items for the festival, among the earliest archival documents on the preparations of the festival we see two short lists of provisions for the preparation of candy gardens.[116]

Archival material on festival's preparations continues in a daily fashion until the end of the festival. Approached from a mere quantitative perspective, the present state of the archival documents, especially their amounts, can give us a hint to gain an insight into the major preoccupations of the officials who were in charge of planning and organization of the festival. For example, the number of documents (of

[113] Karateke, "Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial," 282-307; Kafadar. "How Dark is the History of the Night," 243–269; Wishnitzer, "Into the Dark," 513-531.
[114] Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 4.
[115] Sdyney Mintz notes that although refined sugar became relatively cheaper and more available in Europe starting with the mid seventeenth century, only after 1900s it became a commonplace commodity in non-royal kitchens. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.
[116] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/11; 1/12. Documents date 22 *Ramażān* 1132 (28 July, 1720).

various types) on the preparations of *naḫıls* and candy gardens and those on the provisioning of utensils for the festival kitchen and for banquets markedly exceeds the number of all others. While taking into consideration that some of the archival documents might have been lost or damaged, this situation still urges one to speculate that possibly these two were among the most complicated and the most labor-intensive preparatory tasks. The rest of the documents can be broadly grouped under themes such as the provisioning and distribution of foodstuffs for banquets and daily allowances, the call for and registration of performers across the empire, the preparation of gifts for dignitaries of the state, and for circumcised boys and the registration of those boys to the book of circumcision. Material and social details of these tasks and their signification in the festival morphology will be approached in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively.

The superintendent of the festival, Halil Efendi, was the official in chief for all these matters. Most significantly, he was concerned with determining the scheduling of events and customary rites of etiquette. In addition, he was the sultan's respondent to all sultanic orders on festival matters. Parallel to that, whenever a petition was summoned to the sultan, the response was directly sent to the superintendent, ordering him to take care of the matter. While Halil Efendi was the first referee and the most visible figure in festival matters, he was not alone in this huge organization. A number of officials who handled important matters on the planning and organization of the festival assisted him. In addition, hundreds of workers and functionaries participated in this process. *Sūrnāme* texts mention the names some of these important figures, such as the superintendent's deputy in charge, Mehmed Agha, who was the steward of the deceased chancellor Mehmed Pasha, and the festival's chief scribe, Ibrahim Efendi, from the office of imperial

chancellors.[117] Apart from these, some other court officials such as *vekīl ḫarc-ı ḫaṣṣa-ı şehriyārī* (the imperial deputy [responsible for the purchase of foodstuffs for the imperial palace]) Abdurrahman Agha, *odun emīni* (the superintendent of firewood) Mustafa Agha, and *bostāncıbāşı* (the head of imperial guards) also had important roles in the organization of the festival.

Throughout the festival period, Halil Efendi seem to have been mostly concerned with the planning, that is, designating the general outline of the festival morphology and determining rules of protocol and etiquette. Under his supervision his clerks were responsible for keeping registers of every single financial or organizational detail regarding the preparations of the festival. These registers are referred to in the documents as *defter-i ḫitān* (the book of the imperial circumcision festival), *sūr-ı hümāyūn defteri* (the book of the imperial festival) and as *sūr emīni defteri* (the book of the superintendent of the festival). Often in the scholarship, it is assumed that one single book comprised this definition. However, the archival documents clearly indicate that this was not the case. These were rather generic terms referring to all books of registers kept by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival and by his deputy Mehmed Agha. Indeed, information that was recorded in these books seems to have been taken as the most valid reference for bureaucratic matters. For example, after the end of the public festival, on 30 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (3 October, 1132), an official from the imperial dockyard Ali bin Osman received unused amounts of timber that had formerly been borrowed by the superintendent of the festival. As Ali bin Osman stated in the official document certifying the return of the timbers to their original place, this document of proof was based on the

[117] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/11; 1/12.

information recorded in the superintendent's book of registers.[118] In another document, which again dates after the end of the festival, we see that the central account division of the imperial chancery (*muḥāsebe-i evvel*) asked the superintendent of the festival to send his account books to their office to designate the exact amounts of daily allowances that had been given to 1,270 janissaries, who were given special duties during the festival.[119] Moreover in one of the account books that were prepared after the 1720 festival, a margin note in the section, which registered all expenses made directly by Halil Efendi, read that this information was recorded upon the document of the superintendent that was sent on 14 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1133 (6 September, 1721).[120] A similar note is seen in the account book of the former circumcision festival, the one that was held in Edirne in 1675. The note at the end of the book once again indicates that the expenses recorded in the book were copied after the daily registers (*rūznāmçe*) of the superintendent of this festival, Mehmed Efendi.[121]

After Halil Efendi, his deputy in charge Mehmed Agha was perhaps the most active figure for festival matters, as he seems to have possessed the greatest responsibility in the day-to-day organization of the festival. *Sūrnāme* texts mention that Mehmed Agha was responsible for designating the daily wages and daily allowances of hundreds of workers who were involved in preparations.[122] Yet, as the

[118] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/84. "Biñ yüz otuz iki senesinde vāḳi' olan sūr-ı ḫitān-ı hümāyūn içün yapdırılan māhyadan ba'de't-tamām fażla kalan kereste-i mütenevvi'a sa'ādetlü sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni efendi ma'ārifetiyle bālāda taḥrīr olunān defter mucibince tamāmen ṭarafımıza teslīm olunmaġla ḳabżımızı müş'ir ṭarafımızdan işbu temessük verildi. Fi Selḥ Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1132. Bende 'Ali bin Osmān Tersāne-i 'āmire."
[119] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/70. This document has two pages, it includes different correspondences between bureucratic units on that matter dating between *2 Muḥarrem* 1132, 22 and 23 *Muḥarrem* 1132 respectively.
[120] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 77: "teẕkire fi 14 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1133 dade emīn-i mümā-ileyh."
[121] BOA. MAD.d. 3770. fol. 21b: "Bundan aḳdem vāḳi' olan ḫitān ve 'arūs-ı sūr-ı hümāyūnların sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni olan Mehmed Efendi ḳulları ma'ārifetiyle ḫarc ve ṣarf olunān kendüleriñ rūznāmçesi mucibince icmāl olunduġı üzere..."
[122] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 31; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 180.

archival documents demonstrate, this was only one of his many duties. Mehmed Agha was in charge of maintaining communication between various units of the court in the preparatory phase and during the time of the festival. This was primarily because he was responsible for the allocation of all foodstuffs and other necessary items before and during the festival. The allocation of foodstuffs and other materials seem to have been one of the most time-consuming tasks, as it began days before the inauguration of the festival and continued until its end. Archival documents clearly show that this process of the allocation actually started four days before the festival with the distribution of rush mats (*ḥaṣır*) and woven matting (*kilīm*) to the court officials and festival functionaries who would reside in tents that had been pitched at Okmeydanı in 9 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (12 September, 1720).[123] Among the documents there are various orders of the superintendent Halil Efendi to Mehmed Agha related to his allocations of these items.[124] Candles, lanterns and ewers were other items that were distributed before the start of the festival to some officials, upon their request.[125] In addition, Mehmed Agha delivered some tableware items to the imperial taster two days before the festival, including spoons for compote and wooden spoons that would be used during the imperial banquets.[126]

The process of the allocation of goods seems to have gained pace with the inauguration of the festival. In addition to the aforementioned items, Mehmed Agha

[123] The document dates 2 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (5 September, 1720) and notes that on 9 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (12 September, 1720) the tents would be pitched at Okmeydanı. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/192. *Sūrnāmes* also give this date for officials' pitching of the tents at the festival space. Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 476, 477, Hafız Mehmed, *Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 183. Another contemporary author Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi, who also attended in the festival, notes however that the imperial tents were picthed one day later, on 10 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*. I am thankful to Selim Karahasanoğlu for bringing this source into my attention and for kindly sharing with me his work in progress transliterated text. For the Telhisi Mustafa Efendi's aformetioned dating for the pitching of tents, see BOA. KK.d. 7500, 130.
[124] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/38; 2/43; 2/44; 2/45; 2/51; 2/52; 2/56; 2/63; 2/65; 2/69; 2/70; 2/71; 2/73; 2/74; 3/60; 3/115; 3/117; 4/155.
[125] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/53; 2/56; 2/66; 2/68; 2/72; 2/74, 4/7; 4/133.
[126] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/189. For types of spoons used at the Ottoman palace see Bilgin, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Sarayında Kullanılan," 291, 301, 302.

was also responsible for the control and distribution of most of the foodstuffs that had been provisioned for the festival. As *sūrnāmes* mention, these foodstuffs were kept in a house at Ok Meydanı that was emptied for the festival.[127] Most of these foodstuffs were for the use of festival's kitchen that was preparing food for each day's banquets. A detailed book and separate documents indicate that the amount of necessary foodstuffs for the preparation of each day's menu was determined in advance.[128] Thus, each day these predetermined amounts were brought from the cellar of the imperial festival to the festival's kitchen. Yet, the documents show that sometimes, extra demands were inevitable. For example, a number of orders to Mehmed Agha relate that sometimes he had to deliver extra amounts of onions, rice or butter to the head cook of the festival kitchen upon his demand.[129] Yet, this was only one aspect of the allocation process. During the time of the festival, all officials, soldiers and functionaries were given a daily allowance (*ta'yināt*) in kind.[130] These daily allowances were typically consisted of bread, meat, rice, clarified butter and sometimes also included honey, depending on the social status of the functionary.[131] Further, the higher-ranking officials of the court units such as stewards, superintendents, chief stewards, chief aghas of the imperial palace and chief clerks were receiving extra, more luxurious, consumption items such as coffee and sugar. Although upon the order of the sultan a certain amount of these items was assigned to the officials in advance, this did not prevent them from making extra demands

[127] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 184.
[128] This *defter* (book of registers) is made up of twelve folios and organized in a daily order. It starts from one day before the start of the festival and continues until the last day of the festival. (14 *Zilka'de* 1132 -29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132). By mistake, the list from the fifth day was put at the beginning of the book. But, for the rest of the book, page sequences follow right order. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75. We see same information in separate documents such as BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 4/154; 5/129; 6/21; 6/35; 6/92, 6/151; 6/178.
[129] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/123; 6/1.
[130] For Ottoman court's distribution of some foodstuffs among dynasty members and court officials see Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption,"107-200; Reindl-Kiel, "Breads for the Followers, Silver Vessels for the Lord," 93-104.
[131] This hierarchical aspect of the distribution of daily allowances is approached in detail in Chapter 3.

during the time of the festival. Throughout the festival, Mehmed Agha was in charge of meeting all these demands, as the superintendent of the festival frequently ordered him to give extra amounts of coffee, sugar, rice to court officials.[132] Interestingly, even for the chamber of the superintendent of the festival, the allocation of goods was made by Mehmed Agha. For example, a petition from the chamber of the superintendent of the festival, which was dated the fourth day of the festival, noted that Mehmed Agha should deliver two and half kilograms of soap to Tripoli.[133] This example further indicates that most of the goods and foodstuffs that had been provisioned for the festival were under the responsibility of Mehmed Agha.

Another significant duty of Mehmed Agha was to make payments to workers and to purchase certain items before and during the time of the festival. The earliest of these payments dates was 15 *Şevvāl* 1132 (20 August, 1720). Most of these documents are in the form of a payment order, very possibly directed by Halil Efendi to his deputy in charge. In a simple format, Mehmed Agha was ordered to make payments to workers or for items purchased. For example, in a document dated 15 *Şevvāl* 1132 (20 August, 1720), Mehmed Agha was asked to pay 560 *ġurūş* and 14 *akçe* to *naḫıl* workers, designer/painters, box makers, binders and workers of candy gardens.[134] On 4 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1132 (7 October 1720), this time he was asked to pay 3,195 *akçe* for five different types of pickles.[135] In addition to these payment orders,

[132] These are from different days of the festivals between 15 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* -29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/32; 3/59; 4/35; 4/90; 4/99; 5/99; 5/123; 6/17; 7/118; 7/119; 7/120; 7/123; 7/130; 7/137.

[133] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 4/127: "dā'ire-i emīn-i sūr-u hümāyūn: ṣābūn-ı ṭrablūs. Emīn efendiniñ kendü dā'iresine yālñız 2 vuḳiyye ṣābūn viresiz. 18 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1132." Arif Bilgin mentions that although soap was produced at the imperial confectionary (*ḥelvāḫāne*), still a substantial amount was purchased from Tripoli, which was one of the chief centers for soap production. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 64.

[134] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/102. Other such orders from the same date can be seen in D.BŞM.SRH. 3/161; 3/162; 3/163; 3/164; 3/165; 3/176.

[135] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/114.

sometimes Mehmed Agha himself summoned petitions to make payments.[136] Beyond these, all expenses that were made by Mehmed Agha for the festival were recorded in a summary register entitled "expenses of Mehmed Agha, the deputy in charge of the imperial circumcision festival."[137] Accordingly, his payments began on July 1720, before the start of the festival and continued after the end of the festival until November/December 1721. In totality, Mehmed Agha paid 9,379.5 *ġurūş* (1,125,540 *aḳçe*)[138] for the festival's various expenses from the budget of the superintendent of the festival that was assigned to him from the imperial treasury. This amount comprised almost one fourth of the cash expenditures for the festival, which was in totality 33,533 *ġurūş* (4,023,960 *aḳçe*).[139]

Mehmed Agha seems to have been responsible also for the accommodation and registration of performers such as dancers, musicians, acrobats, jugglers, and wrestlers who were called from various parts of the empire and arrived in the capital city at different times. As many documents clearly designate, upon their arrival to the imperial city many of these performers came to Elçi Han[140] (literally "Inn of Ambassadors") where they resided before the start of the festival. Interestingly, some of these performers wrote petitions to the sultan asking for the incorporation of their names in the book of the imperial festival. In one of these petitions, the acrobat wrestler Hasan referred to Mehmed Agha as the assigned officer who was

[136] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/25.
[137] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/184: "maṣārifāt-ı Mehmed Aġa vekīl ḫarc-ı sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitān."
[138] BOA, MAD.d. 1284, 77. In the account book of the festival 9,379.5 *ġurūş* was mistakenly calculated as 1,124,979.5 *aḳçe*. Yet, here I have mentioned the true calculation amount.
[139] BOA, MAD.d.1284, 77. In the account book of the festival 33,533 *ġurūş* was mistakenly calculated as 4,019,960 *aḳçe*. Yet, here I have mentioned the true calculation amount. Apart from that, at end of the book the clerks indicated that in addition to 33,533 *ġurūş* that had already been paid in cash, 25,133 *ġurūş* was remaining as the debt to be paid after the festival.
[140] This building was built as a part of Atik Ali Paşa complex at Çemberlitaş in the early sixteenth century, which could not reach today. It was used as the resident place of many ambassadors during their stay at Istanbul. Various ambassadors mentioned this building in their travel accounts. See Eyice, "Elçi Hanı," 15-18.

responsible for the festival's performers.[141] Yet, with the start of the festival the responsibility of the performers seemed to have passed to *bostāncıbāşı* (the head of imperial guards). A detailed list indicating the number of tables and dishes that would be served to 449 performers during the festival mentions that these performers were attached to the chamber of the head of the imperial guards.[142] Parallel to this information, Hafız Mehmed, in his *sūrnāme*, noted that performers were under the responsibility of the head of the imperial guards during the festival.[143] Considering all these together reveals that, with the start of the festival, there was a transfer of duty from Mehmed Agha to the head of the imperial guards on the control of these performers.

Mehmed Agha was extremely busy with festival's organization yet; his duties did cease with the end of the festival. When the public festival and the circumcision ritual of the crown princes ended, a huge process of returning borrowed objects and unused materials to their original places began. This mainly included redelivery of valuable objects to the imperial treasury and hundreds of copper utensils to the imperial armory, to court officials, guildsmen and city dwellers as well as returning some unused materials to the imperial dockyard. This process seems to have lasted almost two months between the final day of the circumcision festival 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1132 (10 October, 1720) and the first days of December. Mehmed Agha was actively involved in this process as well. For example, on 1 *Ṣafer* 1133 (2 December, 1720), Mehmed Agha returned 24 different types of tableware items including maritime ivory, ebony spoons, and various types of clothes, tablecloths, napkins, bowls and

[141] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/48: "…üzerimize me'mūr olan Mehmed Aġanıñ defterine ḳayd itdirmek bābında emr ü fermān devletlü ve merhametlü sulṭānımıñdır.12 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132."
[142] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/6, document dates 16 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132.
[143] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 189.

dishes of Kütahya to the imperial treasury.[144] The document clearly states that these were brought back to the inner treasury by the hand of Mehmed Agha. On the same day, also Halil Efendi returned some borrowed items to the coffeehouse of the imperial palace.[145]

While Mehmed Efendi, was busy with the daily organization, the chief scribe of the festival Ibrahim Efendi and his apprentices were concerned with keeping registers of all expenses and recording names of boys to the book of imperial circumcision. Hafız Mehmed, in his *sūrnāme*, mentioned that when the public announcement of the circumcision festival was made, uncircumcised boys and their families came to Ibrahim Efendi to register their names to his book of circumcision.[146] Quite interestingly, this book of circumcision (or its copy) that was kept by Ibrahim Efendi, which includes these uncircumcised boys' names, their fathers' names and their residence location, survived.[147] A note at the opening part of the book indicates that Ibrahim Efendi started keeping the book on 6 *Şevvāl* 1132 (11 August, 1720), two weeks after the start of the festival preparations. Although most parts of the book of registers do not bear any dating, some other notes that were recorded on 14, 17, 27 *Şevvāl* (19 August-1 September, 1720) and 18, 21 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (21-24 September, 1720), respectively show that additions were made at different dates. This means that Ibrahim Efendi's registration of the names of the uncircumcized boys, some servants of the imperial palace as well as sons of some dignitaries continued for weeks. In addition to this book of registers, two other lengthy books, one that designates the daily ordinance of the circumcision and

[144] BOA. D.BŞM: SRH. 9/77.
[145] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/76.
[146] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181.
[147] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/76. The book, which is unknown up to day in the scholarship, is made up of seventy folios and it is in a very good condition. The organization of the book and the order of pages indicate that either this was the final copy of the book or that the scribe kept a very orderly record.

another that organizes names of the boys according to seven main districts of the city, also survived.[148] As Ibrahim Efendi was responsible for keeping the first book, it is highly possible that he and his apprentices prepared the other versions. These interesting books of registers, I think, also show the sophisticated structuring abilities of these court officials of the imperial festival.

Apart from this duty, a number of documents mention that Ibrahim Efendi kept records of daily allowances that were distributed to the court officials upon the order of the sultan and of some foodstuffs that were provisioned for the imperial banquets.[149] On the basis of this evidence, we may surmise that, in addition to the clerks of the superintendent of the festival, he too was keeping records of festival expenses and possibly also records of the festival's provisions. Indeed, Hafız Mehmed makes a similar point, albeit briefly, where he says that Ibrahim Efendi recorded all necessary information concerning the imperial festival.[150]

A formerly unknown figure, *odun emīni* (the superintendent of firewood) Mustafa Agha, also had a critical position in the daily arrangements for the festival. While Mehmed Agha was responsible for the allocation of most of the foodstuffs and other items, Mustafa Agha was in charge of delivering the necessary amounts of firewood and occasionally coal to their assigned places. As tents were pitched on the festival space at Okmeydanı six days prior to the festival on 9 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (12 September 1720), Mustafa Agha immediately began to meet fire wood demands, most primarily from the cellar and the kitchen of the festival, as well as of from the head butcher and head cooks. The earliest surviving of these demands dates three days prior to the festival, 12 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (15 September, 1720).[151] The demand for

[148] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 6/88; 1/139.
[149] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/131; 7/93.
[150] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 180.
[151] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/78; 2/79; 2/134.

firewood seems to have gained pace with the start of the festival. A short document dated15 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (18 September, 1720), the inauguration day of the festival, mention that the agha of Istanbul had handed over 2,790 *çeki* (697,500 kg) fire wood to Mustafa Agha, comprising almost the half of the total amount of fire wood that were used throughout the festival.[152] Thereafter, each day different fire wood demands came to Mustafa Agha until the end of the festival. For coal, on the other hand, interestingly, all surviving demands are from the last days of the festival. Maybe the rest of such demands did not survive. Alternatively, this might have been related to the fact that, compared to fire wood, coal had a greater heating power. Parallel to that, the last days of the festival coincided with the colder and rainy days of autumn. Indeed, *sūrnāmes* mention that because of the extensive rain, the nighttime shows of the ninth day and daytime shows of the eleventh and twelfth days came to a halt.[153] Thus, the rising demand for coal during the last days of the festival was perhaps related to the harsher conditions of the weather in these days.

The last important official for festival preparations was the *vekīl ḫarc-ı ḫaṣṣa-ı şehriyārī* Abdurrahman Agha. This official was normally working under the bureaucratic organization of the imperial cellar (*kilār-ı 'āmire*) of the imperial palace. While in the sixteenth and seventeenth century the official in this position was concerned with purchasing all kinds of necessary foodstuffs from the market, by the end of the seventeenth century, he was only responsible for purchasing the grain.[154] Abdurrahman Agha's duty during the festival preparations however was not

[152] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/94. The total amount of firewood that was used during the festival was 5,165 *çeki* (1,291,250 kg equivalent to 1,291.25 ton). In addition, 8,210 *vuḳiyye* (10,532.9 kg; equivalent to 10.5329 ton) coal was used. This information is mentioned in the summary register book of the festival expenses MAD.d. 1284, 27.
[153] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 627, 641, 642, 655, 661.
[154] Often, there is confusion between *vekīl ḫarc-ı ḫaṣṣa-ı şehriyārī* and *bāzārbāşı-ı şehriyārī* (an official in charge of purchasing foodstuff for the palace kitchen), who seem to have been responsible for the same duty. In some account registers on the expenses of the imperial kitchens, the name of *bāzārbāşı* was mentioned and in others *vekīl ḫarc* was noted. Nevertheless, as Arif Bilgin mentions

directly related to that. Hafız Mehmed mentioned in his narrative that all necessary copper utensils for the banquets of the festival were borrowed from the state officials, aghas and guildsmen of the city and these had been handed over to the *vekīl ḫarc-ı ḫaṣṣa*.[155] Although Hafız Mehmed did not mention this official's name, in the related archival documents, this official was referred to as Abdurrahman Agha. From these documents we understand that all borrowed copper utensils either from the state officials or from city dwellers, were handed over to Abdurrahman Agha. Thus, he was responsible both for taking delivery of these thousands of copper utensils and for issuing receipts to lenders. As will be discussed in detail below, the officials' and city dwellers' delivery process of utensils began as early as 8 *Şevvāl* 1132 (13 August, 1720) and continued until the inauguration day of the festival.[156] In addition, utensils were borrowed from the imperial armory, starting with 13 *Şevvāl* (18 August, 1720).[157] Moreover, Abdurrahman Agha too seems to have been involved also in the process of returning those borrowed copper items and various other objects to their places of origin. A document indicates that two months after the end of the festival, Abdurrahman Agha delivered various utensils to the imperial armory on 9 *Safer* 1133 (10 December, 1720) upon the order of the superintendent Halil Efendi.[158]

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none of the monthly wage registers of the imperial kitchens includes a position under the title *bāzārbāşı*. This urges him to reach a conclusion that either these two titles referred to the same official at the Ottoman palace or *bāzārbāşı* was a temporary position that was filled in time of need. Besides, there was also a *şehir bāzārbāşısı* who was an official in charge of helping the *muḥtesib* (market supervisor) for distribution of all foodstuffs that entered the city. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 67, n. 420, 117.

[155] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181.

[156] There are dozens of such receipts in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. Folder 1. For examples see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/ 40; 1/41; 1/43; 1/44; 1/46; 1/47; 1/48; 1/49; 1/51; 1/53; 1/56; 1/57; 1/58; 1/61; 1/62; 1/63; 1/64; 1/68; 1/69; 1/72; 1/73; 1/74; 1/76; 1/77; 1/78; 1/79; 1/80; 1/81; 1782; 1/83; 1/84; 1/85; 1/86; 1/88; 1/89; 1/90; 1/91; 1/92; 1/93; 1/94; 1/95; 1/96; 1/98; 1/99; 1/103.

[157] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/74.

[158] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/78.

2.2.1 The functionaries of the festival

Apart from the chief officials who were in charge of carrying out critical duties in the organization of the festival, hundreds of functionaries and workmen were also involved in this huge organization. In one document, the superintendent of the festival Halil Efendi mentioned 14 different groups, who were referred to as "the functionaries of the imperial festival."[159] As shown in Table 1, these people were water dispensers, slaves, cooks, *ṭulūmcı* (clownish attendant responsible for controlling the public who were holding greasy bags in their hands made of goat leather), roof ridge makers, torchers, tray carriers, janissaries, palace pages, halberdiers of the old palace and of the imperial palace. This list seems to have comprised only those functionaries who had service-related duties in the festival throughout the festival. Nevertheless, as will be mentioned below, a larger group of workmen and craftsmen was involved in the preparatory phase of the festival as well as throughout the festival program.

For most of those functionaries a daily wage was not specified in the account books of the festival.[160] Taking into consideration that many of these men were in palace service, one may assume that for this reason they were not receiving an extra payment except their daily provisions that were given in kind, which will be discussed in Chapter 3 in detail.

[159] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52: "ḫademe-i sūr-ı hümāyūn." Hafız Mehmed in his *sūrnāme* also mentions the same groups of functionaries. Interestingly, the numbers given by Hafız Mehmed exactly matches the aforementioned archival document. See Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 17.
[160] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 15; MAD.d. 4729, 29-31.

Table 1. Festival Functionaries, Total Numbers and Wages[161]

Name of the Group	Total Number	Daily Wage
Old Palace Halberdiers (*Teberdārān-ı sarāy-ı ʿatiḳ*)	50	-
Halberdiers with side locks (*Teberdārān-ı zülüfliyān*)	50	-
Imperial tasters and subsidiaries (*Çāşnigirān maʿyamaḳān*)	40	
Water dispensers of the Imperial Palace and subsidiaries (*Sim saḳayān maʿyamaḳān*)	50	-
Cooks from the outer palace/outside[162] (*Ṭabbāḫin-i birūnī*)[163]	60	50 *aḳçe*
Tray carriers[164] (*ʿAkkāmān-ı ṭabla-kuşān*)	200	-
Torchbearers[165] (*Meşʿaleciyān)*	300	40 *aḳçe*
Roof ridge makers[166] (*Māhyacıyān*)	60	60 *aḳçe*
Attendants carrying greasy bags made out of animal skin [167] (*Ṭulūmcıyān*)	120	40 *aḳçe*
Palace pages (*Ġılmānān-ı ʿacemiyān*)	100	-
Tanners[168] (*Eṣnāf-ı debbāġ*)	100	-
Slaves of the Imperial Dockyard (*İsārā-yı tersāne*)	100	-
Water dispensers of the janissary corps[169] (*Saḳayān-ı orta*)	50	-
Water dispensers of the city[170] (*Saḳayān-ı şehr*)	15	-
Water dispensers of the kitchen (*Saḳayān-ı maṭbaḫ*)	15	-
Other servants (*Ḫademe-i saʾire*)	-	-

The functional relationship between most of these functionaries' service and food-related rites of the festival are striking. For instance, water dispensers, tray carriers,

[161] In this table I have based on BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 yet, in this document the daily wages of those groups was not mentioned. I have derived this latter information from the account books of the festivals BOA. MAD.d. 1284 15-17; MAD.d. 4729, 29-31.
[162] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "bunlar 'ulufelidir" (these are those receiving wages).
[163] Three archival documents show that, some of these 60 cooks were assigned from the outside, among the cooks of Saraçhane. See BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 26; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173; MAD.d. 6889, 21.
[164] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "bunlar 'ulufelidir" (these are those receiving wages).
[165] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "bunlar daḫi 'ulufelidir" (these are those receiving wages).
[166] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "bunlar daḫi 'ulufelidir" (these are those receiving wages).
[167] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "yalñız yüz nefer 'ulufelidir" (only hundred members are receiving wages), remaining 20 members who were subsidiary to the group are referred to as *milʿabeciyān* (those wearing short sleeved robes).
[168] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "ḫademe-i maṭbaḫ" (servants at the kitchen).
[169] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads "bunlar 'ulufelidir" (these are those receiving wages).
[170] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52 a note that was inserted at the margin of this group reads " 'ulufeli" (receiving wages).

palace pages and halberdiers all had duties during the imperial banquets. Here, the mention of different types of water dispensers draws attention. Certainly, there was a hierarchy among the tents of the court officials who were residing at the festival space, and among the tents of the imperial banquets. Parallel to this hierarchy, water dispensers must have been assigned to particular tents according to their rank. Then, quite possibly 50 water dispensers of the imperial palace served at the highest-ranking tents of the dignitaries and the guests, while 50 water dispensers of the janissary corps, 15 from the city and 15 from the kitchen must have given their service at the lower-ranking tents.

The cooks and tanners were also in charge of food-related rites of the festival. Cooks were obviously working in the imperial kitchens for the preparation of each day's menu. According to a document, which recorded the names of the cooks of the festival, we learn that 14 cooks were assigned from Saraçhane and 36 came from the personnel of the imperial kitchens.[171] The tanners were another group of functionaries who were also assigned to the kitchen of the festival as it was clearly stated in a document that date the first ten days of the month *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*.[172] These men must have been in charge of tanning the skins of the animals that were slaughtered in great numbers for the preparation of the menu of the imperial banquets and for the distribution of daily allowances to festival officials and functionaries.

Apart from these service-related functionaries, some others that were mentioned in the list of Halil Efendi had duties in the festival space related to the illuminating the festival space and policing/entertaining the crowd. The torchers and

[171] BOA. MAD.d. 6889, 21, 22; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173, fol. 17b, 18a.
[172] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/186: "Sūr-ı hümāyūnda maṭbaḫ-ı 'āmirede ḫidmet itmek içün bā-fermān-ı 'alī debbāġlarıñ ta'yīn eyledikleri neferātdır ki ber vech-i ātī ẕikr olunur. Fi eva'il-i Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1132. Yigitbāşı İsmaʿil Aġa." The document mentions the name of 50 tanners that were assigned among the members of the guild of tanners.

māhyacıyān (makers of roof ridge) had started working for the festival days before the inauguration. *Ṭulūmcıyān* on the other hand, carried out their dual duties of policing the crowd and entertaining them within the duration of the festival.

Interestingly, this list of the functionaries does not include the hundreds of skilled craftsmen who worked on the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens or the performers who made shows during the festival. Indeed, some other temporal workers such as 27 laundrymen (daily 12 *aḳçe*), 63 sappers (daily 40 *aḳçe*), 12 stonemasons (daily 40 *aḳçe*), 8 guards (daily 30 *aḳçe*), 804 tent pitchers, 16 porters (daily 40 *aḳçe*) are excluded from this list.[173] Moreover, 200 physicians and barbers, and 2,070 janissaries that were assigned duties during the festival are not mentioned in this list of the superintendent, either.[174] Although these men also had important duties in the festival's preparation and in its daily organization, at least in the minds of the planners of the festival, these seem not to have been among the core group of festival functionaries.

2.3 Provisioning utensils for the festival

During special occasions such as reception ceremonies, imperial weddings, and imperial circumcision festivals and during two religious festivals, the Ottoman court needed to provide huge numbers of utensils for the use of the imperial kitchen and for banquets. Usually, these utensils, including copper cooking pots, dishes and cauldrons, were borrowed from city dwellers such as guildsmen, religious foundations, and non-Muslims as well as from inhabitants of particular districts. Signifying the limited material resources of the court, this seems to have been an

[173] BOA. MAD.d. 1284 15-17; MAD.d. 4729, 29-31.
[174] For name lists of the physicians and barbers see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/22; MAD.d. 6889, 11-12. Janissaries' names were not mentioned in documents rather their numbers were noted BOA. D.BŞM. SRH 8/3; MAD.d.1284, 17; MAD.d. 4729, 31.

established practice. Among the expense registers of the new and old palace of Istanbul in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one occasionally encounters such indications of borrowing copper utensils from the city dwellers for imperial feasts.[175] On 27 *Ramażān* 981 (20 January, 1574) for instance, for the banquets that were held in honor of the Venetian *bailo*, the Ottoman court borrowed copper utensils from the city, and the court officials paid 300 *aḳçe* for this.[176] In 1715, during the occasion of the celebrations of the religious festival at the imperial palace, the janissaries were served food through the ritualized form of *yāġma*[177] (a ritualized form of scrambling for food). Interestingly, 40 copper utensils that had been borrowed from the guildsmen of the city were lost during this ritualized form of food distribution and the court had to compensate for the losses of the guildsmen.[178] Although this practice of borrowing copper utensils for the needs of special celebratory occasions in the court has already been a point of interest in the scholarship,[179] the details including process of the selection, delivery and redelivery of these utensils are not properly known. In the light of the related archival documents, the present section aims at illuminating each single step that were taken by the officials of the 1720 festival for achieving this significant task.

[175] Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait." 77, 132.
[176] Ibid. 140. Another such case of borrowing of utensils for the receptions took place during the occasion of banquet that was held in honor of the Austrian embassy on 7 *Ramażān 981* (31, January 1573). Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait." 142.
[177] The ritualized form distributing food through *yāġma* dates back to the traditions of Central Asian Turcoman tribes. In Dede Korkut stories one also sees the ritual of scrambling the house of the bride during wedding celebrations. In the Ottoman period during special occasions such as receptions, public festivals, court ceremonies as well as three monthly salary days of the janissaries and court officials, janissaries and sometimes commoners of the city were served food in such ritualized form. Gökyay, "Bir Saltanat Düğünü," 44; İnan, "Han-ı Yağma Deyiminin Kökeni," 645-648; Arslan, "Osmanlı Saray Düğünlerinde Yağma Geleneği," 54-57; Gökalp, *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi*, v. I. 63, 64; Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festival," 97.
[178] Cited in Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens for Paradise," 64, n.40.
[179] Suraiya Faroqhi has drawn attention to this process of provisioning of utensils on the basis of the information provided in the account book of the festival that was kept after the end of the festival by the imperial chancery. For some of her works that address this process see Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast"; Idem,"Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them."

The earliest surviving document on the 1720 festival provision of utensils dated late *Ramażān* 1132 (late July/early August 1720), a few days after the appointment of the superintended of the festival. As has been unearthed by Suraiya Faroqhi, an order issued by the religious judge of Istanbul stated the total number of copper utensils that the guildsmen of the capital were supposed to contribute. Accordingly, the guildsmen were expected to contribute 3,000 copper dishes, 300 cooking pots, and 15 cauldrons for the imperial festival.[180] Signifying the urgency of this task, among the archival documents we see a succession of orders dated the first days of August, each relating to a different aspect of the provisioning of utensils. On 2 *Şevvāl* 1132 (7 August, 1720) an imperial order addressed trustees of 11 religious foundations of the city. Accordingly, the imarets of Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Selim, Sultan Mehmed, Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Bayezid, Haseki Sultan, Şehzade, Eyyüb Ensari, Davud Paşa, Mihrimah, Valide-i Cedid and Valide-i Atik each had to deliver two ladlers, two cauldrons and two skimmers to an appointed official. The order also stated that the receipts that would be issued upon their delivery would be taken as the sign of proof. [181] Following this order, on 3 *Şevvāl* (8 August, 1720), this time the order addressed the superintendent of the festival, indicating that the copper utensils under the possession of the imperial kitchen should have been promptly repaired due to the great necessities of the imperial festival.[182] Indeed, the author of one of the

[180] İstanbul Bāb Mahkemesi 124, fol. 201b cited in Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned," 217.
[181] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/20: "'İzzetlü evḳāf-ı ḳuyūdat (?) mütevelliler aġalar zīde ḳadrihum inşāllah-ı teʿalā Oḳmeydānında muḳim olan sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitān żiyāfet(i)çün ziyāde evānī tedārikine muḥtac olmaġla bālāda taʿyīn ve taṣrīḥ olundıġı üzere her bir ʿimāretten ikişer kazġān, kepçe ve kefgir ile mecmūʿ yigirmi iki kazġān ve yigirmi iki kefgir ve yigirmi iki kepçe yine ḫitām-ı ḫidmet teslīm olunmaḳ şarṭıyla sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni ṭarafından taʿyīn olunān mübāşire teslīm virilen maḳbużını müşʿir temessük idesiz fi 2 Şevvāl 1132."
[182] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/22: "'İzzetlü maṭbaḫ-ı 'āmire emīni efendi zīde mecduhū. Sūr-ı hümāyūnda ṭabḥ olunacaḳ ta'ām içün ziyāde evānī-i nüḥās iḳtiżā itmegle maṭbaḫ-ı 'āmirede mevcūd olan kebīr ḳazġān ve ṭencere ve ṣaḥānlar meremmāt olunacaḳ, evānīleriñ bir gün evvel meremmāt ve ta'mir idib ḥaẓır āmade idesiz fi 3 Şevvāl 1132." The same imperial order was also copied in a book of registers. See D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 4.

sūrnāmes, Hafız Mehmed, also mentions this repair process.[183] One day later, on 4 *Şevvāl* (9 August, 1720), we see a brief list, possibly an excerpt from a book of registers, indicating the number of copper utensils that the guildsmen and non-Muslims of the city were supposed to contribute.[184] From this document we understand that in addition to the guildsmen of the city, non-Muslims—Armenians and Orthodox Greeks —were expected to contribute copper utensils for the festival. The use of term *kilise* (church) for referring to the contributions of the Armenians and Orthodox Greeks indicate that their religious institutions made those deliveries. The Jewish residents, on the other hand, seem to have been totally exempted from contributing. This must have been related to their religious practices.[185] In the Jewish religion, there are strict rules to food, such as not mixing milk products with meat while cooking or eating. Since their utensils were not taken for the use at the festival, this signifies that Ottoman authorities were aware of and sensitive to the Jewish practices of food and cooking.[186]

Borrowing solely from residents, however, was not enough, because on the next day, 5 *Şevvāl* (10 August, 1720), it was ordered to the superintendent of the festival that utensils should also be borrowed from officials of the state.[187] On 6

[183] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 182.
[184] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/23: "İşbu biñ yüz otuz iki senesinde vāḳi' olan sūr-ı hümāyūn içün İstānbūl'da olan eṣnāfdan ve kiliselerden fermān buyurulan evānī-i nüḫāsınıñ tevzi' defteridir ber vech ātī ẕikr olunur fi 4 Şevvāl 1[1]32."
[185] Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned," 217.
[186] I am indebted to Hadar Feldman Samet who consulted for me the help of Prof. Yaron Ben Naeh from Hebrew University, Jerusalem on Ottomans' attitudes towards the Jewish rituals of food. Prof. Naeh kindly informed me that Evliya Çelebi mentioned the awareness of the Ottomans towards the Jewish laws on food and cooking. For example, Evliya noted that the Jewish people did not eat the meat that was cut by Muslim butchers. I am thankful to Prof. Naeh. For this information see Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I, 242.
[187] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/29: "Maṭbaḫ-ı 'āmire emīni 'izzetli efendi. Ol vaḳt-i sūr-ı hümāyūn içün iḳtiża iden kebīr sini ve baḳlavā tebsileri bir miḳdarı ricāl-i devletden tedārük olunması muḳtaża olmaġla ..."

Şevvāl and 7 *Şevvāl* (11-12 August, 1720), respectively, two documents indicate the number and types of utensils that were borrowed from the imperial armory.[188]

These successive documents that date the early phase of the preparations clearly show that the provisioning of utensils was an urgent task. As we understand, utensils were borrowed from court institutions, guildsmen, non-Muslims and officials of the state. Indeed, the state authorities seem to have had a high level of diligence for the care of these borrowed items until they were returned to their owners, as an imperial order dating 27 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (30 September, 1720) articulates.[189] This attention must have been related to the fact that the court was customarily obliged to compensate losses and damages, so the authorities must have wished that these would remain at a minimal level. Despite this attention of the authorities, at the end of the festival 1,800 *ġurūş* was spent for all deductions and repairs.[190] One may assume that part of the amount might have been spent for repairing damaged utensils.

A critical question related to this complicated borrowing process is how these utensils were delivered to the officials of the festival and how they were returned to their places of origin or to their owners. As has been discussed before, Abdurrahman Agha was the official in charge of all these tasks. All utensils were delivered to him prior to the festival and he was responsible for issuing documents certifying their delivery. Yet, it is not known "how individual owners might have recognized their property"[191] when they came to the court to take them back This question also holds for dozens of undifferentiated items that were borrowed from the imperial armory, the imperial kitchen or the imperial confectionary. Thanks to a variety of documents

[188] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/34; 1/35.
[189] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 6/172.
[190] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 78-79.
[191] Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned A Great Feast," 217.

including account books, preparatory lists, correspondence and documents of delivery, we are able to understand the background of such a system of borrowing. As these documents show, all borrowed items either from individual owners or from pious foundations or from court institutions, were first weighted.[192] If borrowed items were composed of different type of utensils, the total weight of each type was calculated separately and was recorded on this basis. Yet, items borrowed from the imperial treasury seem to have been exempted from this weighing process.[193] This must have been related to the fact that those valuable items were easily recognizable, so there was no risk of confusion at the time of returning.

A short petition written by Halil Efendi indicates that these borrowed utensils were also stamped. In this petition, Halil Efendi requested permission to purchase two kilograms of wax that would replace darkish stamps, which had formerly been marked on borrowed copper utensils from the guildsmen and officials of the state.[194] On these stamps, possibly the date of the festival was written since some utensils from the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum bear similar stamps, which read "the imperial festival (10)86"[195] referring to the 1675 festival.

Books kept by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival documented all these borrowings including their amounts, types and weights respectively.[196] Indeed, the same information was recorded in the receipts issued by Abdurrahman Agha, which were taken as proofs of the delivery. Dozens of these documents or their

[192] The copper utensils' value changed according to their production technique. Those that were made with *ince dövme tekniği* (thin wrought) technique were lighter and those with *kalın dövme tekniği* (thick wrought) were heavier and parallel to that their prices also changed. I am thankful to Ömür Tufan from Topkapı Palace Museum to share this information with me.
[193] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/58; 9/77.
[194] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/86: "Benim efendim sulṭānım: eṣnāfdan gelen gerek ricāl-i devlet ṭarafından gelen evānī-i nüḫāsa vaz' olunān müḫür ḳarānlıḳ olmaġla bir buçuḳ vuḳiyye ṣem'-i 'asel tedariki içün fermān eyleyesiz fi 14 *Ṣevvāl.*" (19 August, 1720). Vehbi also mentions this stamping process in his *sūrnāme*. Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 475.
[195] TSM. inv. no. 25/111, 719, 112, 705, 106, 702, 709, 720, 109, 107,1349, 748.
[196] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/39; 1/75; 8/36.

copies survive among the archival documents, so we can certainly understand when and by whom a particular type of utensil was delivered to the court officials. These receipts were given to the artisans of the city, state officials, non-Muslims and to the chief responsible officers of court institutions such as the treasury and imperial armory. Lenders must have used these documents when they came back to the court to take possession of their items after the end of the festival.

The major needs of the festival's kitchen seem to have been copper cauldrons, dishes and cooking pots. Nevertheless, various other types of utensils, especially kitchenware items, were also needed for the preparations. One document indicates that the clerks of the superintendent of the festival first recorded the belongings of the imperial kitchen and the confectionary. Accordingly, the imperial kitchen had 14 big cauldrons, 14 medium cauldrons, nine thin iron plates for cooking, nine big skewers, and four *pāy-ı kebāb* (a kind of utensil for portioning *kebap* or a stand for cooking *kebap*). In addition, the imperial confectionary had 20 big cauldrons in its possession. A margin note above these items indicates that some of them required repair.[197] These utensils however were not enough for the needs of grand banquets. As Table 2 shows, the clerks also registered some other necessary items that needed to be supplied from the outside.[198]

[197] BOA. D.BŞM: SRH. 8/114: "elyevm mevcūd olub ancaḳ baʿżıları taʿmire mecburdur..."
The front side of the document indicates the menu of the festival; at the backside we see the lists of belongings and other necessary items for the banquets.
[198] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114: "Zirde mesṭur olan mühimmāt ṭaşradan tedāriki mecburdur."

Table 2. Some Necessary Utensils for the Service of the Imperial Banquets[199]

Type of the Utensil	Size	Necessary Number
Cooking Pot (*Tencere*)	Big and medium	400
Cauldron (*Ḳazġān*)	Big	20
Skewer (*Şīş*)	Big[200]	30
Skewer (*Şīş*)	Medium	400
Skimmer (*Kefgir*)	-	20
Ladle (*Kepçe*)	-	20
Skimmer and ladle for boiled rice and starch pudding with saffron (*Pilāv ve zerde-i kefgir ma' kepçe)*	-	10
Pocket knife with razor (*Ustura çaḳı*)	-	30
A hooked kitchen utensil for extracting pieces of meat that are stuck to the bottom of a cooking pot (*Yaḫnikeş*)[201]	-	15
Iron shovel (*Temmūr kürek*)	-	15
A portable? Stand (*Sāfir ayaḳ*)	-	10 pairs
Frying pan for *kebap* (*Tābe-i kebāb*)	-	5
A kind of utensil for portioning *kebap* or a stand for cooking *kebap* (*Pāy-ı kebāb)*	-	10 pairs
Drainer (*Süzgi*)	Big	5
Drainer (*Süzgi*)	Middle	5
Copper plate for cooking (*Sāc-ı nüḫās*)	-	20
Large knife for cutting meat (*Et sāṭırı*)	-	40
Scythe (*Ṭırpān*)	-	15
Large knife (*Ṣatūr*)	-	20
Pastry board (*Hamur taḫtası*)	-	10
Copping board (*Ḳıyma taḫtası*)	-	10
Rolling pin (*Oḳlaġva*)	-	25
Rollerc (*Merdāne*)	-	5
Metal plate with lid (*Ḳapaḳlu elvāḥ*)	-	20
Marrow [spoon (?)](*İlik*)[202]	-	20
Sieve for rice (*Ġırbāl-ı erz*)	-	5
Pickaxe (*Ḳazma*)	-	10
Ax (*Bālṭa*)	-	10
Wooden skewer (*Şīş-i çūb*)	-	60
Large haircloth sack (*Ġırar*)	-	15 pairs
Rope (*Urġān*)	-	15 pairs
Metal plate with […]? (*Tirpeze-i? elvāḥ*)	-	10
Tray (*Tebsi*)	-	200
A flat pan for baking flaky pastry with filling (*Tābe-i börek*)	-	15

At this point, a relevant question that needs to be raised is how the organizers of the festival determined where to find the necessary items. One short document provides

[199] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114: "Lāzım-ı mühimmāt-ı mezkūrīn der ḥidmet-i żiyāfet-i sūr-ı hümāyūn."
[200] At a personal conversation on 11.05.2017 with Ömür Tufan, the curator of the kitchen and imperial confectionary section at Topkapı Palace Museum has kindly informed me that there is one big skewer preserved at the collection of the museum, which is approximately three meters at length. These kind of big skewers must be used for roasting the lamp or sheep as a whole.
[201] Priscilla Mary Işın says that this kitchen utensil was mentioned among the registers of the imperial kitchen in the fifteenth century. Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 402.
[202] In other registers I have encountered marrow spoons, so as a possibility, this might indicate number of spoons made of marrow.

illuminating insights on that matter. The document mentions types of necessary items for the festival. Strikingly, a note in the document addresses the chief agha of the imperial armory, asking him whether these aforementioned items were present among the belongings of the imperial armory.[203] These necessary items were small, medium, and large coffee ewers, washbowls for ablution, large and small jugs with handles, brass coffee spoons, coffee boxes, copper bowls for pastry filled with thin layers of cheese or other fillings, copper drainers for sorbet, copper hangings for coffee and leather smelting stove. As the scribe of the document noted in red ink—possibly at a later date—among the items on this list, only five large and five small copper jugs with handles and five washbowls for ablution were available at the imperial armory. What one understands from this request is that, lists of necessary items were sent to the chief officials of court institutions such as the one in the example of the imperial armory, to check whether they had these items or not. According to the response from those places, the superintendent and his subsidiaries determined the delivery or else looked for different solutions such as purchasing them from the market.[204] This document also illustrates clearly that the communication between units of the court was based on documentation.

2.3.1 Borrowing utensils from court institutions and purchases from the market

The imperial armory seems to have been the first place to look for necessary items. Indeed, in a book of registers all borrowed items from the imperial armory were mentioned altogether as a separate entry.[205] The list includes mainly copper utensils

[203] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/30: "'İzzetlü cebecibāşı aġa, defter olunān eşyā mevcūd-ı cebeḫāne var mıdır, derḥāl yazub i'lām edesiz."
[204] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/75; this document lists some of the purchased items for the imperial kitchen and for the imperial banquets. Same information is also mentioned in one of the account books of the festival see BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 25.
[205] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75, 4.

as well as some other types of utensils for the use of festival's kitchen. In the list, the number of copper dishes (700 all told) attracts attention. In addition, 30,000 wooden spoons were also listed among those items. These were some of the most essential objects for banquet tables. Interestingly, when the account book of the festival that was kept after the end of the festival and this list of borrowed items are evaluated jointly,[206] one sees numerical differences between the numbers of delivery and their return. As Table 3 indicates, some of these borrowed items must have been lost or damaged during the course of the festival.

Table 3. Copper Utensils Borrowed From and Returned to the Imperial Armory[207]

Type of Copper Utensil	Number Borrowed	Number Returned
Dish (*Ṣaḥān*)	741	738
Cauldron of *sekban* corps (*Kazġān-ı sekbān*)	150	145
Large cauldron[208] (*Kazġān-ı kebīr*)	32	-
Cooking Pot (*Tencere*)	150	135
Lid for cooking pot (*Tencere ḳapāġı*)	150	118
Drainer (*Süzgi*)	25	23
Skimmer (*Kefgir*)	90	75
Ladle (*Kepçe*)	90	74
Large laundry basin (*Çāmaşır legeni*)	5	5
Pickaxe (*Kāẕma*)	15	14
Iron shovel (*Ahen kürek*)	15	15
Iron ax (*Ahen balṭa*)	15	14
Copper steelyard (*Kantar nüḥās*)	100	57
Large] jug with handle (*Gügüm*)	40	18
Round kitchen tray (*Sini-i maṭbaḫ*)	83	39
Wooden spoons (*Aġaç ḳāşık*)	30,000[209]	1,430
Large haircloth sack for glass workshops (*Ġırar-ı şīşeḫāne*)	15 pairs	8 pairs
Large haircloth sack for dishes (*Ġırār-ı ṣaḥān*)	3 pairs	-
Large haircloth sack for castanet (*Gırār-ı çālpāra*)	10 pairs	10 pairs
Rope (*ʿUrgan*)	15 pairs	10 pairs

The delivery of those items from the imperial armory to Abdurrahman Agha started as early as 6-7 *Şevvāl,* (9-10 August, 1720).[210] Indeed, the deliveries did not happen

[206] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 24. A copy of this page also exists as a separate document among the archival documents. At the end of this document, the scribe indicated that those items that were listed in the document were those remaining ones. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/77: "...evānī-i nüḫās ve mühimmat-ı sā'ireden kusur kalandan..."

[207] This list is made with a joint consideration of documents that registered the borrowed and returned amounts. For borrowed amounts see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75, 4. For amounts returned see MAD.d. 1284, 24; D. BŞM. SRH. 9/77.

[208] This information is mentioned in another book of registers D.BŞM. SRH. 2/10, fol. 2a.

[209] These 30,000 spoons were delivered to officials of the superintendent of the festival on 12 *Şevvāl* (17 August, 1132). Information is mentioned in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/65.

all at once; rather, different types of utensil were given to Abdurrahman Agha on different days. As we understand from some successive documents on that matter, following the first phase of deliveries of the imperial armory on 6 and 7 *Şevvāl,* (9-10 August, 1720), after some days—on the 12th, 13th and 15th *Şevvāl* (17, 18, 20 August, 1720)—the rest of the utensils were handed over for festival uses.[211]

Besides the copper utensils or the kitchenware items, there were more specific needs for imperial banquets. For instance, various tableware items, including large and small dining spreads,[212] tablecloths, table napkins, and towels had to be provisioned for the imperial banquets. Except for dining spreads, most of these items seem to have been supplied from the imperial treasury. Indeed, among those items there were valuable ones such as ebony spoons and spoons made of maritime ivory and towels of certain types.[213] It would not be wrong to assume that these more valuable tableware items that originally belonged to the imperial treasury and were used during the banquets for the highest-ranking guests and dignitaries of the state. The pictorial representations of the festival provide some visual evidence of the physical appearance of these high-ranking dining spreads. For instance, in the paintings of Levni and Ibrahim, imperial tasters and halberdiers are seen holding lidded copper dishes and sometimes ewers in their hands. On the banquet tables, the food was typically served in copper dishes (without lids). Yet, in some of Levni's banquet paintings, one occasionally sees that the food was also served in porcelain dishes and bowls (Fig. A1, A2). In addition to that, in Ibrahim's banquet scenes,

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[210] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/34; 1/35.
[211] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/62; 1/74; 1/75 fol. 3b; 1/101.
[212] According to the mention in the account books of the festival 15 big, 10 medium-sized leather dining spread (*şofra*), and 10 big, 15 medium-sized long dining spread on which food is set in a line (*meşīn simāṭ*) were purchased for the imperial banquets. Moreover, 21 stout leather (*kösele*) big size long dining spread and 17 stout leather dining spread were also purchased. BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 8; MAD.d. 4729, 26; D.BŞM. SRH. 9/75.
[213] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/27; 8/57; D.BŞM. SRH. 9/75.

small blue and white porcelain bowls (Fig. A3, A4), in which possibly dried fruits were served, were depicted. Parallel to these visual representations, among the borrowed items from the treasury, 17 bowls of Kütahiyye and 34 plates of Kütahiyye were mentioned. Therefore, Levni and Ibrahim must have paid attention to the use of these objects in the banquets for dignitaries. Apart from that, in some paintings one sees that, while they were seated around leather dining spreads, the guests covered their legs with large long table napkins of different colors (Fig. A5, A6, A7). The grand vizier on the other hand, in one episode that was painted by Ibrahim, was depicted as covering his leg with a smaller size piece of embroidered cloth (Fig. A8). Reflecting upon the visual testimony of these paintings, among the borrowed items from the imperial treasury we see 18 large and medium sized, new table napkins and 33 embroidered food napkins.

There were various other kinds of tableware items that were used in the dignitaries' banquet tables. As seen in Table 4, a variety of tableware items were borrowed from the imperial treasury for these banquets. Among the list there are porcelain plates and bowls from Kütahya, ebony, marrow, beautiful new spoons, cloths used as handkerchieves from Mardin, embroidered napkins, colorful napkins from Egypt and Tire, and incense burners and rose water flasks.[214]

[214] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/58 indicates borrowed items from the imperial treasury and from the imperial armory. Above each item, a note was added indicating its place of origin.

Table 4. Items Borrowed from the Imperial Treasury and Returned Amounts[215]

Item	Type	Number Borrowed	Number Returned
Large knife for cutting meat (*Laḥm sāṭırı*)	-	24	-
Table spoon (*Yemek ḳāşıġı*)	Mastic tree[216] (*Saḳız*)	210	162
Table spoon (*Yemek ḳāşıġı*)	New and beautiful (*Yeni zībā*)	9	-
Rose marmalade spoon (*Gülbeşeker ḳāşıġı*)	Bone (*Kemik*)	3	3
Table spoon (*Yemek ḳāşıġı*)	Ebony and maritime ivory (*Abānoz, balıḳ dişi*)	9 (8 ebony, 1 maritime ivory)	9
Marrow spoon (*İlik ḳāşıġı*)	Marrow (*İlik*)	2	1
Compote spoon (*Ḫoşāb ḳāşıġı*)	Bone (*Kemik*)	40	40
Compote spoon (*Ḫoşāb ḳāşıġı*)	Maritime ivory (*Balıḳ dişi*)	1	1
Compote spoon (*Ḫoşāb ḳāşıġı*)	White (*Beyāż*)	2	-
A cloth used as a towel during ablution (*Ābdest maḳraması*)	With pile, used (*Havlı, müsta'mel*)	24	23
A cloth used as a handkerchief [when serving] coffee (*Ḳaḥve maḳraması*)	From Mardin (*Mardin*)	6	6
Napkin used for ablution (*Ābdest peşkīri*)	From Egypt, used (*Mışır, müsta'mel*)	1	1
A cloth used as a handkerchief for [wiping] grease (*Yaġ maḳraması*)	Used (*Müsta'mel*)	32	32
Chair cover (*İskemle puşīdesi*)	Colorful and made of silk or satin cloth (*Elvān, ṣandāl*)	7	7
A cloth used as a handkerchief/towel [during] dining (*Aş maḳraması*)	Embroidery (*İşleme*)	33	33
Dining spread (*Ṣofra*)	Big and medium size, used (*Kebīr ve ṣaġīr, müsta'mel*)	18	18
Napkin (*Peşkīr*)	From Egypt, made of colorful silk and cotton, old (*Mışır, alaca, müsta'mel*)	10	10
Napkin (*Peşkīr*)	[From] Tire, used (*Tire, müsta'mel*)	6	6
Napkin (*Peşkīr*)	*Havlı, müsta'mel* (With pile, used)	1	1
Bowl (*Kāse*)	From Kütahya (*Kütāhiyye*)	17	17
Plate (*Ṭabāḳ*)	From Kütahya (*Kütāhiyye*)	34	33
Incense burner and rose water flask (*Buḫūrdān ma' gülābdān*)	Cloth of silk and warp and cotton (*Ḥelālī*)	7	7
Tray cover (*Ṭabla puşīdesi*)	From Diyarbakır, printed cloth, used (*Diyārbekır bezi başma, müsta'mel*)	18	18
Colored kerchief (*Boyama*)	Used (*Müsta'mel*)	28	28
Cap[217] (*Kellepuş*)	Broadcloth (*Çūḳa*)	627	570
Quilt (*Yorġān*)	Used (*Müsta'mel*)	77	77

[215] This table is prepared with the joint consideration of two documents, the first indicating the borrowed and the latter noting returned amounts of items to the imperial treasury. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/58; 9/77.

[216] In registers often it emerges as *sāḳız ḳāşıḳ*, spoon made of mastic tree. Yet, in one instance it was written as *sāḳız ḳāşıġı*. As there was a certain type of spoon made out of mastic tree and due to its frequent appearance as such I have followed the first definition. Yet, another possibility is that it referred to a spoon used for eating mastic. For types of spoons used at the Ottoman palace see Bilgin, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Sarayında Kullanılan," 291, 301, 302.

[217] These must have been used for sons of the dignitaries and of pages of the palace who were circumcised during the festival. In Chapter 3, the numbers and social-statuses of those circumcised boys and the rite of clothing, especially of boys across through the benefaction of the sultan the city will be thoroughly addressed.

One observes once again numerical differences between the borrowed and returned numbers. Nevertheless, when compared to the items borrowed from the imperial armory, the losses seem to have been minimal for the treasury. This must have been related to the fact that these valuable items were for the use of the dignitaries only. In addition, it would not be wrong to assume that the officials in charge must have paid greater attention to the care of these items. As we learn from a later document, these items were returned to the treasury on 1 *Safer* 1133 (2 December, 1720), almost two months after the festival. The document indicates that these items were returned to the treasury in person by Mehmed Agha, the deputy of the superintendent Halil Efendi.[218]

While the planners of the festival had surveyed belongings of a number of court institutions (such as the imperial armory, the imperial confectionary and the imperial treasury) and borrowed utensils from city dwellers, purchases from the market still seem to have been inevitable. As we understand from a document of redelivery and from the account books of the festival, these purchased utensils were delivered to the imperial armory after the end of the festival.[219] As seen in Table 5, on the list there are those necessary items already seen in Table 2 and other additional needs, mainly for the festival kitchen and for the preparation and service of the imperial banquets.

[218] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/77: " Bālāda ẕikr olunduġı vech üzere sūr-ı ḫitān-ı hümāyūnda istiʿmāl olunān eşyā-yı mezkure sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni olub hālā matbah-ı 'āmire emīni olan El Ḥac Ḥalil Efendi ṭarafından adamları vekīl ḫarcı Mehemmed Aġa yedinden bade't-tamām aḫż -u ḳabż ve vażʿ-ı ḫazine eyledigimiz ecilden işbu maḥale şerḥ olındı. Fi Ġurre-i Ṣafer sene 1133 Bende Aḥmed ser ḫazine-i birūnī."
[219] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/75; MAD.d.1284, 25.

Table 5. Utensils Purchased for the Imperial Festival[220]

Type	Number
Copper thin plate for baking baklava (*Nüḥās baḳlava sācı*)	19
Ewer with handle and large bowl (*İbrik maʿ leğen*)	1
Copper large drainer (*Nüḥās kebīr süzgi*)	30
Copper frying pan for *kebap* (*Nüḥās tābe-i kebāb*)	6
Copper hanging for coffee (*Nüḥās ḳaḥve aṣkısı*)	8
Middle-sized hanging for coffee (*Saġīr ḳaḥve aṣkısı*)	17
Copper bowl (*Nüḥās ṭās*)	12
Coffee ewer (*Ḳaḥve ibriği*)	11
Coffee tray with copper sides[221] (*Nüḥās kenārlı ḳaḥve tebsisi*)	1
Metal drinking jug (*Maşraba*)	1
Copper sherbet bowl (*Nüḥās şerbet ṭāsı*)	3
Sherbet drainer made of felt (*Keçe süzgi-i eşribe*)	3
Copper felt (?) for *kebap*[222] (*Nüḥās keçe-i kebāb*)	5
Large, stout leather long-table (*Kebīr kösele simāṭ*)	21
Stout leather dining spread (*Kösele ṣofra*)	17
Brass coffee spoon (*Pirinç ḳaḥve ḳāşığı*)	4
Stout leather sherbet bag and brass tap (*Kösele şerbet ṭūlūmu miʿ pirinç muṣluḳ*)[223]	19
Large steelyard for weighting used by butchers (*Kebīr ḳanṭar-ı ḳaṣṣāb*)	1
Large knife for cutting meat (*Ḳıyma sāṭūrı*)	24
Skewer for fish (*Māhi şīşi*)	42
Leather basket for bread (*Saraçlı sepet-i nān*)	17
Middle size skewer for *kebap* made of iron (*Ahen ṣaġīr kebāb şīşi*)	250
Big skewer for *kebap* made of iron (*Ahen kebīr kebāb şīşi*)	34
Tripot cooking pot/cooking stand (?) made of iron [that is used for cooking] *kebap* (*Ahen ḳaz ayāġı-ı kebāb*)	19
Razor and knife made of iron (*Ahen ustura ve bıçaḳ*)	12
A hooked kitchen utensil for taking meat out of the cooking pot (*Yaḫnikeş*)	11
Used, Frankish string for roof ridge[224] (*Müstaʿmel frengi sicim-i māhya*)	161
Wooden dining spread (*Aġaç ṣofra*)	15
Used stout rope (*Müstaʿmel ʿurġān*)	31
Wooden circular tray (*Aġaç ṭābla*)	91
Pastry board (*Hamīr taḫtası*)	13
Boxwood oil lamp [for making] roof ridge (*Şimşīr ḳandil-i mahya*)	1,200
Small case for oil lamp (*Kutu-ı ḳandil*)	6,000
Coffee box (*Ḳaḥve ḳuṭusı*)	2

Although all these lists illustrate a large portion of the necessary utensils that were either borrowed or purchased for the festival's kitchen and imperial banquets, there were certainly other objects that were provisioned by the court. For example, one short document points out some extra provisions that were not mentioned in the aforementioned lists. Accordingly, two days prior to the start of the festival, on 13 *Ẕi'l-ḳaʿde* 1132 (16 September, 1720), certain tableware items were delivered to the

[220] This table is prepared through a joint consideration of BOA. SRH. 9/75, MAD.d. 1284, 25 and also SRH. 8/27, 8/58. In these documents the objects were mentioned in different ordinance.
[221] In BOA. SRH. 9/75 and MAD.d. 1284, 25 it appears as *kenārlı tebsi*, yet in other documents we see a more detailed definition as *nüḥās kenārlı ḳaḥve tepsisi*. See SRH. 8/27; 8/58.
[222] In BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 25 it is written as such but in SRH: 9/75 it was written as *keçe-i kebāb*.
[223] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/75 and MAD.d. 1284, 25 it was written as *pirinç muṣluḳ*, yet in SRH. 8/58 one sees the full definiton of the object.
[224] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/58 mentions it as old, Frankish string.

chief imperial taster.[225] In this list of items were 300 spoons made of mastic (tree) and 100 spoons for compote. As seen in Table 4, a certain number of these types of spoon was mentioned among the borrowed items from the imperial treasury. Yet, this borrowed number was less than the number of spoons delivered to the chief imperial taster. Therefore, the remaining ones were possibly purchased from the market. Likewise, in the account book of the festival, in addition to other types of skewer, 1,200 wooden skewers, each purchased for six *aḳçe*, were noted.[226] Yet, in the aforementioned list there is no mention of wooden skewers. Although 60 wooden skewers were noted as being necessary for the kitchen's uses, this number is less than the actual number purchased. These examples signify that the provisions for the festival were even more extensive than the extant documents suggest.

2.3.2 Utensils from the officials, utensils from the city

In addition to securing utensils and necessary items from court institutions and purchasing them from the market, the Ottoman court borrowed a substantial number of utensils and tableware items from officials of the state and from city dwellers. As has already been mentioned before, in the early August, the imperial court had notified its officials and dwellers of the city on their obligatory contribution to the festival. These orders clearly stated that the superintendent of the festival and his clerks had to keep extensive registers for documenting this borrowing process. Thanks to these documents, we are able to understand some of the previously unknown details of this borrowing process, such as the types and exact number of utensils each particular group had to contribute, their delivery to the court, and differences between the number requested and the number delivered. Interestingly,

[225] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/189.
[226] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 26,27.

we also learn that, besides 11 pious foundations, the non-Muslims, guildsmen of the city, officials of the state and the inhabitants of three particular districts—Okmeydanı, Kağıthane and Vezneciler—had to contribute to the festival by lending their copper dishs and cooking pots.[227] Unfortunately, for this latter group, the details of the borrowing process, for example, which household was supposed to contribute and how the number of contributions was determined are not known. Maybe the functionaries of the festival collected these utensils from the dwellers on a random basis. This might be the reason behind the silence of the documents on the details.

Table 6 indicates the total number of contributions expected from various groups for the festival. One encounters a very similar table at the end of one of the books of registers. The title of this register reads "this is the book that records copper utensils that will be taken from the officials of the state and from elsewhere."[228] Inside the book of registers, the clerks noted the name of each particular official and his expected contribution. At the end, we see a summary table recording the expected borrowings from the officials and from the city. Interestingly, when examined thoroughly, it appears that all groups were supposed to lend different types of utensils. For instance, the officials of the state had to lend certain tableware items such as trays, bowls, dishes, napkins, ewers and basins while the guildsmen, non-Muslims and the residents of three districts of the city had to contribute cauldrons, cooking pots and copper dishs.

[227] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114.
[228] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/36: "ricāl-i devletten ve ġayrı maḥallerden cem' ve muḥaṣṣal olunacaḳ evānī-i nüḫāsıñ defteridir. Der sene 1132."

Table 6. Number and Types of Utensils Requested[229]

Source	Large Cauldron	Skimmer	Ladle	Silk table napkin	Large table tray	Defected tray	Bowl for soup	Gilded basin and ewer	Dish and lid	Cooking pot
Officials of the State				27	94	182	126	84	670	
Eleven Religious Foundations of the City	22	22	22							
Inhabitants of Kağıthane, Ok Meydanı, Vezneciler[230]	15								1,500	150
Armenians	8								1,500	100
Greeks	7								1,500	200
Guildsmen of the City	15								3,000	300
Total	67	22	22	27	94	182	126	84	8,170	750

As the title of the book suggests, this must have been a preparatory register to determine the expected quantities of borrowings. For some reason, in the account book of the festival, these requested amounts were recorded as actual borrowed amounts.[231] Crediting this information, however, would mislead us because luckily, other books of registers recorded actual delivery amounts.[232] Thus, we understand that some of those lenders did not contribute through the expected amounts. Indeed, one shall also cross check this information with the receipts that were issued by Abdurrahman Agha to lenders. From these documents one also learns the exact dates of those deliveries.

[229] This table is made with joint consideration of a number of books of registers and documents including BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/36; 8/124; 1/111; MAD.d. 1284, 62-69.
[230] In SRH. 8/36 the clerk simply noted *sekenehā* (the inhabitants). Yet, thanks to another document we understand which districts comprised those inhabitants. In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/114, the back side of the page at the bottom left reads: "sekanehā-yı kaġıdḫāne ve oḳmeydān ve vezneciler."
[231] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 62-69.
[232] For the book of registers that noted the actual delivery amount of officials' utensils see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/39; for those of the guildsmen D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75.

When these sources are analyzed altogether, it appears that the guildsmen of the city and the churches did not supply all the demanded amounts. The officials of the state, on the other hand, seem to have contributed exactly the expected amounts.

Who were these officials of the state? They comprised the chief janissary aghas and their stewards, aghas, stewards and clerks of the corps of the imperial armory, of the imperial artillery, of *sekban* and *silahdar* corps, members of the imperial chancery, retired members of the imperial chancery, aghas of the imperial court, trustees of sultanic foundations, and superintendents of the state.[233] These officials were supposed to contribute six different types of tableware items. Yet it appears that some could lend five items or some could solely deliver three out of the six. This must have been something predicted in advance because, as seen in Table 6, the expected quantities of different type of utensils varied. For example, while 670 dishes with lids were listed among those expected borrowings, the number of silk napkins was only 27. This indicates that when determining what to borrow and from whom, the superintendent of the festival and his clerks must have had prior knowledge about the material belongings of the officials. Additionally, this situation implies, albeit indirectly, that the possession of some items such as silk napkins was something related to one's social status in the hierarchical organization of the military or bureaucracy.[234] Following this interpretation, only the highest-ranking members of military corps and the chief members of the various chancery branches were able to lend silk napkins for the festival banquets.[235] Besides the type of the items, the quantity might also designate social status. For instance, the higher-

[233] BOA. D.BŞM: SRH. 1/39, 8/36; MAD.d. 1284, 64-69.
[234] Possession of certain types of objects often designates the social-economic status of its owner. Various books of registers of the Ottoman court and the inheritance inventories containing assets and belongings of deceased individuals are the most significant sources for the study of this subject. See Faroqhi and Neumann eds. *Illuminated Table and Prosperous House;* Quataert ed. *Consumption Studies.*
[235] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/39.

ranking officials seem to have lent either two or three soup bowls. Yet, the lower-ranking members typically gave only one utensil to the officials of the festival.

The court officials' delivery process seems to have begun as early as mid-August. The earliest surviving documents certify the delivery date of 8 *Şevvāl* 1132 (13 August, 1720). On that date, the chief imperial treasurer, Ahmed Agha, and Hafız Efendi from the account bureau of the treasury (*muḥāsebe-i ḫazīne*) had handed over their tableware items to Abdurrahman Agha.[236] Parallel to the aforementioned suggestion that there was a relationship between one's social-political status and the number and type of utensils one might contribute, while Ahmed Agha delivered silk napkins for the use of festival banquets, Hafız Efendi did not.

As the backsides of the receipts show, the officials of the state personally delivered those items to Abdurrahman Agha. These deliveries seem to have continued until the end *Şevvāl*, the first days of September.[237] The concentration of a huge number of receipts between 8 and 29 *Şevvāl* (13 August-3 September, 1720) urges us to surmise that a large portion of the delivery process must have been realized between those dates. From an organizational point of view, this seems highly plausible because the festival began on 18 September. Thus, bringing all necessary utensils and tableware items for the use of the imperial festival two weeks before the inauguration might have been related to the deliberate planning of the officials. Indeed, in the first days of September, the major preoccupation of the superintendent and his subsidiaries seem to have been the distribution of daily foodstuffs to the assigned functionaries and performers, and the allocation of necessary items to the court officials that would reside in their tents throughout the

[236] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/40; 1/41.
[237] The last surviving document of this type dates 29 *Şevvāl* 1132 (3 September, 1720). BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/183.

festival period.[238] For all these reasons, the supply and delivery of utensils and tableware items must have been finished before the start of the festival.

Where the guildsmen of the city are concerned, their period of delivery seems to have been shorter than that of the officials of the state. The guild of shoe makers-sellers made the earliest delivery on 10 *Şevvāl* (15 August, 1720) and the barbers of the city made the last one on 20 *Şevvāl* (25 August, 1720). While the majority of the receipts mention the name of the guildsmen who made the delivery to Abdurrahman Agha, only a few indicate whether this man had a specific duty in the organization of the guild. In a few such cases, we see that the steward of that particular guild made the delivery.[239] When it comes to the types and quantity of utensils, each of 29 guilds and their subsidiaries were asked to contribute on a different basis. As Table 7 shows, broadly speaking the majority of the guilds were asked to lend copper dishes, but in diversified amounts. From some guilds, cauldrons, trays and cooking pots were also requested.

When all documents are examined, it emerges that some guilds were not able to contribute the expected amounts and types of utensils. Especially interesting in this respect is a particular book of registers dated 5 *Şevvāl* (10 August, 1720). The opening page of the book of registers is headed "this is the declaration of the copper utensils of the guildsmen that were ordered for the imperial circumcision festival."[240] We see that each guild's name and their expected contribution amount was recorded in the book's pages. In addition to this information, strikingly, underneath the name of each guild, the clerks opened another entry entitled "delivery" (*teslim*). There, clerks noted the exact quantities and types of delivery and the total weight of the

[238] See 255 documents that roughly date 8 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* -14 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (11 September-17 September 1720) in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. Folder 2.
[239] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/99; 1/114.
[240] The book is made up of six folios. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75, fol. 1a: "sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitān içün eṣnāftan fermān olunān nüḫās evānī beyānıdır. Fi 5 Ṣevvāl."

delivered copper utensils so that one can clearly understand which guilds were able to contribute the expected amount and expected type and which were not. Although for many guilds, this book of registers did not mention the date of delivery, the receipts that were issued by the *vekīl ḫarc-ı ḫaṣṣa-ı şehriyārī* Abdurrahman Agha upon the delivery of utensils clarify that matter. Thanks to these documents, we are able to learn the exact days of the delivery for the majority of the guilds, which can ben seen in Table 7.

Another interesting piece of information that we derive from this book of registers is that clerks seem to have revised some of their notes indicating the types of utensils. As has been mentioned above, the clerks started preparing this book of registers on 5 *Şevvāl* (10 August, 1720), when the expected quantities of contribution for each guild was recorded in the book. Yet, one day later, on 6 *Şevvāl* (11 August, 1720), some parts of the book of registers seem to have been revised. Accordingly, the expected type of utensils for 11 guilds was cancelled and replaced by another type of utensil.[241] Thus, while the number of expected utensils from these guilds remained the same, their type was revised. Parallel to that, these guilds contributed through this revised information. This sudden revision in the book implies that possibly a clerical mistake occurred during the copying process, which was promptly corrected on the next day.

[241] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75, fol. 3b, 4a, 4b.

Table 7. Guilds' Contributions of Copper Utensils for the Festival[242]

Guild Name	Expected type and quantity	Delivered quantity	Total weight	Date of the delivery
Guild of bakers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḥabbazān ve yamaḳlar*)	120 copper dishes	120 copper dishes and 39 lids	100 *vuḳiyye*	15 *Şevvāl*
Guild of butchers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḳāṣṣabān-ı ġanem ve baḳar ve yamaḳān*)	150 copper dishes	150 copper dishes and 50 lids	122.5 *vuḳiyye*	-
Guild of grocers, fruit vendors and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı baḳḳālān ve yaş yemişciler ve yamaḳān*)	200 copper dishes	200 copper dishes and 56 lids	146 *vuḳiyye*	13 *Şevvāl*
Guild of candle makers (*Eṣnāf-ı mumcıyān*)	80 copper dishes	80 copper dishes and 30 lids	58 *vuḳiyye*	12 *Şevvāl*
Guild of new and old shoe makers/sellers and subsidiaries (*Ḥaffāfān-ı cedīd ve köhne ma' yamaḳān*)	400 copper dishes	399 copper dishes and 92 lids	386 *vuḳiyye*	10 *Şevvāl*
Guild of dealers in sheep's trotters and artisans of the old bazaar and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı paçacıyān ma' bezāstān-ı 'atiḳ ve yamaḳlar*)	200 copper dishes	200 copper dishes and 50 lids	139 *vuḳiyye*	11 *Şevvāl*
Guild of broadcloth makers/sellers and makers of baggy trousers (*Eṣnāf-ı çūḳacıyān ve çaḳşırcıyān*)	100 copper dishes and 30 lids	100 copper dishes and 30 lids	90 *vuḳiyye*	12 *Şevvāl*
Guild of cloth merchants and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı bezzāzān ve yamaḳlar*)	200 copper dishes and 100 lids	200 copper dishes and 80 lids	183 *vuḳiyye*	16 *Şevvāl*
Guild of iron tip makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı na'lçacıyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	50 copper dishes and 17 lids	50 copper dishes and 17 lids	37 *vuḳiyye*	11 *Şevvāl*
Guild of gun makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı tüfeñkciyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	50 copper dishes	40 copper dishes and 10 lids	29.5 *vuḳiyye*	15 *Şevvāl*
Guild of mohair makers [243] (*Eṣnāf-ı sofcıyān*)	10 copper dishes and 10 lids	10 copper dishes and 10 lids	14.5 *vuḳiyye*	14 *Şevvāl*
Guild of gunstock makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḳundaḳcıyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	50 copper dishes and 5 lids	20 copper dishes and 5 lids	17.5 *vuḳiyye*	16 *Şevvāl*
Guild of timber merchants[244] (*Eṣnāf-ı kerasteci*)	30 copper dishes, 28 lids	30 copper dishes and 28 lids	38 *vuḳiyye*	16 *Şevvāl*
Guild of barbers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı berberān ve yamaḳlar*)	300 copper dishes and 50 lids	300 copper dishes and 25 lids[245]	187.5 *vuḳiyye*	11 *Şevvāl* and 20 *Şevvāl*

[242] In this table I have followed the ordinance and the exact way the names of the guilds mentioned in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75. Besides, the account book of the festival (BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 62-63) and delivery receipts of the utensils as seen in D.BŞM. SRH. 1/44; 1/51; 1/52; 1/53; 1/61; 1/62; 1/63; 1/81; 1/82; 1/83; 1/103; 1/105; 1/108; 1/111; 1/116; 1/117; 1/120; 1/140, 1/137 have also been considered.

[243] This guild is not mentioned as a separate guild in the account book of the festival (BOA. MAD.d. 1284) yet one sees that it was mentioned SRH. 1/75. Indeed, among the surviving documents there is also the delivery receipt of this guild as one sees in BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 1/82.

[244] This guild is not mentioned as a separate guild in the account book of the festival (BOA. MAD.d. 1284) yet, one sees that it was mentioned SRH. 1/75. Indeed, among the surviving documents there is also the delivery receipt of this guild as one sees in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/120.

[245] In BOA. SRH. 1/75 it was written that they delivered 300 dishes and 50 lids and the total weight was 187.5 *vuḳiyye* but actually the delivery receipts show that they delivered 300 dishes and 25 lids with the same total weight. Thus, these indicate that the clerk of SRH. 1/75 seems to have made a clerical mistake when recording the delivery amount.

Guild Name	Expected type and quantity	Delivered quantity	Total weight	Date of the delivery
Guild of tailors (*Eṣnāf-ı ḥayyātān*)	350 copper dishes	350 copper dishes and 80 lids	135.5 *vuḳiyye*	-
Guild of silk manufacturers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ġazzāzān ma' follācıyān ve yamaḳlar*)	100 copper dishes	100 copper dishes and 33 lids	87 *vuḳiyye*	19 *Şevvāl*
Guild of herbalists/perfumers and subsidiaries[246] (*Eṣnāf-ı 'aṭṭārān ve yamaḳlar*)	350 copper dishes	350 copper dishes and 37 lids	253.5 *vuḳiyye*	15 *Şevvāl*
Guild of wool fluffers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḥallācān ma' yamaḳlar*)	50 cooking pots (replaced with) 50 *baḳlavā* trays	50 trays	118 *vuḳiyye*	12 *Şevvāl*
Guild of cooks and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı aşcıyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	60 cooking pots (replaced with) 60 round trays	60 trays	90 *vuḳiyye*	16 *Şevvāl*
Guild of sword makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḳılıccıyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	70 cooking pots (replaced with) 70 *baḳlavā* trays	70 trays	113 *vuḳiyye*	18 *Şevvāl*
Guild of bow and arrow makers (*Eṣnāf-ı kemāngerān*)	20 cooking pots (replaced with) 20 round trays	20 trays	40 *vuḳiyye*	14 *Şevvāl*
Guild of blacksmiths and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı na'lbendān ma' yamaḳlar*)	20 cooking pots (replaced with) 20 round trays	20 trays	40 *vuḳiyye*	-
Guild of hair rope makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı muytābān ve yamaḳlar*)	25 cooking pots	20 cooking pots	149.5 *vuḳiyye*	14 *Şevvāl*
Guild of packsaddle makers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı semerciyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	12 cooking pots (replaced with) 12 *baḳlavā* trays	12 trays	28 *vuḳiyye*	12 *Şevvāl*
Guild of tinsmiths and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḳalāycıyān ve yamaḳlar*)	13 cooking pots (replaced with) 13 round trays	13 trays	21 *vuḳiyye*	-
Guild of coach drivers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı 'arabacıyān ve yamaḳlar*)	10 cooking pots (replaced with) 10 *baḳlavā* trays	10 trays	18 *vuḳiyye*	12 *Şevvāl*
Guild of armorers and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı cebeciyān ma' yamaḳlar*)	5 cooking pots (replaced with) 5 trays	5 trays	11 *vuḳiyye*	10 *Şevvāl*
Guild of coppersmiths and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı ḳazġāncıyan ma' yamaḳlar*)	5 cauldrons and 15 cooking pots (replaced with) 15 *baḳlavā* trays	5 cauldrons, 15 trays	-	-
Guildsmen of Saraçhane and subsidiaries (*Eṣnāf-ı Saraçhāne ma' yamaḳlar*)	10 cauldrons	10 cauldrons	-	-

Seeing the numerical differences between the expected and delivered amounts, one speculates about whether some registers of the court were up to date or whether a kind of negotiation took place between those guilds and the assigned officials on the borrowing of utensils. A particularly striking case in that matter is the example of the Orthodox Greek contribution. As recorded in the account books of the festival, they

[246] The subsidiaries of this guild include the guild of *ketenciyān* that delivered 50 copper dishes and 20 lids and *şem'-i 'asel* sellers that delivered 17 lids. This information is recorded in BOA. SRH. 1/75 fol 2b and also in delivery receipt of *ketenciyān* D.BŞM. SRH. 1/99.

were supposed to contribute 1,500 copper dishes, 200 cooking pots and 7 cauldrons.[247] However, other documents such as the receipt of delivery and a book of registers show that they contributed less than half, as they lent only 500 copper dishes and 50 cooking pots.[248] This raises the possibility that the non-Muslim religious institutions of the city, just as some of the guilds, were not eager to lend huge numbers of utensils for use at the festival— items which they would not be able to take back for months. Although the documents are silent on the background of this process, I think a kind of a negotiation might have happened between lenders and the court officials on that matter. In the end, the lenders seem to have given what they could for the festival. This aspect of the provisioning process, I think, also signifies an indirect social tension on the part of obligatory contributors. Indeed, Suraiya Faroqhi has also noted a similar tension among the guildsmen on the preparation of their customary/obligatory gifts to the sultan.[249] These obligations, which took place behind the scenes, must have been a burden for the limited material resources of the inhabitants of the city, without whom the staging of such a grand-scale festival would not have been possible.

2.4 Preparing symbolic objects of display: *Naḫıls* and candy gardens

One of the most dramatic moments during the 1720 imperial circumcision festival was the procession of four giant *naḫıls*, forty small *naḫıls* and four candy gardens in the imperial city. As narratives of the festival related, at the end of the public festival, the celebrations continued for one more week at the imperial palace until the circumcision ritual of the crown princes on 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (10 October, 1720). One day

[247] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 63. Also recorded in BOA. D.BŞM.SRH. 1/75, fol. 3b, 4a.
[248] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/75, fol. 6b; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/111, this document indicates that the delivery was made on 16 *Şevvāl* (21 August, 1720).
[249] Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them," 399, 400.

before this ritual, the circumcision procession took place in the imperial city. The *naḫıls*— large and small—and candy gardens that had already been prepared at the Old Palace were displayed in the city in a pompous procession of court elites, members of the religious hierarchy, and soldiers. The procession started from the Old Palace, passed through Vezneciler, Saraçhanebaşı, and Aksaray, and then from Divanyolu they marched through Laleli Çeşme, Eski Darphane, Valide Hamamı before finally reaching the New Palace. Four of these *naḫıls* were so large that it was not possible to pass through the gate that opened to Bayezid Square; thus, a temporary door was constructed in situ. Moreover, roofs of some buildings along the procession's route, between Miskçiler Kapısı (that opened to Vezneciler) and New Palace, had to be destroyed as well.[250]

These objects, especially the *naḫıls*, were indispensible material items at wedding and circumcision ceremonies. Such symbolic objects that were made out of wax and wood and heavily decorated with fruits, flowers, spices, and mirrors were often carried in front of the wedding and circumcision processions of both Muslims and non-Muslims. When there was a wedding, the family of the bride and when there was a circumcision, the family of the boy had to commission a *naḫıl.* It is argued that carrying a virtual palm tree in front of a procession was an ancient Greek rite symbolizing renewal and fertility in feasts welcoming the spring.[251] Another meaning derives from the Arabic tradition, from the commemorative ceremonies of Muharram, when the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandsons was mourned by carrying a *naḫıl* symbolizing the coffin of the martyrs.[252] Although the origin of

[250] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sürnāme*, 680-682; Hafız Mehmed, *Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 227.
[251] Mehmed Zeki Pakalın notes that carrying *naḫıl* in front of a parade dates back to the ancient Greek Dionysus/spring feasts. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, v. II, 642. And, "Osmanlı Düğünlerinde Naḫıllar," 16-18; Nutku, "Türk Şenliklerinde Güç ve Bolluk Simgesi"; Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v. I, 194-208.
[252] Information cited in Rahimi, "Nahils, Circumcision Rituals, and The Theatre State," 101.

carrying *naḫıls* in Ottoman wedding and circumcision rituals is obscure, Hammer-Purgstall was the first to comment on the symbolic meaning of such objects. As he noted, these objects were symbols of virile strength and fecundity and they were indispensible parts of royal weddings and circumcision festivals.[253] In addition to this interpretation, these objects shall also be seen as symbols embodying the rite of passage that designated the change of social status and the gender role of the bride and the circumcised boy.[254]

Starting with the sixteenth century, contemporary narratives and testimonies of European observers provide details on material and visual representatins of these objects, particularly on those that were displayed during royal wedding and circumcision celebrations. For example, in the wedding festival of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha in 1524, ten slaves walking at the beginning of the procession were carrying golden *naḫıls* in their hands.[255] Additionally, two large *naḫıls* that were commissioned by the grand vizier and his best man were also displayed. These big pieces were made out of 60,000 and 40,000 different objects, respectively.[256] In the 1582 imperial circumcision festival, the total number of *naḫıls* was 150, four of which were giant—higher than 24 meters—and were carried by 100 men.[257] Similarly, in the 1675 and 1720 festivals, small *naḫıls* and a number of giant *naḫıls* were prepared for sumptuous displays during imperial processions.

In addition to *naḫıls*, during these special occasions sugar figures in the shape of various animals, fruits, flowers, imaginary creatures, objects, and castles were also

[253] Information cited in And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 238; for the original reference see Hammer-Purstall, *Historie de l'Empire*, vol. VIII, 150-151.
[254] For different types of rites of passage in the Western European context see Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 21-61; also see Turner, *The Ritual Process*.
[255] Cited in And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 243; for the original reference Marino Sanuto, *I Diari* (1879-1903), XXXV, 507.
[256] And, 40 Gün 40 *Gece*, 243.
[257] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 246, 247; for the original source see Nicolas von Haunolth, "Particular Verzechnuzs was ceremonien," 460, 470.

prepared. In the 1582 festival, for example, these were made in the shape of elephants, camels, horses, tigers, lions, fish, monkeys, giraffes, peacocks, giant phoenix, mermaids, castles, fountains, flowers, and different fruits. In totality, 171 *kantar* (9,652.779 kg) of sugar was used for the preparation of these statutes and, with all other expenses, including the wages of the Jewish confectioners, the total cost was 366,437 *aḳçe*.[258] In the 1675 festival, there were 120 different types of sugar figures, including an ostrich, a bear, a hound, a swan, an elephant, an aries, a pelican, cattle. For this special event, confectioners were brought from Venice.[259] For the 1720 festival, although textual narratives do not specify the types of those sugar figures, in pictorial representations (Fig. A9, A10), we see that there were confections in the shape of various animals and fruits that were carried on trays. The painting of Ibrahim provides more detail on that matter because, unlike Levni, he depicted 40 different sugar figures that were carried by the members of the Imperial dockyard. In his composition, which seem to have been left partly unpainted, (Fig. A9) one sees a lion, rabbits, a peacock, a monkey, different birds, an Aries, an elephant, a goat, a tiger, swans, and objects such as a carriage, a castle, a flower vase and a ewer, all made of sugar.

Such three dimensional sugar figures were an indispensible part of the European feasts as well. By the mid-fifteenth century, elaborate models made of sugar had become fashionable all over European courts. These confections were made from sugar paste, which was often prepared by mixing powdered sugar with

[258] Metin And gives the reference of a book of registers from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (TSMA.d. 10015), as the original source of this information. Nevertheless, although I have checked the same book of registers and another book (TSMA.d. 10022) on the same festival, I have seen that unfortunately they do not include such information. May be the inventory number of the cited book of registers might have changed. And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 88.
[259] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikler*i, v. 4-5, 488; Vandal*, L'Odysee d'un Ambassadeur*, 197.

gum mastic or gum tragacanth, and egg whites, which were then, colored.[260] Sometimes for malleability, instead of gummastic or tragacanth, inedible substances such as glue were also used.[261] These sugar figures were both part of the entertainment in form of sumptuous display, and they were indirect expressions of the princely magnificence in festive occasions.[262] Until the mid-seventeenth century, they were mostly edible items, which were put on display as decorative table items during the feasts and were distributed to the servants when the occasion ended. Yet, by the late seventeenth century sugar, figures began to be prepared as inedible table decorations. This change was largely related to the fact that, by the eighteenth-century, sugar became relatively more affordable for a larger group of consumers in Europe. Thus, it gradually lost its signification as "material distinction and courtly prestige."[263] Ottoman uses of sugar figures that were carried on trays (*şeker taṣvīri*)[264] during the imperial festivals indicate interesting parallels to this situation. Testimonies from the 1582 and 1675 imperial festivals indicate that, during these occasions, sugar figures were edible items. In the 1582, festival sugar figures were distributed among the guests and the remaining pieces were given to the people[265] in the 1675 festival upon an official permission the audience scrambled all sugar confections.[266] Nevertheless, for the 1720 imperial festival, sources do not make such a reference. From a short document that recorded the required quantity of some materials that were used for the preparations of sugar figures we learn that at least

[260] Mason, *Sugar and Plums*, 137-149.
[261] Ibid.149.
[262] Imorde, "Edible Prestige," 105.
[263] Starting with the mid-seventeenth century sugar became more available to the growing number of urban bourgeoisie in the Europe. Yet, broadly speaking until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still regarded as a luxurious commodity for ordinary people and entered kitchens of simple house only afterwards. See Mintz, *Sweetness and Power.*
[264] Mentioned as such in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/16; D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, fol. 3a.
[265] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 91. For the original reference see Haunoult, "Particular Verzechnuzs was Ceremonien" 472.
[266] Zorlutuna, "XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında," 281.

some of them included non-edible items such as chemical red, yellow paint, and yellow glue with indications that they were were to be used by painter/designers.[267] This information indicates that such sugar figures that were carried on trays during the royal processions might have been transformed into inedible display objects, implying a parallelism with the contemporary European practice. Yet, it is worth mentioning that sugar was still a luxury commodity for a major part of the Ottoman society in the eighteenth century. Thus, the main reason behind the changing function of those sugar figures cannot be the same as the European case. Perhaps this change was related to the Ottomans' interest in appropriating new trends in the European courts. Parallel to that, as has been mentioned above, for the 1675 festival, confectioners were brought from Europe. During the 1720 festival, on the other hand, some of the confectioners were Jewish masters,[268] who might have been trained in or aware of contemporary European practices in the field of confectionary making.

Besides these smaller-scale portable sugar figures, in the 1675 and 1720 festivals there was an additional type of object, namely big candy gardens. Inside these three dimentional garden representations, there were kiosks surrounded by fountains, trees, flowers and birds, mostof which were made of sugar and confections. These were incredibly costly projects. Even if one considers solely the enormous amount of sugar that was used for their preparation, one grasps the scope of the luxury. For instance, in the 1720 circumcision festival, 5,627 *vuḳiyye* (7,219.131 kg) sugar was used just for the preparation of candy gardens and, for

[267] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/107: "Cedīd sipāriş olunān ṭablalara verilecek: naḳḳāş içün ṭūtḳāl ṣārı 1 vuḳiyye, naḳḳāş içün sülügen 350 dirhem, naḳḳāş içün ṣārı boya 1 vuḳiyye, 20 dirhem (...), naḳḳāş içün sülügen boya 2 vuḳiyye…"
[268] See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173, 3, 5, 6.

smaller-scale sugared forms. Indeed, this was almost two times more than the total amount of sugar utilized for preparing dishes for the imperial banquets.[269]

Spending such a huge amount of money for preparing these objects signifies that they were charged with additional semiotic meanings. Without any doubt, their size, height and luxury symbolized the wealth, magnificence and power of the commissioner and the actual owner of the object, that is, the bride or the crown prince. Yet, one shall also draw a conceptual parallelism between the utilization of such hyperbolic material forms in Ottoman festivals and medieval as well as early modern European carnivals.[270] In his analysis of medieval carnivals, Bakhtin discusses the hyperbolic grotesque, a cosmic and universal concept that was often put in display in the exaggerated form of valuable materials and foodstuffs in popular festive forms.[271] This material hyperbole indeed was a positive image representing the superabundance, productivity and growth, and which also promised a kind of a utopian affluence during the temporality of the festive occasion.[272] I think the excessive uses of valuable materials for constructing these objects and their exaggerated forms relied on a very similar concept of the utopian abundance that was accessible to all people, albeit on a different basis and temporally. Yet, in the particular Ottoman context, the source of this material superabundance was the benefaction of the sultan. Therefore, conceptually only through his will this utopian affluence could be available. Conceived from this framework, I think these giant and luxurious objects can be perceived as incarnations of the sultan's benefaction in the form of conspicuous display.

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[269] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, s. 28.

[270] Such a conceptual parallelism between Ottoman festival forms and the concept of the carnival was first proposed to the literature by Derin Terzioğlu in her seminal study on the 1582 circumcision. See Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival".

[271] Bakthin, *Rabelais and His World*, 184-222; 256-276.

[272] Ibid. 184.

2.4.1 The craftsmen working for the project

According to *sūrnāmes,* craftsmen that were involved in the construction of these display objects were *naḫıl* masters, confectioners (from the imperial confectionary and from outside), gilders, designer/painters, carpenters (*neccarān*) and lathe makers (*çıḳrıḳçıyān*). Yet, craftsmen specialized in various other crafts were also assigned to this project.

Archival documents indicate that, besides these aforementioned groups, various other craftsmen (specialized in 20 different crafts) were also involved in the project.[273] Archival documents show that each group worked for a different number of days.[274] As Table 8 shows, the earliest start was for *naḫıl* workers (*naḫılcıyān*), candy garden workers (*işciyān-ı baġçe-i şeker*), and carpenters (*neccarān*), who seem to have begun their work the last days of July (as soon as the festival preperations began) and worked until the first week of September, finishing their work just before the inauguration of the festival. Yet, some other craftsmen's work continued even during the course of the festival such as gilders (*varaḳçıyān*), lathe makers (*çıḳrıḳçıyān*), imperial confectioners (*ḥelvācıyān-ı ḫāṣ ve'aḳīdeciyān*) and candy makers *(şekerciyān*). These latter craftsmen must have been concerned with the final refinements before the public display of those items in the imperial city that took place on 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (10 September, 1720) when they marched from the streets of the city with a solemn procession.

[273] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 11-12; MAD.d. 1284, 14-15.
[274] A number of book of registers include this information see BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 14-15; MAD.d. 4729, 11-12; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173.

Table 8. Craftsmen Involved in the Preparation of *Naḫıls* and Candy Gardens[275]

Name of the Craft	Number of Workmen	Duration of work	Daily Wage
Naḫıl masters (*Naḫılcıyān usta*)[276]	10	24 *Ramażān*-2 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	65 *aḳçe*
Naḫıl assistant master (*Naḫılcıyān ḳalfa*)[277]	15	24 *Ramażān*-2 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	45 *aḳçe*
Workers of candy gardens (*İşciyān-ı bağçe-i şeker*)	20	25 *Ramażān*-6 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Box makers (*Ḳuṭucıyān*)	5	2 *Şevvāl*-4 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	50 *aḳçe*
Painter/designers (*Naḳḳāşān*)	9	3 *Şevvāl*-3 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Locksmiths (*Çilingirān*)	7	27 *Ramażān*-18 *Ẕi'lḳa'de*	45 *aḳçe*
Blacksmiths (*Ahengerān*)	25	2 *Şevvāl*-14 *Şevvāl*	40 *aḳçe*
Pulley makers (*Maḳaracıyān*)	10	1 *Şevvāl*-7 *Şevvāl*	40 *aḳçe*
Timber men (*Ṭoġramacıyān*)	4	5 *Şevvāl*-22 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	50 *aḳçe*
Carpenters (*Neccarān*)	25[278]	26 *Ramażān*-9 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	45 *aḳçe*
Marquetry makers (*Oymacı maraṅġozān*)	10	7 *Şevvāl*-15 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Decoupage makers[279] (*Oymacıyān-ı kāġıd*)	23	2 *Şevvāl*-13 *Şevvāl*	60 *aḳçe*
Ḥelvā and candy makers of the imperial confectionary (*Ḥelvācıyān-ı ḫāṣ ve'aḳīdeciyān*)	17	4 *Şevvāl*-29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	40 *aḳçe*
Binders (*Mücellidān*)	16	2 *Şevvāl*-25 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Gilders (*Varaḳçıyān*)	10	29 *Ramażān*-29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Lathemakers (*Çıḳrıḳçıyān*)	5	2 *Şevvāl*-25 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	50 *aḳçe*
Confectioners (*Şekerciyān*)	4	1 *Şevvāl*-25 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
String makers (*Sicimciyān*)	6	2 *Şevvāl*-19 *Şevvāl*	50 *aḳçe*
Rope makers (*Ḥaladcıyān*)	24	22 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	60 *aḳçe*
Cabinetmakers (*Maraṅġozān*)	10	1 *Şevvāl*-6 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	50 *aḳçe*

As shown in Table 8, 255 craftsmen (specialized in 20 different crafts) were involved in the project. These men received a daily income based on their craft ranging roughly between 60 *aḳçe* and 40 *aḳçe*, with the exception of *naḫıl* masters and the chief master of candy gardeners Usta Mustafa whose daily income was more than any other craftsmen, at 65 *aḳçe*. In 1720, the average daily wage in Istanbul for a

[275] For the preparation of the Table, I have based on two account books of the festival. Yet, I have also crosschecked the information contained in the account books with two books of registers, which are more detailed in the sense they recorded also the names of all workers on a weekly basis. See BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 12-13, MAD.d. 1284. 14-15, D.BŞM. 1/173, MAD.d. 1687.

[276] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 12. The number of *naḫıl* masters and assistant masters was mistakenly written as 77. However, both in the other account book (MAD.d. 1284, 14) and in a book of registers (D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173) that recorded names of those workers; the total number including masters and assistants seem to be 25.

[277] I have translated the term *ḳalfa* as the assistant master to differentiate them from those craftsmen referred to as *usta* in the same group. However research on the eighteenth century Ottoman architecture shows that during this period, this term (*ḳalfa*) was used also for master craftsmen. One obvious example is the non-Muslim architect of Nuruosmaniye mosque, Simeon Kalfa. Indeed, his chief assistant also carried the title *kalfa*. For these non-Muslim architects of the eighteenth century see Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 212-216.

[278] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 13 and MAD.d. 1284, 14, the number of workers was mistakenly written as 254. However, when one examines BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173 and when one calculates their total salary it emerges that actually carpenters was composed of 25 craftsmen.

[279] This group is not mentioned in MAD.d. 1284. Although the group is mentioned in MAD.d. 4729, 13 in this case the daily wage and number of workers was not written. Yet, in D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173, fol. 5b we see the whole information.

skilled worker was 42.4 *aḳçe* and for an unskilled worker it was 26 *aḳçe*.[280] Approached from this perspective, the majority of the craftsmen's daily incomes during the preparations of the 1720 festival seem to have been relatively higher than the average amount. In addition to these craftsmen, four water dispensers and ten slaves were also assigned to the project; water dispensers received 20 *aḳçe* and slaves only six *aḳçe* daily income. The total amount of all these wages was 622,498 *aḳçe*, comprising almost one third of all expenses spent for the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens.

Two detailed books of registers that were kept either by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival or by his deputy in charge point out that these payments were made on a weekly basis.[281] The weekly organization should have been a practical solution to prevent mistakes during the calculation of payments because, as has been mentioned above, each week, different numbers of craftsmen worked. For instance, in the three weeks between 19 August and 6 September, the number of candy garden workers was 25, 29, and 10 weekly.[282] However, in the account books of the festival, as Table 8 shows, the number of those workers was simply mentioned as 20. When these different sources, the account books and two detailed books of registers on *naḫıls* and candy gardens are evaluated together, it emerges that the account books recorded a uniform number to indicate the amount of workers without differentiating each particular week. Thus, it would not be wrong to suggest that that the clerks of the account bureau possibly noted an average number of workmen for each group.[283] The divergences between different types of archival documents remind us of the complicated nature of these types of sources. Thanks to

[280] Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar,* 71.
[281] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 13-14; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173.
[282] BOA. MAD.d. 1687, 2-5.
[283] BOA. MAD.d. 1687; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173.

the great diversity of the archival documents on the 1720 festival, we are able to grasp these unknown aspects that often remain silent to us.

2.4.1.1 The social composition of *naḫıl* and candy garden workers

Naḫıl workers and candy garden workers, who were mentioned in the first place in all books of registers, need special attention. Evliya Çelebi, in his *Seyahatname*, mentions that in seventeenth-century Istanbul there was a specific guild specialized in making *naḫıls*. Accordingly, the guild was composed of 55 people and had four workshops across the imperial city.[284] What is unknown however is their social composition. Our archival documents on the 1720 festival illustrate a vivid picture on that matter. First of all, *naḫıl* workers and candy garden workers, often mentioned as *zümre* (group) in the archival documents, were composed of skilled workers specialized in different crafts. For example, among *naḫıl* workers there were binders (*mücellidān*), pulley makers (*maḳaracıyān*) and hair-rope makers (*muytābān*), and among candy garden workers there were designer/painters (*naḳḳāşān*) and a *büstci* (bust maker[?]).[285] Thus, it seems that under their organization, these crafts combined men of different skills. However, in the 1720 festival, other craftsmen aided *naḫıl* workers and candy garden workers. This additional work force must have been related to the grandiose of *naḫıls* and candy gardens and to the strict timeline of the festival's preparations. Indeed, the complicated designs of these objects must have also necessitated the involvement of some other craftsmen with specific skills.

From the archival documents, it emerges that while some particular crafts were involved in the preparation of *naḫıls*, some were solely concerned with the

[284] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I, 292-293.
[285] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/174; MAD.d. 1687.

construction of candy gardens.[286] For example, in addition to *naḫıl* workers, locksmiths (*çilingirān*), blacksmiths (*ahengerān*), pulley makers (*maḳaracıyān*), rope makers *(ḥalādcıyān*), binders (*mücellidān*) were involved in the preparation of *naḫıls*. Confectioners (*şekerciyān*), marquetry makers (*oymacı maranġozān*), decoupage makers (*oymacıyān-ı kāġıd*) and timber men (*ṭoġramacıyān*) on the other hand were helping to make the candy gardens. Others such as painter/designers *(naḳḳāşān*), box makers (*ḳuṭucıyān*) and carpenters (*neccarān*) seem to have been involved in the preparation of both. As will be discussed later, this division of labor must have been out of the designing requirements of these objects.

As far as candy garden workers are concerned, interestingly, among that group there was also an assistant master architect (*ḳalfa-ı miʿmār*) named Molla Bekir.[287] In another place, he was referred to as the fiduciary of the office of the imperial architects (*muʿtemed-i ḫaṣṣa miʿmārān*).[288] Possibly he was assigned by the office of the imperial architects to oversee the project. Additionally, as will be discussed later, he might also have been involved in making a model for these three dimensional candy garden representations that included architectural details such as kiosks, gardens, and fountains.

A master craftsman was serving as the head of each group. While Usta Mustafa was the chief master of candy garden workers, Hacı Mustafa was the chief master of *naḫıl* workers, each receiving a daily wage of 65 *aḳçe*.[289] For overseeing the construction of *naḫıls* and candy gardens an usher named Mehmed Agha was assigned.[290] In addition to that, in one document, the name of a *naḫıl emīni* (literally

[286] BOA. MAD.d. 1687 does not include this information. Yet, D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173 and 1/174 clearly illustrates this matter.
[287] BOA. MAD.d. 1687, 3.
[288] BOA. MAD.d. 1687, 4.
[289] BOA. MAD.d. 1687, 3,6.
[290] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 12: "mübāşir-i naḫıl-ı kebīr Mehmed Aġa."

the superintendent of *naḫıl* refers to the official who was in charge of supervising the construction of these objects) Mehmed Agha was mentioned.[291] This agha must have been the same man who was referred to in the other document as the usher. Mehmed Agha must have been the highest-ranking official among all and must have served as the chief responsible for all matters related to the construction of *naḫıls* and candy gardens.

As far as the social composition of *naḫıl* and candy garden workers are concerned, one sees a predominantly Muslim population, with the exception of a number of Jewish craftsmen among the candy garden workers, who were specialized in marquetry.[292] Interestingly, these craftsmen were differentiated from the other members by the addition of the word "Jewish" (*yehudi*) under their names. In fact, this sort of differentiation through religious affiliation is seen throughout two books of registers that recorded names of all craftsmen. Accordingly, when crafts were composed of mixed religious groups, Christians were differentiated by the word *ẕimmi* (literally meaning non-Muslim) and Jewish members were marked by word *yehudi*.[293] This differentiation also helps to prevent confusion in identifying names that were jointly used by different religious groups such as the case of Kasımpaşalı Baki from cabinetmakers (*maranġozān*) and *ẕimmi* (non-Muslim) Usta (master) Baki from marquetry makers (*oymacı marānġozān*).

[291] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/93.
[292] In BOA. MAD.d. 1687 candy garden workers were mentioned as a composite group yet, in D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173 they were divided in sub-groups according to their crafts such as marquetry makers, confectioners, *ḥelvā* makers that were all mentioned as being attached to the candy gardens (ie. fol. 5b: "neferāt-ı oymacıyān-ı kāġıd der zümre-i baġçe-i şeker.")
[293] This kind of a differentiation through religious affiliation is frequently seen in the judiciary records. For example Bruce Masters in his study on the sectarian relations and identities of non-Muslims in Ottoman Arab lands between the sixteenth and early twentieth century puts forth that non-Muslims were often identified by the use of a different terminology such as the term *walad* to denote sons of non-Muslims in place of the term *ibn*, which was used for Muslims. Another way of differentiation was through misspelling names that were shared among Muslims and non-Muslims. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman World,* 32, 33; Marcus, *The Middle East on The Eve of Modernity,* 40.

The titles or nicknames before the names of these craftsmen may provide hints to help unearth their social make-up. While titles in Ottoman society clearly designated social standing, recent studies show that significant social and economic disparities were observed among holders of the same title.[294] Keeping this in mind, although one shall not reach definite conclusions on the wealth level or exact social rank of a person through his/her title, title holding was still an important social marker, especially when compared to non-title holders. When names and titles of all the craftsmen who worked in this project are examined, it is possible to roughly divide those title-holding craftsmen into two categories, titles denoting their social and occupation status, and residential location. To start with titles indicating the social and occupational status, this group comprises a long list, including religious and military titles such as *beşe, aġa, molla, çelebi,* various occupational titles as well as titles referring to one's pilgrim status or that of descendent of the prophet Muhammad. The frequent appearance of occupational titles in our list is not surprising since these were all craftsmen under the organization of a specific workshop. Thus, titles such as *naḳḳāş* (painter/designer), *berber* (barber), *terzi* (tailor), *muytāb* (hair rope maker), *mührī* (seal maker) that one encounters among the group of candy garden workers and *naḫıl* workers must indicate the profession of those men. Yet, there are also a few examples when the occupational title refers to a generational transfer of status, such as the case of Hurmacızade Ibrahim and Terlikçi Oğlu Mehmed.[295] In another case, the titles of the craftsmen seem to have been related to a different occupation than his craft, since two craftsmen among the candy garden workers were mentioned as *ḫayālī*, a title used for shadow theatre players. In

[294] Marcus, *The Middle East on The Eve of Modernity*, 37-72; Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance." For title holding in provincial context see Ergene "Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality in the Ottoman Empire," 23-46; Idem, "Inheritance and Wealth Transmission," 25-47; Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town*.
[295] BOA. MAD.d. 1687, 6.

addition to these, there are other titles referring to the social hierarchy of the craftsmen inside their workshop such as *usta* (master), *ḳalfa* (assistant master) and *şākird* (apprentice).

When it comes to titles such as *aġa* and *molla,* they appear very rarely. Two craftsmen with the title agha belonged to *naḫıl* workers; indeed one was Mehmed Agha, the overseer of *naḫıls* and candy gardens. As agha often denotes a higher-ranking position in the military establishment or government service,[296] we may assume that these two men had a higher social position than their peers. *Molla,* on the other hand, seen only once in our list, is used solely for the assistant master architect Molla Bekir, as has been mentioned before. This title also designates a higher rank in the religious establishment, so again it must have signified a higher social status.

Çelebi seems to be the most pervasive title among all others in our list that one encounters it almost in all groups. Some studies show that, both in urban and provincial context, this title was owned by a relatively large group of people across social and economic strata, including scribes, higher and lower members of the religious affiliation, merchants, craftsmen and non-Muslim Armenians and Phanariot Greeks.[297] In this respect, classifying holders of this title according to their social or economic status is very difficult. *Beşe,* is the second most pervasive title that is seen among box-makers, binders, cabinetmakers, *ḥelvā* (halva) and *ʻaḳīde* (candy) makers of the imperial confectionary, confectioners, *naḫıl* workers and candy garden workers.[298] The frequent appearance of this title among our group of craftsmen

[296] Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 71; Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance," 21.
[297] Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 71; Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance," 21, 22.
[298] BOA. MAD.d. 1687; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173.

brings to mind the close relations between the military establishment and the marketplace starting with the seventeenth century.[299]

As far as status titles such as *ḥacı* and *seyyid* are concerned, they occasionally appear in our list of the craftsmen. While pilgrim status is widely seen among *naḫıl* workers, candy garden workers, binders, painter/designers, and confectioners, *seyyid* is seen only three times in our list, and only among *naḫıl* workers and binders.[300] These status titles conferred social and religious prestige on the holders, but understanding whether there was a positive relationship between these titles and one's economic status is difficult. Still, perhaps it is relatively easier when it comes to identify pilgrims because, certainly, performing this religious ritual required a certain level of economic power.[301] Identifying *seyyid* status, however, is much more complicated because both the social and economic composition of *seyyids* across the Ottoman lands were vey disparate.[302] In this respect, beyond acknowledging the prestige of these titles, it is not possible to draw clear-cut conclusions on the socio-economic status of the holders.

Besides these titles designating occupational or social status, some craftsmen had forenames that indicated their residential location or physical characteristics.[303] These can be divided into two groups, those denoting an affiliation with a particular city or with a district of Istanbul. The first one includes various cities across Ottoman geography including Edirne, Bosna, Şumnu, Karaman, Kütahya, Mısır, Tekirdağ, Pazarcık, Aksura, Diyarbakır, Hafa, and Kayseri. And the second group encompasses

[299] Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire;* Yılmaz, "Blurred boundaries between soldiers and civilians,"175-194.
[300] BOA. MAD.d. 1687; D.BŞM. SRH. 1/173.
[301] Ergene and Berker, "Wealth and Inequality," 39.
[302] Canbakal, "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet," 542-578; Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire*, 83, 88, 90; Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 57, 62; Ergene and Berker, "Wealth and Inequality," 36- 42.
[303] See Tülüveli, "Nicknames and Sobriquets."

various districts of Istanbul such as Ayasofya, Üsküdar, Tophane, Yeniçeşme, Ada, Uzun Çarşı, Kumkapı, Galata, and Kasımpaşa.[304] Apart from that, as a last category, some craftsmen were recorded with their nicknames that seem to be related with their physical characteristic such as Kara Süleyman, Kabakulak Ahmed, Danabaş Ahmed, Uzun Mustafa, Çolak Ali. In all, from all these it emerges that the craftsmen that were involved in the construction of *naḫıls* and candy gardens were composed of socially diversified members.

2.4.2 Preparing *naḫıls* and candy gardens

Compared to Seyyid Vehbi, Hafız Mehmed in his *sūrnāme* provides relatively more detailed information on the preparations of *naḫıls* and candy gardens. As he relates, for the preparations a certain place was assigned in the gardens of the imperial palace next to the patient rooms of the inner palace pages. Some necessary items such as square sail (*seren*[305] *yelkeni*) were brought from the imperial dockyard and others including sugar, fruits, flowers, and boxes were provisioned from elsewhere. In a short time, *naḫıl* masters, and confectioners from the imperial confectionary and from outside, gilders, designer/painters, carpenters and lathe makers started working there.[306] Although the initial idea was to prepare these objects in the Imperial Palace and then to transport them to the Old Palace before the inauguration of the festival, both *sūrnāmes* mention that the sultan had changed his mind on that matter. After having seen the giant scale of these objects, the sultan ordered that they should be immediately brought to the Old Palace to prevent any difficulty related to their transportation on the day of their public procession. Thus, on *9 Şevvāl* (13 August,

[304] BOA. MAD.d. 1687.
[305] *Seren* is round and long trunk of pine tree which is used to make scaffold. Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v. 4, 1782.
[306] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 180.

1720) they were transported to the Old Palace.[307] This is all we learn from the *sūrnāmes* on the preparation phase of *naḫıls* and candy gardens, which leaves us with questions such as how the craftsmen designed these objects, which specific items were used for *naḫıls* and for candy gardens, and what kind of an impact did they make over the audience.

The archival documents show that the provisioning of necessary items for the preparations of *naḫıls* and candy gardens started immediately. Four days after the assignment of the superintendent of the festival, the workplace for *naḫıls* and candy gardens was set up in the gardens of the imperial palace, behind the patient rooms of the pages of the inner palace (*enderūn*) as both Hafız Mehmed's narrative and a marginal note dated 25 *Ramażān* 1132 (3 August, 1720) in a book of registers unearths.[308] These patient rooms must have referred to the sections of the palace hospital that was located at the right side of the *Bāb-ı Hümāyūn* (The Imperial Gate) of the imperial palace and was accessed through a separate door.[309]

Two short lists of provisions dated 26 *Ramażān* 1132 (4 August, 1720) indicate that necessary materials for the construction and design of these display objects were determined instantly.[310] The officials seem to have been concerned with the upkeep of these materials that were provisioned for the preparation of these objects, which was stated in a copy of an imperial order. In this order, a precise deadline was also mentioned for this significant task by stating that *naḫıls*, candy gardens and sugar figures should be ready on the first day of the *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (4

[307] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 471.
[308] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, fol. 2b: "inşāllah-ı te'alā ẕi'l-ḳa'de ġurresinde şehzādegān-ı civānbaḫt sūr-ı ḫitānlar(ı)çün müceddeden yapılması iḳtiżā iden dörd kıṭ'a naḫıl-ı kebīr ve kırk kıṭ'a naḫıl- ṣaġīr ve dörd kıṭ'a şeker baġçesi yapdırılmak muḳtażī olmaġla emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn El Ḥac Ḫalil Efendi ma'ārifetiyle saray- ı cedīdde ḫastagān-ı ġılmānān-ı enderūn oṭalarınıñ ard ṭarafında yapdırılmaḳ üzere mübāşeret ve iḳtiżā iden lāzım her ne ise gönderilüb mevcūd vāḳitte verilmesi lāzım gelenler verilüb ve mübāya'a iḳtiżā idenleri mübāya'a idüb..."
[309] See Necipoğlu, "Chapter 2: The imperial fortress and the first court," In Idem, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*; also see Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*, xvi.
[310] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/11; 1/12.

September, 1720).[311] This urgency must have been related to the strict time management of the festival because between the announcement and the inauguration day, there were only 52 days. As a comparison, in the former circumcision festival of the 1675, which was held in Edirne, the preparations started six months before.[312] Hence, in the 1720 festival, the officials and workers had to a very limited time to complete all preparations.

The account books of the festival indicate that the total cost of four big *naḫıls*, forty small *naḫıls* and four candy gardens was 1,620,803.5 *aḳçe*.[313] This amount included wages of hundreds of skilled craftsmen (622,498 *aḳçe*), the cost of the construction materials such as different types of timber, gimlet and nails (117,967.5 *aḳçe*) and all sorts of items for decoration (880,338 *aḳçe*). As a comparison, in the1675 imperial festival the total cost for *naḫıls* and candy gardens that were prepared both for the circumcision celebrations and for royal wedding of Hatice Sultan was 1,329,605 *aḳçe*.[314] Thus, in the 1720 imperial festival *naḫıls* and candy gardens were more expensive projects.

2.4.2.1 Provisioning materials for the construction and decoration of these display objects

The *naḫıls* and candy gardens of the 1720 festival have so far been approached mainly through their pictorial representations in the *Sūrnāme-i Vehbi*. While some studies have offered unfounded claims related to their forms,[315] none of the studies

[311] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/16; the same order was copied in a book of registers as a margin note see D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, fol. 3a: "Sūr-ı hümāyūn için tertīb olunān naḫıllar ve şeker baġçeleri ve şeker taşvīrleri Ẕi'l-ḳa'denin ġurresine irişdirilmek üzere tekmilen fermān-ı 'alī ṣadır olmaġla ʿameleye ziyāde tenbih ve te'kīd ve gice ve gündüz durmayub irşāddır (?) mümkin def 'a ihtimām eyleyesiz deyü fermān-ı 'alī-i hümāyūn emīn efendiye ṣadır olunmuşdur fi 29 *Ramażān* 1132."
[312] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*, v. 4-5, 483.
[313] BOA. MAD.d.1284, 77-78; D.BŞM. SRH. 8/9.
[314] BOA. MAD.d. 3770, fol. 21b-22a.
[315] Rahimi, "Naḫıls, Circumcision Rituals and the Theatre State," 90-116.

put forth proper information on the material or visual aspects of these objects of display. This is largely related to the scattered nature of archival sources on the topic that so far have not been explored. Yet, when archival documents and textual-pictorial narratives of the festival are considered together, one comes up with a surprisingly vivid and illuminating picture to understand the details behind the construction and design process of these objects.

Archival documents show that initially raw materials were supplied from court institutions such as the imperial dockyard and imperial armory. Accordingly, between 24 *Ramażān* and 25 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (30 July-28 September, 1720) the imperial armory delivered 29 *ḳanṭār* (1,637.021 kg) unrefined iron (*ahen-i ḫām*) for the preparations of *naḫıls* and candy gardens.[316] The mention of 682 sacks of coal for the use of blacksmiths in the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens indicates that the unrefined iron/steel was melted before its use.[317] The imperial dockyard on the other hand provided boards made of elm (*ḳara aġāç taḫtası*), mirror image boards made of pine (*aynalı çām taḫtası*), four spars of a galley (*ḳadırġa sereni*), two stiles sawn from the middle of a pine (*çām sereni*) and hornbeam tree (*gürgen aġāç*).[318] In addition to these materials, the agha of Istanbul delivered 58 *çeki* (14,500 kg) of firewood.[319] These basic construction items must have been promptly delivered to the *naḫıl* and candy garden workers, and to the carpenters, who started their work before any other craftsmen, exactly on 24 *Ramażān* (30 July, 1720).

Four spars of a galley (*ḳadırġa sereni*) must have been used for the poles of four long *naḫıls*. Unfortunately, the length of these spars were not mentioned in the

[316] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 4.
[317] This material was mentioned in BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 12.
[318] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH: 2/5, 4-5. For the materials used by the Imperial Dockyard and their provisioning processess see Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı,* Idem, *Kürekli ve Yelkenli Osmanlı Gemileri*, Bostan et al. eds. *Başlangıçtan XVII. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar Türk Denizcilik Tarihi.*
[319] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 4-5.

document. Yet, in an expense register of the Imperial Dockyard dated 1681, the size of the spar of a galley was mentioned as 28 *ẕirā'* [320] (cubit), which is equivalent to 21.2 meters. As sizes of Ottoman galleys did not show drastic variation over time,[321] then the spar of a galley that was used for the construction of four big *naḫıls* of the 1720 festival very possibly had a similar size. Indeed, the account of the British priest John Covel on the 1675 imperial festival also substantiates this claim, as he says that, in this festival two long *naḫıls* were 27 yards (equivalent to 24.68 meters) in length.[322] Parallel to that Haunolth says that big *naḫıls* of the 1582 festival were longer than 24 meters.[323] On the basis of this information one can surmise that the length of such long *naḫıls* were often between 21 and 25 meters.

Twelve boards made of hornbeam tree were used for the construction of the *sāl* (literally means raft, here refers to the wooden base of these lengthy objects), above which long poles of four big *naḫıls* were set.[324] A note in a book of registers indicates that each one of these wooden boards was 13 *ẕirā'* (cubits) in length, equivalent to 9.854 meters.[325] Thus, for this purpose, a total of 118.2 meters of wooden boards made of hornbeam tree were used. Since there were four big *naḫıls*, for the construction of each wooden base 29.5 meters of board must have been used. The pictorial representations depict these bases as square or as rectangular forms, much smaller than candy gardens. As will be discussed, for constructing the wooden

[320] Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 120.
[321] The sizes of Ottoman galleys were almost uniform. In the seventeenth century for example, the length of a galley changed between 55-56 *ẕirā'* the height of the stern (*kıç*) was 18 *karış*, the head clearance (*baş yüksekliği*) was 11 *karış*. İdris Bostan in his book mentions that in the mid-seventeenth century Katip Çelebi stated that in the previous periods the sizes of galleys were just one *karış* smaller than these aforementioned dimensions. For the information see Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 85, n. 25.
[322] Bent ed. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 201.
[323] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 246, 247. For the original source see Nicolas von Haunolth, "Particular Verzechnuzs..." 260, 270.
[324] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 5: "lāzım-ı sāl-ı naḫıl-ı kebīr için gürgen aġāç [taḫtası] 12 [teslīmat] 13 Şevvāl." In MAD.d. 4729, 24 the amount appears as 16, which was the asked amount yet; the delivered amount was 12 boards of hornbeam tree.
[325] [325] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 5; MAD.d. 4729, 24.

base of each candy garden in totality 6 meters wooden boards were used. Then, the use of such a big amount of wooden board for bases of *naḫıls* implies that these might have been made of multiple layers. Indeed, these wooden bases might have also have been supported underneath with a layer of iron to make them stronger. The provisioning of a huge amount of iron for the construction of these objects further substantiates this possibility. Indeed, the type of wood is also indicative of this concern for durability, since *naḫıls* were heavier and much longer; a stronger type of wood, the hornbeam tree seems to have been preferred for their construction.

For the base of four candy gardens, on the other hand, two stiles sawn from the middle of a pine (*çām sereni*), each with a hexadecimal size (possibly referring to 16 *ẕirā'* [cubits], which is equal to 12.1 m)[326] was used.[327] Very possibly, both of these stiles sawn from the middle of a pine were cut into a number of pieces and then nailed to form a square or rectangular frame. Models of the four candy gardens were placed above these wooden frames for carrying. If the bases of the candy gardens formed a square, then each side might have been 1.5 meters and the dimension of the wooden bases of gardens was 2.25 square meters. If their bases had a rectangular form, then each candy garden's size might have been 2 square meters. In the 1675 festival, according to the authority of John Covel, the dimension of giant candy gardens was equal to 1.7 square meters. Hence, these gardens seem to have been relatively smaller in size than those of the 1720.[328]

Besides the raw materials, various other types of construction and decorative materials were also needed for making such giant objects. Account books of the

[326] In the registers of the Imperial dockyard the sizes of *seren* and *sütun* that were used in the construction of different types of galleons were often referred in *ẕirā'*, which is equal to *arşın* (1 *arşın*=0.758 m). See Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*. On the basis of this information one may surmise that possibly this meant that two *seren* each with 16 *ẕirā'* (cubit) length was used.
[327] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 5: "lāzım-ı sāl-ı bağçe-i şeker: çām sereni, on altışar olmak üzere [adet] 2."
[328] Bent ed. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.* 228-229.

festival recorded the provisions for the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens all together. One of the most significant materials was certainly the wax. Indeed, 375.5 *vuḳiyye* (481.745 kg) wax of flower honey (*şem'i 'asel-i verd*) and 634.5 *vuḳiyye* (814 kg) wax of summer savory (*şem'i 'asel-i sa'ter*) were used for *naḫıls* and candy gardens.[329] Other frequently used materials were different kinds of paper, certain types of textiles, nails, gimlets and glues, mastic, pulleys, copper, ropes, wire, paints, gold and silver leaf, and various types of spices and herbs, including cinnamon, saffron, clove, black pepper, coriander, musk, and alum as well as roasted and unroasted coffee beans.

Paper types display a great variety including lacquered, variegated, colored, Istanbul, *ḫünkāri*, red, black, low-quality black, gilded, unpolished, polished, big Damascus paper and green colored paper that was cut in the margins.[330] The same variety is also observed in types of paint. Six types of red paint namely *ḳırmız, sülügen, Frengi sülügen, ḳırmızı boya, zencefre, sürḫ* and *la'lī,*[331] dark blue paint, namely *çivit-i Lāhor* (indigo from Lahore),[332] two types of white color *isfīdāç*[333] and *Lāhor beyāżı*, two types of black paint called *siyāh boya* and *ṭuṭī siyāh boya*[334] are mentioned. In addition, ochre (*aşı boyası*), which gives a dark yellow color and

[329] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 11,12; MAD.d. 4729, 5-9.
[330] *Yāldızlı kāġıd, ebru kāġıd, elvān kāġıd, İstānbul kāġıdı, hünkāri kāġıd, al kāġıd, siyāh kāġıd, hāşi ḳara kāġıd, kāġıd-ı yāldız, mührelenmemiş kāġıd, mührelenmiş kāġıd, kebīr Şām kāġıdı, kenārı kesik fıstıḳ kāġıd*. See BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 11-15; MAD.d. 4729, 5-9; D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141; SRH. 2/5.
[331] Red paint is divided into various types such as pink, orange like red, rose red, brick red, crimson, ruby, vermilion according to its chemical reactions. While some red paints such as *sülügen* were made out of chemical substances such as lead oxide, some were pigments made from insects such as *ḳırmız* (cochineal). Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v. 2, 1070, also see Simpson, "Why My Name is Red," 282-284.
[332] *Çivit* is a dark blue paint that was extracted from a plant that originally grows at China, India, Pakistan and Yemen. This blue paint that was mentioned in the list came from Lahore, a city from today's Pakistan. Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v.1, 413-414.
[333] *İsfīdāç* was a grey paint that was used as white paint and was mixed with other paints to produce different colors. Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v.4, 2182.
[334] *Ṭuṭīyā* and *ṭuṭī-i dide* means polish; although I could not find the name of this paint in dictionaries, I have encountered another name which is *dīde-i siyāh. Dīde-i siyāh* was a black paint made by burning resin or some oils. As *ṭuṭī-i dīde* meant polish, so possibly *ṭuṭī-i siyāh* also denoted a kind of a black polish or kind of a glaze that was applied over a painted surface. For the term *ṭuṭīyā* and *ṭuṭī-i dīde* see Tulum, *XVII. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı*, 1785.

crayon (*mūm boyası*[335]), which has wax inside, are also seen among materials of *naḫıls* and candy gardens.[336] Indeed, an amount of saffron and turmeric mentioned in the documents could have been used for making yellow paints.[337] As will be discussed below, such a variety of paints, paper colors and spices must have had a role in the visual and sensory impact of these objects. I also argue that they further highlight the material luxury and extravagance of these objects.

One of the obstacles related to the account books is that they mention materials in an undifferentiated manner, which prevents understanding materials used specifically for candy gardens and for *naḫıls* separately. Yet, a separate document and a book of registers clearly differentiated items for the construction of *naḫıls* and for candy gardens.[338] These sources provide a detailed list of items that were provisioned for candy gardens between 25 *Ramażān*-6 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (31 July-9 October 1720), that is from the start of the preparations until the day of the procession of those items.[339] Yet, when it comes to construction materials for *naḫıls*, unfortunately the lists are only partial, implying that this section was left incomplete in both documents.

2.4.2.2 Designing candy gardens and their visual-sensory impact

As the pictorial representations of Ibrahim and Levni show (Fig. A11, A12, A13, A14), in the 1720 festival, candy gardens were elaborately designed three-dimensional forms, almost like smaller scale architectural models of the palace-

[335] Mixing the paint with wax was actually an old technique that was used for painting surfaces such as *muşāmba* (waxcloth). After the wax was put inside the paint it was fired just before its application to the oily surface.
[336] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 11-15; MAD.d. 4729, 5-9; D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141; SRH. 2/5.
[337] Yellow paint was most easily produced from saffron crocus. See Bloom and Blair, "Introduction," 37.
[338] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141, D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 20; 32-35.
[339] One difference between the documents that needs to be mentioned is that BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141 does not register the names and amounts of most of the spices that were provisioned for the candy gardens.

garden complexes. In an incomplete book of registers that recorded materials for candy gardens, one of these kiosks of the candy gardens was referred to as Terakki Köşkü.[340] This reference implies that quite possibly these kiosks were modeled after actual examples. The existence of an architect among the workers of the candy gardens indeed suggests that these sugared gardens might have been made out of a smaller scale architectural model.[341] Due to the limitations of the two-dimensional form of representation, the architectural models seem to have been more frequently used in Ottoman architectural practice "to visualize three dimensional designs tangibly. [342] Indeed, in Ottoman history, there are some examples on the use of architectural models for testing designs or for persuading the patrons to commission a building. Moreover, European visitors and contemporary Ottoman authors occasionally mention the use of such small-scale architectural models as souvenirs or as commemorative decorative items.[343] In addition to these usages, the architectural models of castles, galleons or actual buildings such as a mosque, a coffeehouse, or a a bathhouse seem to have been widely used in Ottoman festivities, dating back to at least the late sixteenth century.[344] All these exemplify different usages of small-scale architectural models and their diffusion in the Ottoman material culture. I argue that the elaborate candy garden models might be seen against this background.

In candy gardens, obviously the most essential construction material was sugar; in totality, an enormous amount, 5,627 *vuḳiyye* (7,219.13) kg of sugar, was

[340] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/64.
[341] Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models," 224-243.
[342] Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models," 224-243.
[343] Ibid. 237-239.
[344] In the pictorial representations of the 1582 festival, especially in the extensively illustrated *sūrnāme* copy that was commissioned by the Ottoman court three years after the festival (TSM. H. 1344), one sees multiple examples on these three dimensional architectural models that were either used in games or were displayed in the guild parades. Some paintings of the manuscript were reproduced in various books on the Ottoman book painting yet, more extensively they can be found in Nurhan Atasoy's study. See Idem, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun.*

utilized.[345] The sugar was composed of different types such as the Frankish sugar of herbalists/perfumers, cane sugar, Frankish cane sugar, and refined Frankish sugar. *Sūrnāmes* mention that these gardens were full of small sugar figures in the shape of fruits, trees, birds and flowers, and the walkways of the gardens were covered with sugared almonds.[346] The group of confectioners must have been in charge of making these sugar figures, which were very possibly painted afterwards. In pictorial representations of Levni and Ibrahim, one sees large lemons, oranges, pears, pomegranates, cherries and peaches that sprang from trees, red and pink flowers, and large golden birdcages that were placed on four sides of these gardens.[347] All these sugar figures must have been made of sugar paste. In addition, some other parts of these gardens, such as walkways and certain parts of the buildings, might have also been covered with sugar paste. As has been mentioned before, sugar paste was prepared by mixing powdered sugar, gum, and egg white, and sometimes glue was also added. Among the provisions of candy gardens, besides sugar one also encounters egg, gum mastic and different types of glue in huge quantities,[348] which must have been used in making the sugar paste.

Sugar was also used to prepare specific types of confectioneries. For example, *ḥelvā* and *ʻaḳīde* makers must have been concerned with preparing sugared almonds. Parallel to that, our documents indicate that 196.5 *vuḳiyye* (252 kg) of almonds were utilized for candy gardens.[349] Indeed, one of the paintings made by Ibrahim provides visual evidence to this detail. In one of the gardens, one can see

[345] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 28.
[346] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 684.
[347] In the 1582 festival, among the gifts of Hadım Hasan Paşa to the sultan there were 200 cages made of sugar. This former example indicates that such kind of sugared confections in shape of cages were made. See TSMA.d. 5469, fol. 2a.
[348] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141; 2/5.
[349] BOA. D.BŞM. 2/5, 20, 35. In the documents, the cost of 1 *vuḳiyye* almond was mentioned as 55 *aḳçe*. Similarly, as it is discussed in Chapter 3, for the food provisions of the imperial kitchen (for banquets) almond was purchased at a same price.

that the walkways around a pavilion were covered with white pebble stones, which must have referred to these sugared almonds (Fig. A12). In addition, the existence of hundreds of kilograms of pistachios, dried date palms, common fennel and coffee beans among the materials that were used for candy gardens imply that there were other types of confectioneries made out of these substances. Evliya Çelebi for example, mentions that in the mid-seventeenth century, confectionaries made of common fennel and coffee beans were among the most famous types of candies produced by the confectioners of Galata.[350] Unfortunately, pictorial or textual narratives do not provide evidence to understand the decorative uses of such types of confections made of pistachio, common fennel, dried date palms and coffee beans. Yet, one may think that some might have been put inside the walkways of the gardens and some might have embellished pools or kiosks.

As seen in the pictorial representations of Levni and Ibrahim, inside these gardens there were also beautiful multi-storeyed kiosks and pavilions. Between two of them there was a pool surrounded by long cypresses and fruit trees. Ibrahim's paintings additionally depict big golden birdcages around these kiosks (Fig. A11, A12). Although not seen in the pictorial representations, Vehbi also mentions that lanterns made out of mirror glass also adorned these gardens. The existence of "nine glasses for lanterns" among the materials of the candy gardens must have referred to these decorative items.[351] In addition, 12 big mirrors were used in the construction of candy gardens.[352] Although the exact use of these mirrors cannot be recovered from the documents, still one may imagine the sparkling effect that they might have created under the sun.

[350] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* I, 253.
[351] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141: "9 adet kanadillik cam."
[352] Ibid.

The existence of carpenters, marquetry makers, and timber men among the group of workers for candy gardens implies that the small elaborate kiosks of the gardens were possibly made of wood. The provisioning of boards of wood, different type of nails, gimlet, wires and glues for candy gardens also substantiate this claim. Marquetry makers, for example, must have carved the window frames, doors, stairs, and railings of these kiosks or pavilions. Interestingly, "eighteen scissors and eighteen knives for marquetry" were also mentioned in the lengthy list of provisions for candy gardens.[353] Moreover, the mention of different types of pulleys in the list of items suggests in the inner design of the small architectural pieces pulleys might have been used.

In addition to these aforementioned craftsmen, the involvement of 23 decoupage makers in the project signifies that some parts of these kiosks and gardens must have been made of paper. For example, leaves of trees and some flowers might have been made with a decoupage technique. Parallel to that, paper types that were used for sugar gardens display a great variety, including colored, gilded, black, simple, big size, lacquered, and red paper. Besides paper, certain types of textiles were provisioned for the design of candy gardens. The account book specifically mentions brocade (*telli*) *ḫaṭā'ī* (a kind of silk textile possibly with lotus patterns) of eight *ṭonluḳ* (literally means for one garment which was equivalent to 8.16 m).[354] One might surmise that visible parts of the wooden bases of the candy gardens might have been covered with such silk textiles.

Sugar figures and architectural pieces made of wood must have been colored by painter/designers. A diversity of colors and hues, including different types of red (*ḳırmız, sülügen, Frengi sülügen, ḳırmızı boya, zencefre, sürḫ*, *la'lī*), yellow, blue,

[353] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141: "Oyma miḳrāżı, oyma bıçaġı."
[354] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 18. One *ṭonluḳ* is equal to 12 *ẕirā'* (cubits). In textiles the standard size of one *ẕirā'/arşın* was equivalent to 0.680 meters. see Inalcık, "Weights and Measures," 987.

black, and two types of white (*isfīdāç* and *Lāhor beyāżı*) were used in their designs. Apart from that, some of these paints might have also been mixed to create other colors and hues. For example, the lack of the mention of green in the lists of provisions for candy gardens raises the possibility that it could have been made through mixing yellow and blue paints. Similarly, purple could be made through the mixture of blue and dark red.

The existence of some organic paints such as cochineal (*ḳırmız*), which was often used in coloring desserts and drinks, and saffron and turmeric raises the possibility that perhaps some sugar figures (flowers, fruits, birds) and some other parts of the candy gardens (i.e. bird cages) were colored with these organic paints. If this was the case then, one may surmise that contrary to the wooden parts and paper pieces of the candy gardens, some of sugar figures and confectionaries that were placed inside these gardens might have been edible items.

In addition, some parts of candy gardens might have been covered with white lead. As alum and white, black, red, yellow and isinglass glue[355] also appears in the lists, some of these must have been put inside the paints to give a sticky texture and to enhance the durability of the colors.[356] Some of these glues might also have been used for making sugar paste,[357] and the rest of the glue was used to paste single pieces to the wooden base of the gardens or to parts that were made of cardboard. Some amount of mastic and juniper oil, on the other hand, should have been used for giving brightness to the paints.[358] After painting, these objects were sumptuously ornamented with gold leafs, gold threads, and gold buckles by the guilders. As has

[355] *Bālıḳ ṭūtḳālı* that is translated as isinglass glue is a gelatin like strong glue, which is found in sturgeon fish. Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 47.
[356] Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v.4, 2278.
[357] Sometimes glue was added to the mixture of sugar paste, which was later replaced by gelatin in modern times. See Mason, *Sugar Plums and Sherbet*, 149.
[358] Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, 1501.

been mentioned before, unlike any other craftsmen who were involved in the project, the guilders, together with the confectioners and *ḥelvā-ʿaḳīde* makers, seem to have worked until the last day of the official public celebrations (29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*). Then these craftsmen must have made the final decorative touches and refinements just a few days before the procession of such objects.

The splendid use of various paints and papers in the design of such objects urges one to question whether this had a semiotic or functional aspect. Starting with Alberti's treatise on painting, the Renaissance painters devoted great attention to the significance of colors in the overall visual experience. Accordingly, coloring was one of the basic principles of a painting, and it was purely related to the "reception of light."[359] This is to say that the color of an object is "determined by the light that it both reflects and emits and by the way receptor's eyes respond to light's wavelength and luminosity."[360] Thus, a painter's play of dark and light by applying colors and hues across the surface of an object guided how the object was received. Indeed, from the ancient times onwards, colors were also charged with semiotic meanings. For example, color gold and yellow were often considered as the symbols of dignity, and white as purity.[361] Red, on the other hand, was endowed with a dual attribute of both the beloved/love and the warrior/violence,[362] so the choice of colors and hues that were applied over the surface of an object or over a painting was not something coincidental, at least in the Western European visual culture.

Medieval Arab theologians and philosophers did not develop a doctrine of color independent from the ancient Greek tradition. Parallel to that, no one wrote a

[359] Alberti, *On Painting*.
[360] Simpson, Why My Name is Red," 279.
[361] Baxandal, *Painting & Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, 81-84.
[362] Simpson, "Why My Name is Red," 271-304.

monograph devoted specifically to the metaphor of colors.[363] However, the Koran, the hadiths, the poetry, Sufi texts and artwork provide insights into how colors were perceived in the Islamic world. For example, in the Koran, white is the color of creation and refers to light, [364] in contrast to black, which refers to darkness.[365] In addition to that, yellow has negative connotations in the Koran and according to the hadiths, the prophet found it inappropriate for men.[366] Nevertheless, there is no consistency in the meaning such colors and their uses in the Islamic lands due to the divergences in local and regional traditions. For example, despite the negative attributes of black and yellow, for the Abbasids black and for the Mamluks yellow was the royal color.[367] This shows that the perception of colors displayed great variety in the Islamic world.

In the Ottoman context, as in other parts of the Islamic world, there is no theoretical knowledge on the meaning and reception of colors,[368] but one still wonders why the designers of candy gardens might have used such a variety of colors. Especially interesting is the use of different hues of red that are mentioned in the aforementioned list. Although one cannot discern the symbolic associations of red in these objects, one should at least consider that "red has the longest discernable wavelength, which explains why it elicits the strongest optical reaction of all

[363] For a thoughtful overview of the written sources from the Islamic lands that were concerned with color and reception of color see, Bloom and Blair, "Introduction," 1-52.
[364] As exemplifying the special role of white color in Islam, both ihram garments and shroud are white colored.
[365] Blair and Bloom, "Introduction," 14.
[366] Ibid, 37.
[367] Ibid. For the original reference Hilal al-Sabi, *Rusum dar Al-Khilafah*, 73, 74. Also see Fierro, "Red and Yellow," 82.
[368] One exception to this was that in the Islamic culture specific colors such as black, purple and dark blue were associated with death rituals and mourning. In the illustrated manuscripts that were produced between the fourteenth and late sixteenth century under dynasties such as Ilkhanids, Mamluks, Turcomans, Timurids and Ottomans, these colors were continuously used. In addition, in Ottoman context, the narrative texts also referred to the use of such colors in death rituals. See Bağcı, "İslam Toplumlarında Matemi Simgeleyen Renkler," 163-168.

colors."[369] On the basis of this, one can surmise that perhaps the generous use of different hues of red might have been a deliberate choice of the designers to draw more attention to these fancy objects and to further highlight their magnificence.

Besides the visual affect of these objects, they definitely should have created a sensory impact over the audience thanks to the mixed variety of spices and herbs. From a margin note in a book of registers we learn that some of these spices and herbs were purchased from Osman Çelebi, who was the steward herbalist/perfumer at the Spice Bazar. After the purchase, the deputy of the festival's superintendent, Mehmed Agha, brought these spices to the imperial palace on the last day of *Ramażān* (4 August, 1720).[370] Although this list might not have designated the total amount used for candy gardens,[371] the mention of the names of spices is still important. As the relevant page of the book shows, on that date, for the candy gardens cinnamon, black pepper, musk,[372] clove, coriander (possibly fresh), roasted coffee, unroasted coffee beans as well as pistachio, almond were purchased.[373] Other pages of the same book of registers and another document additionally mention saffron, turmeric and common fennel.[374] While some of these spices must have been used to give scent, some others might have been used for different purposes such as giving flavor to sugar paste and to color to sugar figures. Indeed, as has been mentioned before unroasted coffee beans, common fennel and pistachio might have been used to make specific types of confections.[375]

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[369] Simpson, "Why My Name is Red," 279.
[370] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 20. This information was not mentioned in BOA. D.BŞM. 7/141.
[371] As has been mentioned before, in the account book the amounts were given in an undifferentiated manner. Only in D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5 provides a detailed record of spices that were provisioned for the sugar gardens and *naḫıls*.
[372] In totality 20 *çekirdek misḳ* were provisioned for candy gardens and *naḫıls*. Nevertheless, exactly how much used for each object was not specified in the archival documents. BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 11,12.
[373] Ibid.
[374] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 35; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141.
[375] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141; D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5, 20.

The variety and the splendid amounts of spices that were used in candy gardens might have also symbolized the magnificence of these objects. In the early modern period, both in the Ottoman world and in Europe, spices were considered luxury items, which were charged also with semiotic meanings. Most commonly, due to their luxury and rarity, they were regarded as "emblems of power, which were displayed and consumed."[376] Parallel to that, the princely banquets in the European courts and the sultan's feasts in Ottoman context were marked by the excessive use of various spices.[377] Together with symbolizing the power and wealth, in the medieval and early modern Europe, the taste and smell of spices were often associated with the paradise imagery.[378] This indicates the great symbolic value of spices in the imagination of the people. Whether the spices of the 1720 festival's candy gardens evoked the image of paradise in the minds of their urban spectators or not, the generous use of such "tastes of paradise"[379] must have embodied both the power and benefaction of the sultan.

The relationship between the fragrance of some spices such as musk, fresh coriander, cinnamon and their intended effect is also worth mentioning. From ancient times onwards, philosophers and physicians emphasize that of all the senses of humans, smell is the strongest due to the very close positioning of the nose and the brain.[380] While this positioning had an impact in promptly attracting the senses of the people, this also had a function in merging a close relation between smells and emotions. To this end, often humans unconsciously associate certain smells with

[376] Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 7.
[377] The anthropological meaning of food and spice, and how they were related to the existing social hierarchies in the Ottoman imperial banquets in general and in the 1720 festival's banquets in particular, will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3.
[378] Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise.*
[379] I have borrowed the term from the title of Wolfhang Schivelbusch's book. See Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*.
[380] Corbin, *Kokunun Tarihi,* 17, n. 22.

pleasant or unpleasant memories.[381] Approached from this angle, one might imagine how the strong scent of candy gardens might have contributed to their visual/material magnificence by triggering the senses of the spectators and turning this experience into lasting memories.

2.4.2.3 Designing *naḫıls* and their visual-sensory impact

As far as big *naḫıls* are concerned, pictorial representations show them as richly decorated long poles erected over square/rectangular bases that were carried by the members of the imperial dockyard (Fig. A15, A16, A17, A18).[382] The painters seem to have highlighted the length of big *naḫıls* by extending them over the gilded frame of the manuscript pages. Furthermore, in Ibrahim's paintings one sees that some men were trying to balance the position of *naḫıls* with ropes that they were holding in their hand, which were also tied around their bellies (Fig. A17, A18).[383] Vehbi also captured this detail exactly as Ibrahim represented it in his painting.[384] This minor detail is indicative of the length of *naḫıls*, and the difficulty of their balancing them during the procession in the city. Parallel to their representation in the paintings, they were very long objects, often between 21-25 meters in length, as has been mentioned before.

Over the wooden bases of such objects, one sees a square upper layer, possibly made of cardboard, into which small kiosks and pavilions were set in a garden composition. In a painting of Ibrahim, which represented two spherical

[381] Ibid,113.
[382] Apart from these, Levni also depicted four *naḫıls* altogether in one composition at the beginning of the book. In the episode that represented the visit of the sultan to the Old Palace for overseeing the construction of *naḫıls*, the objects were depicted in a highly stylized manner. This depiction is dramatically different from Levni's other depictions seen at the end of the book both in terms of the proportions and outer design of *naḫıls* and their garden bases.
[383] This detail is partly seen in one painting of Levni, yet it was conceived in a totally different vein. Levni in his depiction of *naḫıls* has shown that ropes were tied to the poles of *naḫıls* and to the handles of wooden bases of the objects.
[384] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 683.

naḫıls, one sees that there was also an additional hexagonal upper layer (Fig. A18). This detail is not seen in paintings of Levni. Considering that often Ibrahim was more attentive to the material details of events and objects or to the textual narrative's sequence of event, one may surmise that Levni possibly omitted this second upper layer.[385] Whether this existed or not, both pictorial representations show that big *naḫıls* were designed in such a way to suggest that they were springing out of small gardens.

What about the design of *naḫıls*? Which materials were used and how were they designed? As far as the partial list of materials that were provisioned for *naḫıls* are concerned, it is seen that similar construction items such as various types of nails, wax, pulleys, glues, gimlets, and mastic were also used.[386] However, there were important differences in the amount and type of these items when compared with candy gardens. First of all, a larger amount of wax was used for the construction of *naḫıls*. Almost two-thirds of the summer savory wax was spent just for *naḫıls,* consisting of an amount of 204 *vuḳiyye* (261.7 kg). In addition, 307.5 *vuḳiyye* (394.5 kg) wax of flower honey was also utilized.[387] Certainly, wooden poles of four big and forty small *naḫıls* were covered with wax, which must have been the reason for this great usage. However, whether there was a functional difference between these two types of wax is not known to us.

When compared with candy gardens, a larger number of gimlets seem to have been mentioned in the list for *naḫıls*. These must have been used to make holes of various sizes in the wooden skeleton of *naḫıls,* to which golden threads, paper flags, fruits and flowers seem to have been hanged. Carpenters, locksmiths (*çilingirān*) and

[385] The divergence between the pictorial representations of two painters is approached in detail in Chapter 6.
[386] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141. At the reverse of the document, the materials for *naḫıls* were indicated.
[387] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141, the reverse side of the document.

blacksmiths (*ahengerān*) must have been in charge of these steps. As has been mentioned above, from the pictorial and narrative representations, one deduces that the balance of big *naḫıls* was stabilized through ropes that were tied to the top of *naḫıls* and to bodies of the imperial dockyard members. The mention of a variety of pulleys, and the existence of pulley makers (*maḳaracıyān*), lathe makers (*çıḳrıḳçıyān*), string (*sicimciyān*) and rope makers (*ḥalādcıyān*) among the group of *naḫıl* workers indicates that at the top and perhaps at different levels of such objects there were some unseen pulley systems. Indeed, the drawings of John Covel substantiates this claim. In two of his drawings, it is seen that a dozen ropes and strings were tied to different parts of *naḫıls* that were made for this festival (Fig. 19).[388] These ropes and strings were definitely bound to pulley systems so that porters who were standing on each side could adjust the balance of such objects.

Interestingly, the design of two *naḫıls* was different from the other pair. As seen in images of Levni and Ibrahim, two of the *naḫıls* were designed to look like cypress trees adorned with silver and gold threads onto which flowers and fruits were attached. The other pair, however, had a number of round layers, and above these ball shaped parts silver and gold stripes were hanged. The striped and flower design of these round layers implies that they might have been made of paper. Or alternatively, they might have been made of metals and then covered by colorful papers or textiles. In the pictorial representations, one also sees that textiles were attached to these spherical *naḫıls* for decoration. Additionally, in Ibrahim's painting, poles of these spherical *naḫıls* seem to have been covered by striped red and silver colored paper (Fig.18).

[388] These drawings are reproduced in And, *40 Gün, 40 Gece*, 242, figs. a and b. Originally, they exist in a manuscript at British Library under title *Dr. John Covel's Diary (1670-1679)*, Add. 22, 912. Metin And mentions that there is a disorder in the manuscripts' page sequence and he adds that those pages related to the 1675 festival are in between 26-64.

The archival documents indicate that dried date palms, four bouquets of white flowers and six bouquets flowers of other kinds were also used for the decoration of these display objects.[389] Certainly, gold and silver threads were used for their decoration, as seen in paintings. Additionally, in the pictorial representations, one sees different types of fruit models that were attached to *naḫıls*, which might have been made of paper or perhaps of sugar paste. Although our sources do not point to the involvement of decoupage makers and confectioners in the construction of *naḫıls*, it is possible to surmise that perhaps among the *naḫıl* masters and assistant masters (composed of 25 men), there were a number of craftsmen specialized in these crafts.

Besides the visual affect of these big *naḫıls*, which were richly adorned in gold and silver, flowers, colorful papers, and spices were used in their design. Although the partial lists of materials for *naḫıls* mention only saffron, various other spices must also have been used for decorating *naḫıls*. Indeed, a comparative analysis of the account books that recorded the total amount of spices provisioned both for *naḫıls* and candy gardens, and the lists of items used for candy gardens illuminate this matter.[390] Accordingly, in addition to saffron, cinnamon, clove, musk and roasted coffee were utilized for *naḫıls* in huge amounts. Although in terms of spice variety, *naḫıls* were not as rich as candy gardens, it is worth remembering that in candy gardens, some of these spices were used in making confections that embellished various parts of such gardens. This might be the reason behind the relatively limited spice variety of *naḫıls*.

The splendid candy gardens and the marvelous *naḫıls* of the 1720 festival seem to have pleased both eyes and senses of the beholders. Excessive amounts of

[389] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141.
[390] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 11-15; MAD.d. 4729, 5-9; D.BŞM. SRH. 7/141; D.BŞM. SRH. 2/5.

gold, silver, and spice, and their rich variety of colors marked their luxury. Although we do not have contemporary testimonies to understand exactly their impact on the urban audience, their display of the material/visual abundance and their sensory splendor must have been impressive. As embodiments of the sultan's benefaction in the form of display, these objects were definitely one of the most prominent components of the festival's overall morphology.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the complicated and extremely labor-intensive planning and preparation process of the 1720 festival. For approximately one and half months, a large number of court officials, workers and craftsmen were concerned solely with the festival's urgent tasks. Indeed, the work did not finish with the end of the public festival since afterwards, a huge process of redelivering items, gathering account books and making final payments began. The financial burden and material difficulties indirectly signify why the Ottoman court managed to stage only three such large-scale festivals throughout its history. Definitely, these were extraordinary events both in terms of their morphology and their complicated organization.

The discussion on the planning details of the chief officials and how they divided labor among themselves shows the schema of the Ottoman court bureaucracy's daily routine in the early eighteenth century. The striking significance of the documentation of every single detail was certainly related to the further enlargement of the Ottoman scribal service in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the existence of similar registers for the earlier periods and the official's investigation of these former documents indicate the enduring prominence of documentation in the Ottoman bureaucratic system.

The Ottoman court's provisioning of various types and amounts of copper and other types of utensils for the kitchen and for banquets illuminated many unresolved questions on the selection, delivery and redelivery of those items. While court institutions such as the imperial treasury, the imperial armory and the imperial confectionary were the first places to look for these necessary objects, provisions from outside were inevitable. The residents of the city, both Muslim and non-Muslim (but with the exception of Jews) and the guildsmen were obliged to contribute their utensils to the festival. In addition, officials of the state also had to lend their material belongings for the festival. Some of these officials could give only their soup bowls, yet some gave their silk napkins. Thus, besides outlining who could lend and on what basis, this utensil provisioning process also shows that the possession of certain items or objects were indicative of one's social and economic position. However, considering the limited material resources of ordinary people in this period, it is not surprising to find that some obligatory contributors were not eager to meet the demands of the court. This indirect tension leads one to think about the burden of such a grand-scale festival on various obligatory contributors and how the court was dependent on the material resources and manpower of urban dwellers.

Finally, the chapter focused on the preparation of *naḫıls* and candy gardens. The preparation of these luxurious and fancy objects seems to have busied hundreds of craftsmen with different skills and cost an enormous amount of money. Unearthing the social and material dimension behind this preparatory phase was one of the intentions of the chapter; addressing their semiotic aspect was another. On the basis of available documents, the chapter has primarily aimed at proposing an outline of the construction and designing process of these objects. While specific uses of some materials by the relevant group of craftsmen could be easily determined, for

some others only suggestions are made. Yet, a joint consideration of the provisioned materials, the skills of the craftsmen, as well as the textual and pictorial evidence answered many unresolved questions related to the their production as well as design process. Due to the lack of a more detailed work plan and design pattern of *naḫıls* and candy gardens, at this point we need to rely on the information that can be deduced from these available sources.

The reception of these objects by their contemporary spectators has also been approached. It has been proposed that their giant scales, their sophisticated technical features, and their colorful and sparkling appearance must have highlighted the magnificence of these objects that symbolized the circumcised princes' rite of passage. However, whether there was theoretical knowledge behind the design of such marvelous objects remains unknown to us. Still, one may at least surmise that their conspicuous material abundance, vivid colors and charming smells must not have escaped the attention of the spectators. It would not be far-reaching, therefore, to propose that their public exhibition embodied the sultan's benefaction in the form of display.

CHAPTER 3

THE BENEFACTION OF THE SULTAN THROUGH FOOD

On 21 September 1720 (18 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*, 1132), which was the third day of the public celebrations of the imperial festival, an official document was issued after the petition of a man named Abdurrahman. In this petition, written in poor handwriting and with many grammatical mistakes, Abdurrahman complained about his miserable state. He said that day and night he walked around in poor condition, and added that at home his companion was pregnant and they did not have any butter, honey, coffee, sugar or firewood. He asked for kindness and benefaction from the sultan.[391] The imperial order of the sultan can be seen in the upper left margin of the same document. It addresses the superintendent of the imperial kitchens Halil Efendi, who was also the superintendent of the festival, and reads, "The above recorded ten items should be given for one time."[392] These items and their amounts were coffee (6.4 kg), sugar (6.4 kg), honey (3.8 kg), clarified butter (38.4 kg), rice (256.5), chickpea (51 kg), lentil (128 kg), black grapes (25.6 kg), red grapes (12.8 kg) and quality flour (76.9 kg).[393] Thus, the wish of Abdurrahman was granted and the benefaction of the sultan arrived at his home in the form of different types of basic foodstuffs as well as some more luxurious items. Indeed, all of these were given in such huge quantities that they must have been sufficient for his livelihood for more than a year. Yet, as it

[391] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 4/144: "Devletlü saʿādetlü ve meravetlü ve ināyetlü sulṭānım ḥażretlerine: ḫākipāy-ı şerīflerine yüzüm ve gözüm sürüb duʿālar ve senālar ve ṣonra ḫaḳḳ -ı teʿalā nice nice bu emsallere bu mürüvetlere irüşdüre cümle efendilerimiz ile berāber cem āmīn. Benüm saʿādetlü efendīm eger kullarınız aḥvālinden zerre miḳdārı su'al olunur ise gice ve gündüz faḳirin ḫalinde gizerim evde yoldāşım ḫamiledir yāġ bāl ḳahve şeker odun yoḳdur simet (?) efendīm devrāña kimlere yāş olam benim efendīm lüṭuf ve kerīm idüb bu derdimden rīcāsın ḳabul idesiz bāḳi lüṭuf ve iḥsān sulṭānımdan. Bende ḳulınız 'Abdurraḥmāndan. Teẕkire dade 18 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1132.

[392] Ibid: "maṭbaḫ emīni efendi, bālāda muḥarrer olunān on 'aded eşyāyı bir def'a viresiz, buyurıldı"

[393] Ibid. "ḳahve 5 vuḳiyye, şeker 5 vuḳiyye, 'asel 30 vuḳiyye, revġan-ı sade 30 vuḳiyye, birinc 10 keyl, noḫūd 2 keyl, mercimek 5 keyl, siyāh üzüm 20 vuḳiyye, kırmızı üzüm 10 vuḳiyye, daḳīḳ-i ḫāṣ 3 keyl."

was clearly stated in the order, these foodstuffs would be given only for once, something that also reminds us of the limits of the benefaction of the sultan.

Food, without any doubt, is the most essential basis of human life and it is crucial "in constituting every social relationship."[394] Parallel to that, food has always been the most basic item of gift exchange across cultures;[395] it fosters solidarity, demarcates social and political distinctions and confers superiority to the distributor. Unsurprisingly, in the early modern period, the rulers have always been preoccupied with provisioning food to the people, which ascribed to food a very significant role in defining and constituting political power.

Under the Ottomans the distribution of food as an act of charity ascribed a highly diffused institutional form under the public kitchens, which were part of the imperial waqfs that were established throughout Ottoman lands.[396] Indeed, in the Ottoman culture, showing benefaction through food "was so central to the legitimization and representation of imperial power"[397] that it almost defined and perpetuated the Ottoman patrimonial system that was based on patronage and clientage.

Food was distributed not only from the public kitchens of the Ottoman imperial endowments.[398] In the Ottoman court, certain foods were supplied on a daily basis for the households of the members of the dynasty and for dignitaries.[399] Moreover, on the days of Imperial Council meetings, meals were served for the

[394] Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney, "Anthropology of Food," 123.
[395] Mauss, *The Gift.*
[396] Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies,* 145-157.
[397] Ibid, 132.
[398] It should be stated that in the foundation inscriptions of the waqfs, the specific groups of beneficiaries were clearly stated. Thus, even for big *imarets* such as that of Fatih and Süleymaniye, feeding the poor, needy or the travelers was bound with the limited resources of these institutions.
[399] Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's."

dignitaries, clerks and the court's personnel.[400] In addition, during some celebratory occasions such as the month of Muharram, religious holidays, imperial weddings, and circumcisions, food was distributed and banquets were held for officials, guests and sometimes also for the common people. These celebratory events were extraordinary occasions when food was unusually abundant and accessible to a relatively large group of people. From a semiotic perspective, the superabundance of food and its variety can be associated with the might and power of the sultan,[401] which was a common concept in the early modern European princely feasts as well.[402] On the other hand, by dwelling on the Bakhtinian concept of carnival and feasting, the material abundance that became available under such occasions can also be interpreted as a sign of the productivity and growth, promising an almost utopian affluence during the celebratory event.[403]

Although in the Ottoman case, the material abundance that derived from the benefaction of the sultan was visible to the spectators, guests, officials and dignitaries; it was not accessible on an equal basis to all participants. This was because the amount of food allocated to each person was strictly bound to her/his rank in the social hierarchy, determining where to sit, what and how much to eat and drink.[404] This kind of a social differentiation through food was also observed in other contemporary court cultures. However, perhaps Ottomans were more notable for their preoccupation with rank and protocol. Parallel to that, a late sixteenth observer, the Moroccan ambassador to Istanbul between 1589 and 1591, was baffled by this Ottoman obsession with rank, stating "…I have never seen men observe marks of

[400] There are examples that during the Council Days the leftovers were often distributed to the common people. Thus, during these days various people across social strata could receive food. See Reindl-Kiel, "The Chickens of Paradise,"74.
[401] Mintz and Du Bois, "The Anthropology of Food and Eating," 117-134.
[402] Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*.
[403] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 184-222; 256-276.
[404] Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*, 103.

precedence more scrupulously."[405] Actually, it was during the reign of Süleyman I when the ceremonial and visual representations of the imperial identity became increasingly prescribed and elaborated. As a part this process, the ruling elite was differentiated from the rest of the society and status variations among this group were also redefined. As Gülru Necipoğlu convincingly puts it, this hierarchical group identity was communicated through visual and material signs that defined garments, patronage patterns, and court etiquette [406] Certainly, food and food-related rites were part of this concern, and the 1720 festival's food aspect should be perceived in this contextual framework.

This chapter will start with a discussion of the provisioning of foodstuffs for the 1720 festival's banquets and for the distribution of daily allowances. Archival documents help us understand the types of the basic food items that were supplied in enormous amounts and also more luxurious foodstuffs that were reserved only for a select number of people. At the same time, this consideration reveals the large scale of food consumption during the festival.

The second part will focus on the distribution of food to officials and functionaries both in terms of providing them food allowances for maintaining their daily sustenance throughout the period of their service for the festival and granting some of them donations of food. On the basis of detailed registers this part will address the social differentiation that was articulated through the types and amount of daily allowances of food and food donations.

The last part will be concerned with banquets of the festival while aiming at illuminating the culinary aspect of the festival on the basis of the formerly unknown menu of the festival, the registers on the daily provisions for each day's menu, and

[405] Cited in Necipoğlu, "A Canon for Arts," 207.
[406] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 33-45; Idem, "A Canon for Arts."

some petitions as well as lists. The discussion will also reveal how the participants' social rank determined all their relationship with food. Not only the number of courses that they could eat but also the ingredients of these dishes including even the type of seasonings, indicated the participants' social distinction and power.

3.1 Provisioning foodstuffs for the festival

Holding a public festival that hosted thousands of people across social strata must have required the provisioning of a huge amount of foodstuff in advance. *Sūrnāmes* mention only the provisioning of poultry that was purchased from districts of Tekirdağ, Şehirköy, İnecik and Hüdavendigar.[407] Hafız Mehmed additionally says that chickens were put in stock at a khan near the Sultan Ahmed imaret and turkeys were stocked at Eski Baruthane. Nevertheless, as account registers indicate some other basic substances, cereals, fresh and dry fruits, vegetables, spices and other types of seasonings were also supplied. An evaluation of these provisions indicates that they were supplied in enormous amounts, which in turn signifies the great importance that was given to the food in the festival.

When the account books of the festival are examined, one sees that the amounts of the basic foodstuffs that were supplied for the festival were mentioned separately. As seen in Table 9, these basic foodstuffs were flour, meat, rice and sugar.[408] Actually, sugar was a luxury item in the early eighteenth-century Ottoman cuisine.[409] Parallel to that, and as will be discussed in detail later, in the festival sugar

[407] Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 470; Hafiz Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181.
[408] Parallel to this situation these items were the basic foodstuffs that were provisioned annually for the imperial palace. See Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 180.
[409] In Europe by the mid-seventeenth century sugar began to become relatively more available to a larger group of people. Although until 1850s it did not enter ordinary kitchens, Sydney Mintz puts that due to its expanded production and increased consumption, starting with the late seventeenth century sugar gradually lost its signification of material distinction and prestige in Europe. Parallel to this development, for example sugared collations, which were indispensible material forms of princely

was used only in the dishes and drinks of the dignitaries. Nevertheless, a huge quantity of sugar was provisioned for the festival's kitchen and this must have been the reason why the total amount of sugar was mentioned separately in the account book. In addition to these, in the account books, the amount of firewood and coal that was used during the festival was also recorded. Although the account books do not differentiate between the amount used for the furnaces of the festival's kitchen and the amount for the tents of the dignitaries and officials, one may still surmise that a good part of the total amount must have been spent for preparing meals. Indeed, Vehbi, in his *sūrnāme,* states that the furnace of the festival's kitchen was so large that sixty cauldrons could be placed there at once. Parallel to this information, approximately two weeks before the start of the festival, on *4 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (7 September, 1720), the superintendent of the festival ordered the head mason (*ṭaşcıbāşı*) to prepare some stone furnaces that would be used by the kitchen of the festival.[410]

As seen in Table 9, flour, meat and rice were the basic items that constituted daily allowances of the majority of the festival's functionaries and officials. Besides, these foodstuffs were also used for preparing each day's banquets. Parallel to that, huge amounts of these basic foodstuffs were provisioned for the festival's overall needs.

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banquets, gradually disappeared from the courtly tables. Mintz, *Sugar and Power*, 122, 133; Reed, *The Edible Monument*, 115-117.

[410] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/201.

Table 9. Basic Foodstuffs[411]

Type of Produce	Amount	Cost
Quality flour used for baking quality bread and sweet bread	67.5 *keyl* (1,731.98 kg)	13,500 *akçe* (1 *keyl*=200 *akçe*)
Lower quality flour used for baking lower quality bread and sweet bread for the imperial banquets and for daily allowances	3,155 *keyl* and 8 *vuḳiyye* (80,964.4 kg)	331,317.5 *akçe* (1 *keyl*=105 *akçe*)
Flour used for dishes of the banquets	1,994 *vuḳiyye* (2,558.1 kg)	19,940 *akçe* (1 *vuḳiyye* =10 *akçe*)
Meat used by the kitchen of the festival for dishes of the banquets	18,125 *vuḳiyye* (23,253.3 kg)	-
Meat used for daily allowances of janissaries and others	11,834.5 *vuḳiyye* (15,183 kg)	-
Sugar	2,252.5 *vuḳiyye* [412] (2,889.8 kg)	1 *vuk*=104 *akçe*[413]
Rice used for daily allowances	2,889 *keyl* and 3.5 *vuḳiyye* (7,4133.3 kg)	
Quality rice used for dishes of the banquets	236 *keyl* (6,055.5 kg)	1 *keyl*=104 *akçe*
Firewood used throughout the festival	5,165 *çeki* (1,291,250 kg) equivalent to 1,291.25 ton)	-
Coal used throughout the festival	8,210 *vuḳiyye* (10,532.9 kg; equivalent to 10.5329 ton)	-

The most frequently used food item seems to have been flour, which was used for baking bread and sweet bread (*çörek*). Actually, two types of flour were used.[414] The quality flour (*daḳīḳ-i ḫāṣ*) was used for baking quality bread (*nān-ı ḫāṣ*) and quality

[411] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 6-7, 26, 27; MAD.d. 4729, 20.
[412] This amount includes sugar that was used for preparation of the dishes of the imperial banquets, preparation of sugared drinks and the royal donations to various officials and dignitaries.
[413] This price is the price of "the Frankish sugar" that was used to prepare assorted drinks for the festival. In other parts of the account books, unfortunately there is no other indication of sugar price. For this reason, I have included the price of this Frankish sugar in the list. For mention of assorted drinks and the sugar's price BOA, MAD.d. 1284, 10.
[414] In the Ottoman palace there were two types of bread namely the quality bread (*nān-ı ḫāṣ*) and ordinary bread (*nān-ı fodulā*). This difference referred to the type of flour that was used. For example, the quality flour (*daḳīḳ-i ḫāṣ*) that was used for baking quality bread referred to the bread that was given to the imperial family, the inner palace members and the dignitaries of the state. And, lower quality floor (*daḳīḳ-i fodulā*) that was used for baking ordinary bread (*nān-ı fodulā*) was given to the rest of the court officials and palace functionaries. Ordinary flour also had two types; these were the middle quality (*meyāne*) and the lower quality (*ḫarcī*). Thus, the lower quality flour and bread referred to the lowest quality bread, which had a darkish color and firm texture. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 67, 68; 185-186. For provisioning of flour and the activities of bakers in Istanbul also see Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları.*

sweet bread (*çörek-i ḫāṣ*) for the imperial family, members of the inner palace and to the dignitaries. The total amount of use of this quality flour was 67.5 *keyl* (1,721.9 kg), and 13,500 *akçe* were spent for this purpose. In contrast, an enormous amount 3,155 *keyl* and 8 *vuḳiyye* (80,964.4 kg) lower quality flour (*daḳīḳ-i ḫarcī*) was used for baking the lower quality bread (*nān-ı ḫarcī*) and sweet bread (*çörek-i ḫarcī*) that was distributed as daily allowances.[415] Arif Bilgin mentions that bread that was baked at the imperial palace was often made of flour, sesame, black sesame, egg, gum and aniseed.[416] As will be discussed later, all of these items except aniseed were provisioned for the festival's kitchen. Therefore, we may presume that at least the bread of dignitaries might have had a similar taste. In addition to these aforementioned amounts of flour that were supplied for baking bread and sweet bread, an extra amount, which is 1,994 *vuḳiyye* (2,558.1 kg) flour, was also supplied for preparing the menu of the imperial banquets. Although the type of this flour was not mentioned in the documents, it must have been either the ordinary or the lower quality flour.

From the sixteenth century onwards, almost the majority of the imperial palace's quality flour need was supplied from Bursa, its surrounding regions and Istanbul. The lower quality flour was provisioned largely from the Balkan region, Thrace and southern Marmara. In times of greater need, supplements were again made from Istanbul.[417] Although the archival documents do not mention from where aforementioned two types of flours were supplied, quite possibly the provisioning process must have followed a similar pattern.

[415] BOA.MAD.d. 1284, 26, 27; MAD. d. 4729, 96.
[416] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 68.
[417] For Istanbul's provisioning see Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İaşesi," 139-154; Idem, "Supplying Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," 273-301; Murphey, "Provisioning Istanbul," 217-263; Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 181-186; Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları.*

As Table 9 indicates, meat and rice were the other basic foodstuffs, both of which constituted the daily allowance of various groups and were also used as ingredients of various dishes for the imperial banquets. As far as meat is concerned, the account books show that the amount of meat used for banquets was more than the daily allowances. Certainly, the generous use of meat in the imperial banquets reflected the pomp of these feasts.[418] Although in various documents the meat was simply referred to as *guşt* (literally means meat), in some others it was differentiated as mutton and lamb.[419] These types of meat were real luxuries for the common people.[420] Thus, even this enormous amount reflects the range of the festival's material abundance. As far as the provisioning process is concerned, a large amount of animal provisions of the imperial palace was supplied from Balkans. The period between April and November was the period when the annual sheep requirement of Istanbul and the imperial palace was satisfied.[421] During this period, animals were continuously brought to pasture lands outside the imperial city, and throughout the winter the city and the imperial palace relied on these supplies. As the festival was held between September and October, during this meat-provisioning period, some amount of the festival's meat requirement could have been supplied from these pastures. In addition, starting with the seventeenth century, the imperial palace seems to have supplied a substantial part of its meat from Istanbul's butchers. Arif Bilgin says that these supplies from the city were always differentiated in the archival sources by recording the purchased amount of meat by weight (referring to the purchase of meat after slaughter) as opposed to recording the number of animals.[422]

[418] Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney, "Anthropology of Food," 125.
[419] For example see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 3b.
[420] Other alternative ways of meat consumption was eating dried meat flavored with garlic known as *pastırma* and mutton sausage named as *sucuk,* Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 207.
[421] Greenwood, "Meat Provisioning and Ottoman Economic Administration," 96.
[422] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı* 187-190.

Parallel to this situation, in the account books of the festival, the total amount of supplied meat was recorded in weight. Nevertheless, in some other documents there are also indications that livestock trades were also made. For example, a book of registers and Hafız Mehmed mention that for the janissary scramble for food (*yāġma*) that took place for a second time on the seventh day of the festival, 500 sheep and lambs were used.[423] Indeed, according to the textual narratives, pigeons were put inside these animals and when the janissaries scrambled for them, pigeons started to fly and this vista amazed the spectators.[424] In the pictorial representation of this event by Ibrahim, one also sees that the animals were roasted and put on trays just before the scramble (Fig. A22).

Just like meat, rice was also a luxury for the ordinary people, yet for the imperial palace rice was among the most basic foodstuffs and was used in various dishes and desserts.[425] During the festival, a huge amount of rice was used both for the allowance of the officials and functionaries, and for banquets. In the account book it was mentioned that in totality, 3,125 *keyl* and 3.5 *vuḳiyye* (80,188.8 kg) of rice was spent for these purposes. However, a note indicates that 2,889 *keyl* (74,128.8 kg) of rice was already stocked at the cellar of the imperial palace; in addition, 236 *keyl* (6,055.5 kg) of quality rice (*erz-i ḫāṣ*) was purchased.[426] Indeed, a different page of the same account book shows that the total amount of this high quality rice that was purchased was used for preparing dishes of the imperial banquets.

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[423] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 3b; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 203.
[424] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 586, 587. Evliya Çelebi also mentions a similar show during a banquet that was held in honor of the governor of Crimea and Transylvanian king, when live pigeons as well as rabbits were put inside cattle. See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, VI, 198.
[425] Prior to the sixteenth century the Ottoman palace kitchens supplied their rice need from Filibe, (Plovdiv). Starting with the late sixteenth century however the rice was mostly provisioned from Egypt. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 199-202.
[426] Accordingly, for one *keyl* 104 *akçe* was paid and in totality 24,544 *akçe* was given for this expense. BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 7.

As far as sugar is concerned, the archival documents clearly differentiated the total amount of sugar was used for the preparation of sugar gardens and the amount used by the kitchen of the festival. A joint evaluation of a number of documents reveals that the total amount of sugar given to the festival kitchen, which was 2,252.5 *vuḳiyye* (2,889.8 kg), was for a number of different usages. Sugar was used for the preparation of the dishes for dignitaries, assorted sweet drinks and compotes as well as for distribution to officials and dignitaries as royal donations. Luckily, the exact amounts were also recorded in the archival documents. Accordingly, for the dishes of the banquets, 624.5 *vuḳiyye* (801.1 kg), for assorted drinks 659 *vuḳiyye* (845.4 kg), for compotes 400 *vuḳiyye* (513.1 kg) sugar was used.[427] Thus, the remaining 569 *vuḳiyye* (729.9 kg) must have been distributed as donations.

Clarified butter and honey should also be mentioned here because these two were also among the basic substances that constituted daily allowances of various groups and were used in the preparation of the menu for the banquets. In the account books, these foodstuffs were mentioned along with grains, vegetables, fruits and spices. Nevertheless, they differ from all other food items with their enormous amounts and in that they were both distributed as allowances and used in the banquet's menu. Accordingly, 10,473 *vuḳiyye* (13,436.2 kg) of clarified butter and 9,444 *vuḳiyye* (12,116.1 kg) of honey were used for these purposes. In addition, as will be discussed later, these food items were often given as a royal donation (*in ʿām*) to various people, including the lower-ranking officials, functionaries and performers.

At this point it is worth noting that the prices of these basic foodstuffs that were provisioned for the festival. It is known that, when compared with market

[427] For the amount of sugar used in banquets BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/78, for assorted drinks MAD.d. 1284, 10 and MAD.d. 4729, 24; for compotes D.BŞM. SRH. 7/78 and MAD.d. 4729, 22.

prices, foodstuffs were supplied at a relatively lower price for the kitchens of the imperial palace.[428] What about the situation where there was a huge extra need, such as in the case of the 1720 festival? A comparison between the average prices that were paid by the imperial kitchens in year 1720 for rice, clarified butter, sugar, honey and flour,[429] and prices of the festival's provisions for the same foodstuffs reveals an interesting picture. As seen in Table 10, for the festival's kitchen, most of these basic foodstuffs were purchased at a cheaper price than the average prices of that year.

Table 10. Average Prices Paid by the Imperial Palace for Basic Foodstuffs[430]

Foodstuff	Average price in 1720	Price paid for the 1720 festival
Rice	120 *akçe*	104 *akçe*
Flour	13 *akçe*	10 *akçe*
Honey	20 *akçe*	20 *akçe*
Sugar	141.5 *akçe*	105 *akçe*
Clarified butter	40.2 *akçe*	40 *akçe*

Unfortunately, the average annual prices paid by the imperial palace for other types of foodstuffs have not yet been examined in the literature. For this reason, it is not possible to compare prices of other foodstuffs that were provisioned for the festival with the averages. Still, the prices listed in this table imply that the festival's enormous amount of food provisions were probably supplied at a lower price than the imperial palace's usual payment rate. This situation must have been related to the temporary nature of the event. Holding such a public festival necessitated the supply of great amounts of foodstuffs in a short period of time. Indeed, all these foodstuffs, the value of which was almost equivalent to half the value of the imperial palace's annual provisions, would be used just in three weeks. This urgent need must have

[428] Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde;* Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları*; Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*; Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned."
[429] Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde,* 122-125.
[430] I have based on the information that is provided by Şevket Pamuk for average prices of basic foodstuffs that were purchased by the imperial palace in year 1720. Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde,* 122-125. For the prices of the 1720 festival BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 6-7, 26, 27; MAD.d. 4729, 20.

required temporary adjustments, and the festival's food purchases at a lower price must have been one of these adjustments that were put into practice.

3.1.1 Poultry, vegetables, fruits and spices

Apart from provisions of basic foodstuffs, the officials needed to supply various other types of food items and spices for the preparation of the imperial banquets. Starting with poultry, *sūrnāmes* and archival documents provide some information about their provisioning process. As has been mentioned before *sūrnāmes* mention that poultry was provisioned from the districts of Tekirdağ, Şehirköy, İnecik, Göynük, Gölpazarı and Yenice-i Taraklı. According to Vehbi, 8,000 chickens, 2,000 turkeys, 1,000 ducks, 3,000 chicks and 2,000 pigeons were supplied from these districts. Hafız Mehmed, however, says that these districts supplied 7,900 chickens, 1,450 turkeys and 3,000 chicks. Additionally, 1,000 ducks and 2,000 pigeons were provisioned from Istanbul. The question is, which one of these is true? Fortunately, one of the account books of the festival resolves this confusion, as it records the exact numbers of provisions and their provisioning places.[431] According to this record, pigeons and ducks were supplied from the capital city.[432] In this respect, Hafız Mehmed's declaration seems to have been more reliable than that of Vehbi. However, as seen in Table 11, in addition to the report of Hafız Mehmed, 1,200 chickens were also supplied from Istanbul.

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[431] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 96: "el mübāya'at der asitāne-i saʿādet." This detail was not mentioned in the other account book, which represents a more complete version (MAD.d. 1284, 26). Rather, in MAD.d. 1284 only the total numbers, which is 9,100 chickens, 1,262 ducks, 2,375 pigeons, 3,000 chicks were noted. Due to this undetailed information however one omits the amount of poultry that was supplied from Istanbul.

[432] During the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, all poultry needs of the imperial palace were supplied from Istanbul and its surroundings. Yet, as the demand rose, by the late sixteenth century districts on the Marmara and Black sea regions such as Bolu, Hüdavendigar, Tekirdağı (Rodosçuk) and Şehirköy also began to supply chicken and chicks. For some specific species such as duck, pigeon, and goose however Istanbul's markets were (especially Tavuk Pazarı) still the sole provider. See Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 119, 193, 194.

Table 11. Types, Amounts of Poultry and Place of Provisioning

Name of the Town/City	Chicken *(Mākiyān*)	Turkey (*Mākiyān-ı mısrī*)	Chick (*Piliç*)	Pigeon (*Kebuter*)	Duck (*Ördek*)
Tekfürtağı (Tekirdağ)	2,500	500	1,000	-	-
Şehirköy (Şarköy)	2,500	500	1,000	-	-
İnecik	200	50	100	-	-
Gölpazarı	1,050	150	350	-	-
Göynük	1,100	170	400	-	-
Yenice-i Taraklı	550	80	150	-	-
İstanbul	1,200	-	-	2,375	1,262
TOTAL	9,100	1,450	3,000	2,375	1,262

In sum, the total number of poultry items was 17,187. However, the account book mentions that 13,382 animals were delivered to the imperial kitchens.[433] This means that quite possibly 3,805 animals were lost after their purchase. As poultry was more sensitive to environmental conditions, such a loss was often observed in overall palace purchases as well. For example, on the basis of the registers of the imperial palace kitchens between 1625 and 1638, Arif Bilgin observes that the loss in poultry ranged between 1.4% and 2.8%.[434] The loss in festival provisions, however, seems to have been higher with 22%, which could have been related to either meteorological conditions or transportation in the strict timeline of the provisioning.

The archival documents indicate that an official named Feyzullah Agha was in charge of the delivery of the demanded poultry.[435] Three documents that were issued on 16 *Şevvāl*, 25 *Şevvāl* and 1 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* respectively certify the deliveries from Göynük, Yenice-i Taraklı and Gölpazarı.[436] So, one understands that while some of these districts could supply the court's demand promptly, it took others more time. This was quite possibly related to the fact that some of these districts had difficulty satisfying the requested quantities for the festival. An imperial order addressed to the assistant judge (*nā'ib*) of Şehirköy (Şarköy) and the substitute of the

[433] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 26.
[434] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*,194.
[435] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/119; 1/161, 1/186: "…ḳabżına me'mur Feyzullah Aġa yediyle…"
[436] Ibid.

janissary commander in Gelibolu show that the people of Şehirköy lived through such a problem.[437] The order is dated 18 *Şevvāl* 1132 (23 August, 1720) and begins with a statement that the people of Şehirköy had still not supplied the demanded amount of poultry which was 2,500 chickens, 1,000 chicks and 500 turkeys. After explaining that the people of Şehirköy had difficulties in supplying the demanded amounts, the document indicates that they asked for permission to purchase chickens and chicks from nearby places.[438] However, when it comes to the provisioning of turkeys, the people of Şehirköy stated that turkeys did not exist in their district, so with this excuse, they asked for forgiveness on that matter. Nevertheless, the answer was precise: no excuse or apology would be accepted, and the people of Şehirköy would supply all demanded amounts. Therefore, as Suraiya Faroqhi has stated, although it is not clear how the people of Şehirköy were able to find these turkeys,[439] the aforementioned account registers show that somehow they did. However, this search for turkeys might have caused a delay in their delivery date. As the imperial order is dated the last week of August, after that time they had to find 500 turkeys.

As the account books show, for each type of poultry, a fixed price was paid. Accordingly, for one chicken and young chicken 15 *akçe*, for a turkey 80 *akçe*, for a duck 25 *akçe* and for a pigeon 15 *akçe* were paid.[440] Although poultry was regularly consumed at the imperial palace, at ordinary tables it was rarely seen.[441] As Hedda Reindl-Kiel puts it, the consumption of "poultry and wild birds was a demonstration

[437] This order was cited in Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them," 391; Idem, "When the Sultan Planned," 218, 219. For the order see BOA. MAD.d. 09906, 591.
[438] BOA. MAD.d. 09906, 591: "...ṭavuḳ ve pilici vilayetimizde mevcud olduġı mertebesi cemʿ ve maʿadası bulunan maḥallerden iştirā' ve ḳarīben teslim ideriz..."
[439] Faroqhi, "Bringing Gifts and Receiving Them,"391; Idem, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast," 218, 219.
[440] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 96; MAD.d. 1284, 26. As a comparison, in 1640 market price indices, the cost of one chicken was 14 *akçe* and one chick was 9 *akçe*. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 93.
[441] Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 207.

of wealth and prestige."[442] Then, uses of such a variety of poultry in the imperial banquets of the festival that hosted high-ranking guests, dignitaries as well as middle and lower-ranking officials and functionaries must have further added to the grandeur of the event. Among the types of poultry, turkey seems to have been even more luxurious, as indicated by its high price. Although between the fifteenth and seventeenth century turkey was not a frequently consumed type of poultry at the imperial court,[443] this situation seems to have slightly changed in the early eighteenth century since it was served during the banquets of the 1720 festival. Indeed, as will be discussed later in detail, not only dignitaries and the most esteemed guests, also middle ranking officials and retinues of the dignitaries could also taste this expensive bird.

For the preparation of the dishes of the imperial banquets that were held for 15 days, fresh and dried fruits, vegetables, spices and other flavorings were also needed. Although archival documents do not mention their provisioning process, they record their types, amounts and prices. As seen in Table 12, a variety of vegetables, legumes, fresh and dried fruits, spices, seasonings as well as milk products were provisioned for the banquets. Nevertheless, as will be discussed later only the dishes of the highest-ranking guests and officials could display such a great variety.

[442] Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise," 87.
[443] Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise."

Table 12. Types, Amounts and Prices of Various Types of Foodstuffs[444]

Vegetables and legumes	Fruits	Spices and Seasonings	Milky products, egg, butter	Fish	Pickle
Squash 8274 *vuḳiyye* (10,615 kg) 1 *vuk*=16 *aḳçe*	Apple 288 *vuḳiyye* (369.4 kg) 1 *vuk*=10 *aḳçe*	Cinnamon 3 *vuḳiyye* and 100 *dirhem* (4.1 kg) 1 *vuk*=1600 *aḳçe*	Milk 1902 *vuḳiyye* (2,440 kg) 1 *vuk*=5 *aḳçe*	Assorted types of fish 50 *vuḳiyye* (61.4 kg) 1 *vuk*=15 *aḳçe*	Squash pickle 33 *vuḳiyye* (42.3 kg) 1 *vuk*=15 *aḳçe*
Eggplant 39,640 1 eggplant =0.5 *aḳçe*	Quince 774.5 *vuḳiyye* (993.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=12 *aḳçe*	Black pepper 92.5 *vuḳiyye* and 100 *dirhem* (118.9 kg) 1 *vuk*=140 *aḳçe*	Fresh cheese[445] 306 1 piece of cheese=12 *aḳçe*	Sea bass 2 *vuḳiyye* (2.5 kg) 1 *vuk*=60 *aḳçe*	Pepper mint pickle 30 *vuḳiyye* (38.4 kg) 1 *vuk*=15 *aḳçe*
Okra 162,100 1 okra =0,04 *aḳçe*	Date palm 181.5 *vuḳiyye* (232.8 kg) 1 *vuk*=20 *aḳçe*	Cardamon 2.5 *vuḳiyye* and 25 *dirhem* (3.3 kg) 1 *vuk*=1600 *aḳçe*	Kaşkaval cheese[446] 8.5 *vuḳiyye* (10.9 kg) 1 *vuk*=25 *aḳçe*		Eggplant pickle 26 *vuḳiyye* (33.3 kg) 1 *vuk*=15 *aḳçe*
Ḳavāṭa[447] 14,080 1 *kavata*=15 *aḳçe*	Fresh lemon 2,817 1 lemon=1 *aḳçe*	Sesame 2 *vuḳiyye* (2.5 kg) 1 *vuk*=24 *aḳçe*	Clotted cream of milk[448] 169 *tabak* (plate) 1 plate=50 *aḳçe*		Pickled[449] caper 33 *vuḳiyye* (42.3 kg) 1 *vuk*=30 *aḳçe*

[444] This table is made through a joint analysis of two account books (MAD.d. 1284 and MAD.d. 4729) and a two-page document, which lists some of the provisioned foods and their amounts. This document seems to have been excerpt from a book of registers. BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 6-7, 26-27-28-29; MAD.d. 4729, 14-15, 96; D. BŞM. SRH. 7/78.

[445] Archival documents on expenses of the imperial kitchens show that certain types of cheese were sold in jars or in dishes. This mention of fresh cheese in numbers must have referred to such a type of cheese that was either sold in jar or in a dish. See Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 224.

[446] This type of cheese began to be consumed at the imperial palace starting with the second half of the seventeenth century. In addition, the author of *Sohbetname*, who was Seyyid Hasan, a seventeenth century Sufi from Istanbul, also mentioned it. In the 1640 price indices it was registered as the most expensive type of cheese. See Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 224; Gökyay, "Sohbetname," 56-65; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 94.

[447] In the literature *ḳavāṭa* is commonly known as a bitter and green type of tomato. Nevertheless, in a recent research Priscilla Mary Işın argues that actually *ḳavāṭa* was a plant that originally came from Africa. This plant that is known as *solanum aethiopicum* looks like a tomato but inside it is more like the sweet red pepper. This plant's earliest recorded entry to the Ottoman palace kitchens was 1694, as Tülay Artan has unearthed. Accordingly, at this year 13,350 *ḳavāṭa* were purchased for Edirne palace kitchens. Later on, among the daily allowances of the crown prince Selim (later Selim III) for year 1774-1775, once again *ḳavāṭa* is seen. See Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption," 114-115; Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak İmparatorluğu*, 213-228.

[448] Although in account books it was simply mentioned as clotted cream of milk, in another book of registers on the daily food provisions for the banquets, it was mentioned once as the clotted cream of milk of Üsküdar (*ḳaymāḳ-i Üsküdār*). BOA. DBŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 1b. Actually, Üsküdar's clotted cream is also seen among the purchases of the imperial palace kitchens from the seventeenth century onwards. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 224.

[449] Caper plant is not widely used today in the Turkish cuisine. Yet, naturally it grows in Anatolia. The buds and stem of the plant was used to make pickles, which was named as *kebere*, or *gebere* pickle. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 62; 229.

Vegetables and legumes	Fruits	Spices and Seasonings	Milky products, egg, butter	Fish	Pickle
Melokheya[450] 283 *vuḳiyye* (363 kg) 1 *vuk*=4 *aḳçe*	Apricot of damascus 290 *vuḳiyye* (372 kg) 1 *vuk*=90 *aḳçe*	Saffron 43.5 *vuḳiyye* and 100 *dirhem* (56.128 kg) 1 *vuk*=1,200 *aḳçe*	Yoghurt 209 *tabak* [451] (plate) 1 plate=8 *aḳçe*		*Fels*[452] *Kebere* (?) (Pickled caper bud) 27 *vuḳiyye* (34.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=30 *aḳçe*
Parsley 312 bunches 1 bunch=2 *aḳçe*	Pomegranate[453] 5 *vuḳiyye* (6.4 kg) 1 *vuk*=8 *aḳçe*	Coriander 3 vuk. 100 *dirhem* (4.1 kg) 1 *vuk*=1,200 *aḳçe*	Yoghurt [454] 239 *vuḳiyye* (306.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=6 *aḳçe*		Rose pickle 2 *vuḳiyye* (2.5 kg) 1 *vuk*=30 *aḳçe*
Spearmint 172 bunches 1 bunch=3 *aḳçe*	Currant 499 *vuḳiyye* (1,139 kg) 1 *vuk*=32 *aḳçe*	Cochineal (*kırmız*)[455] 70 *dirhem* (224 gr) 1 *dirhem*=13 *aḳçe*	Egg 6115 1 egg=0.8 *aḳçe*		
Onion 6460.5 *vuḳiyye* (8,288.4 kg) 1 *vuk*=4 *aḳçe*	Large and white grape with seeds[456] 980 *vuḳiyye* (1,257.2 kg) 1 *vuk*=20 *aḳçe*	Vinegar 774.5 *vuḳiyye* (993.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=3 *aḳçe*	Butter 57.5 *vuḳiyye* (73.7 kg) 1 *vuk*=50 *aḳçe*		
Black eyed pea 148 *vuḳiyye*	Red grape 108.5 *vuḳiyye*	Lemon juice 470 *vuḳiyye*	Olive oil 12 *vuḳiyye*		

[450] In the account books of the 1720 festival it was referred to as *mülūhiyye*. The same plant was also referred to as *mülhiye* and *mülūhyā* in other contemporary Ottoman documents. I have taken the English translation from Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend*, 115, n.40. Leaves of this plant are used as a vegetable and it looks like marsh mallow. Özge Samancı says that this was originally cultivated at Cyprus between July and September. This plant was widely used in Arab cuisine; it was often cooked with meat and was served with yoghurt. See Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Söz*lük, 721; Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 270; Samancı, "Culinary Consumption Patterns of the Ottoman Elite during the first half of the nineteenth century," 174, n. 47.

[451] In the court records of 1639 Galata, a certain type of yoghurt, which was the yoghurt of Eyüp sold in earthenware pot (*Eyüb'ün çānāḳ yoġurdı*) was mentioned. In addition, in 1640 *narh defteri* (market price indices) it was mentioned that the yoghurt of Eyüp and Kasımpaşa were sold in *çanak* (earthenware pot) and one such pot of yoghurt was worth of 3 *aḳçe*. So, perhaps this type of yoghurt that was purchased in a plate referred to the same kind of yoghurt that was sold in earthenware pot. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 26, 97.

[452] In *Turkish-English Lexicon*, *fels* means fish scale. Then, the term *fels kebere* might have referred to the specific type of pickle that was made of caper plant's buds. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1395.

[453] *Enar*, pomegranate, is not mentioned in MAD.d. 1284, 6,7. But it was mentioned in MAD.d. 4729, 14 and D.BŞM. SRH. 7/78.

[454] Suraiya Faroqhi says that this should have been the type of yoghurt that was strained in a bag (*torba yoġurdı*). In the 1640 the market price indices this specific type of yogurt was calculated in weight (which was 4 *aḳçe* for one *vuḳiyye*) just as the aforementioned type of yoghurt that was purchased for the festival. See Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 168; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 97.

[455] Cochineal (*ḳırmız*) refers to red pigments made from kermes insect (cochus ilicis) that lives in the Mediterranean. In the Ottoman palace this organic pigment was used to give red color to desserts, compotes, jams and to drinks. This amount of *ḳırmız* that is mentioned in the list does not include the amount that was used for drinks. In the account books the ingredients of sweet drinks and their amounts were mentioned separately. Thus, in this table only the amount used for dishes is included. For *ḳırmız* see, Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 213.

[456] Referred in Ottoman Turkish as "razzaḳī üzümü."

Vegetables and legumes	Fruits	Spices and Seasonings	Milky products, egg, butter	Fish	Pickle
(189.87 kg) 1 *vuk*=6 *akçe*	(139.1 kg) 1*vuk*=10 *akçe*	(602.9 kg) 1 *vuk*=12 *akçe*	(15.39 kg) 1 *vuk*=24 *akçe*		
Starch 1,594 *vukiyye* (2,045 kg) 1 *vuk*=12 *akçe*	Black grape 2,740 *vukiyye* (3,515.2 kg) 1 *vuk*=8 *akçe*	Musk bean (*Çekirdek misk*) 1,295 1 musk=9 *akçe*	Clarified butter 10,473 *vukiyye* (13,436.2 kg) 1 *vuk*=40 *akçe*		
Broad bean[457] 147.5 *vukiyye* (189.2 kg) 1 *vuk*=5 *akçe*	Pear[458] 38 *vukiyye* (48.7 kg.) 1 *vuk*=38 akçe	Rose water 149 *vukiyye* (191 kg.) 1 *vuk*=60 *akçe*			
Wheat 828 *vukiyye* (1,075.1 kg) 1 *vuk*=5 *akçe*	Plum[459] 65 *vukiyye* (83.3 kg) 1 *vuk*=60 *akçe*	Gum mastic [sold] in a plate 3 *vukiyye* (3.84 kg) 1 *vuk*=1,000 *akçe*			
Chickpea 2,709 *vukiyye* (3,475.4 kg.) 1 *vuk*=5 *akçe*	Almond 306 *vukiyye* (392.5 kg.) 1 *vuk*=55 *akçe*	Low quality salt 78 *keyl* (2,001.4 kg) 1 *kely*=40 *akçe*			
	Chestnut 50 *vukiyye* (64.1 kg.) 1 *vuk*=10 *akçe*	Salt of Wallachia 1,275 *vukiyye* (1635.7 kg.) 1 *vuk*=5 *akçe*			
	Hazelnut kernel 119 *vukiyye* (152.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=20 *akçe*	Cummin 6 *vukiyye* (7.6 kg) 1 *vuk*=30 *akçe*			
	Pistachio 231.5 *vukiyye* (297 kg) 1 *vuk*=32 *akçe*				

As vegetables, fresh fruits and milk products were among the easily perishable types of foods, for the needs of the imperial palace they were often supplied from the capital city's markets and from small towns (such as Eyüp, Üsküdar, Galata as well as those villages along Bosporus) that were close to the city.[460] Dried fruits on the other hand, such as different types of raisins that were provisioned annually in great

[457] In the daily food provision lists it was mentioned as broad bean (*baḳla-ı ḫuşk)*, yet in other documents simply referred as *baḳla*. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 1b.
[458] As two other documents on the ingredients of compote declare, this total amount of pear was solely used for the preparation of compote. To this end, pear is not seen in daily provisions for the preparation of banquet's dishes. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/78; MAD.d. 4729, 22
[459]Similar to pear, this total amount of plum was solely used for the preparation of compote. To this end, pear is not seen in daily provisions for the preparation of banquet's dishes.
[460] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 211-235; Faroqhi, "Supplying the seventeenth and eighteenth Century Istanbul."

amounts for the imperial palace,[461] were often provisioned from the towns of western Anatolia and some were brought from Damascus, Egypt and the southern parts of Greece. On the basis of this information, one can surmise that quite possibly their provisioning for the 1720 festival's needs might have followed a similar pattern.

The kitchen of the festival also used processed foodstuffs such as pickles, lemon juice, rose water, vinegar, and olive oil. As seen in Table 12, each one of these was provisioned in substantial amounts. As will be discussed later, among this group only vinegar was used in the dishes of people from all ranks given that others seem to have been exclusive to the dignitaries and the highest ranking guests' dishes only. Pickles were perhaps the most exclusive of all these processed foodstuffs. At the Ottoman palace, pickled cabbage was the most preferred type of pickle and it was made at the imperial confectionary, along with pickled squash, eggplant and cucumber.[462] During the festival, pickled cabbage was not served, but among the most frequently consumed types, squash and eggplant were listed in the provisions account. Indeed, more specific and more expensive types of pickles were also provisioned for the festival; these were two types of caper plant (*kebere*) pickle, rose pickle,[463] and peppermint pickle. The imperial kitchen's registers show that pickled capers used to be supplied from Osmancık, and peppermint pickle was always purchased from Bursa.[464] Thus, for the festival these side dishes must also have been brought from these places.

[461] Raisin was the most consumed type of dried fruit at the Ottoman palace. In the mid-seventeenth century approximately 120 tons raisin were provisioned for the imperial palace. Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 216.
[462] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 62.
[463] It was mentioned in the imperial kitchen's registers from the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 380.
[464] Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 62; 229.

As a last category, spices should be mentioned. As Wolfgang Schivelbuch put it, "nothing could be more common than the salt and pepper on our tables."[465] Yet, in the ancient, medieval and early modern periods, even these basic seasonings were non-ordinary tastes. Across Eurasia, spices were expensive luxury items that were used in the food and drinks of the upper classes and were also exchanged as gifts.[466] Due to their rarity and expensiveness, they were often considered symbols of prestige and emblems of power. To this end, one can safely argue that there was a correlation between the spice amount and variety and the host or guests' social/economic status. The great amount and variety of spices that were provisioned for the foods and drinks of the banquets of the festival without any doubt symbolized the power, might and benefaction of the host of the event, the sultan. Nevertheless, most of these spices such as cinnamon, coriander, cardamom, cumin, and seasonings musk, rose water, mastic were exclusive to the tables of a select number of dignitaries.[467] This social differentiation through seasonings indirectly articulated the great symbolic value that was associated with spices, as some were deemed suitable solely for the food and drinks of the dignitaries. However, one should also pay attention to the fact that an enormous amount of pepper (118.1 kg), salt (3,636.8 kg) and, saffron (56.1 kg) were used in dishes of all people. Salt had two qualities and certainly the lower-ranking people's dishes included the lower quality salt. For pepper and saffron, on the other hand, although both were used in dishes of people of

[465] Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 3
[466] Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 5
[467] This information is deduced from a book of registers that is composed of twelve folios, which grouped the daily food provisions for the preparation of each day's banquets in either three or four groups according to their social rank of the participants. Each section bear dates so that one can understand which particular ingredients were used for the dishes of each group. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75. The same information is also found in some individual documents that seem to have been extracted from another book of registers that was kept on the same matter such as BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/153; 4/154; 5/129; 6/21; 6/35; 6/92; 6/151; 6/178.

all ranks, smaller quantities were used for the lower-ranking groups.[468] Still, this generous offer of seasonings, especially the more luxurious saffron, was extraordinary. Even this simple aspect of foods that were offered to the soldiers, common people and the lower-ranking functionaries manifest the benefaction of the host of the event, although this benefaction was temporary.

3.2 The distribution of food during the festival: Daily allowances in kind

Officials and functionaries who provided service at the festival were given a certain amount of daily allowance in kind. These men also participated in the banquets that were held every afternoon. Some functionaries, such as physicians, tray carriers, torchbearers and the servants of the Imperial Council members and palace officials, on the other hand, were not given food allowances. Rather, they were given meals twice a day,[469] once in the morning, and once in the afternoon at the imperial banquets. This is to say that, while each functionary and official could participate in the banquets, whether they had their morning meal from the kitchen or took in kind in form of daily allowance was determined differently. It should be mentioned, however, that some of these beneficiaries such as performers and janissaries participated in the banquets only for a number of days. For performers, this was the day of their shows and for janissaries it was the first and seventh day of the festival.

The account books of the festival note the name of each particular group that got daily allowances in kind. Daily allowances of different officials and functionaries were determined on a hierarchical basis. As seen in Table 13, while for some groups the daily allowance was made up of only bread and meat, for others the daily allowance included four types of foodstuffs.

[468] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.
[469] This is mentioned in a number of documents such as BOA. D. BŞM. 4/17; 8/111.

Table 13. Daily Allowance of Festival's Officials and Functionaries[470]

The name of the group	Bread (per day)	Meat (per day)	Clarified butter (per day)	Rice (per day)	Wax
Sergeants from the corps of armorers (*Çāvuş-ı cebeciyān-ı dergāh-ı 'alī*)	2	48 *dirhem*	-	-	-
Water dispensers of the corps the of armorers (*Saḳayān-ı ocāġ-ı cebeciyān-ı dergāh 'alī*)	2	66.6 *dirhem*	-	-	-
Tent pitchers from the corps of armorers (*Mehterān-ı ḫaṣṣa-ı cebeciyān*)	2	40 *dirhem*	-	-	-
Cooks of the imperial kitchens (*Ṭabbāḫīn-i ḫaṣṣa*)	2	48 *dirhem*	16 *dirhem*	48 *dirhem*	16 *dirhem*
Cooks from the outside (*Ṭabbāḫīn-i birūn*)	2	66.6 *dirhem*	10 *dirhem*	40 *dirhem*	10 *dirhem*
Imperial tasters (*Çāşnigīrān*)	2	100 *dirhem*	25 *dirhem*	100 *dirhem*	-
The imperial water dispensers and elite mounted personal escorts of the sultan at the imperial tent of the sultan (*Saḳayān-ı sīm ma' müteferriḳagān der oṭāġ-ı hümāyūn*)	2	100 *dirhem*	25 *dirhem*	100 *dirhem*	-
The Imperial water dispensers and water dispensers of the city who were assigned to the kitchen of the festival (*Saḳayān-ı sīm ve şehr der zümre-i maṭbaḫ-ı sūr-ı hümāyūn*)	2	30.7 *dirhem*	7.6 *dirhem*	30.7 *dirhem*	-
Roof ridge makers and lantern makers (*Māhyacıyān ma' işāreciyān*)	2	48 *dirhem*	12 *dirhem*	48 *dirhem*	-
The usher (who is responsible from) the fire wood of the imperial festival (*Mübāşir-i ḫaṭab-ı sūr-ı hümāyūn*)	2	100 *dirhem*	25 *dirhem*	100 *dirhem*	
Dancers, acrobats, poets, wrestlers, puppet players and others (*Çengiyān, canbazān, şā'irān, pehlivān, ḳūḳlacıyān ve sā'ire*)	2	100 *dirhem*	25 *dirhem*	100 *dirhem*	-
Clownish attendants responsible for controlling the public (*Ṭulūmcıyān*)	2	100 *dirhem*	25 *dirhem*	100 *dirhem*	
Janissaries of the imperial city (*Yeniçeriyān-ı dergāh-ı 'alī*)	2	80 *dirhem*	-	-	-

[470] In the account books of the festival (MAD. d. 1284, 22-25; MAD.d. 4729, 16-19) amounts of allowances were recorded on a group-based calculation. This is to say that for each group, the total number of members, their duration of work and total amount of daily allowances were recorded. Based on this information, I have converted these total amounts into amounts per person to understand the exact daily amount that one member of each group was receiving.

Functionaries with military affiliation such as janissaries, armorers, water dispensers, and tent pitchers were receiving only two types of foodstuff, meat and a loaf of bread. For others, the daily allowances also included rice and clarified butter. As a number of documents indicate the superintendent of the festival was in charge of distributing bread, rice and butter. And, the head butcher distributed meat.[471] For receiving these allowances, official certificates were issued for each group.[472]

The type of foods and their amount varied between different groups, given that each group's allowance seems to have been calculated on a different basis. For example, a petition written to the sultan by the superintendent of the festival asking the permission for the distribution of the allowances of some performers indicates that the ratio for performers' allowances was based on the amount of the allowances that were distributed to the *levend*, the irregular military forces that were recruited for the military campaigns.[473] From the account books of the festival, one understands that the daily amount of these foodstuffs for performers was composed of 100 *dirhem*[474] rice (320.7 gr), 100 *dirhem* mutton (320.7 gr), 25 *dirhem* clarified butter (80 gr) and two loaves of breads. For the janissaries however a different ratio was determined. As another document on the distribution of 2,070 janissaries' daily allowances mention, for each man two loaves of breads and for five men one *vuḳiyye* (equivalent to 1.28 kg) meat would be distributed.[475] This means that each janissary received 80 *dirhem* (256.5 gr) of meat and two loaves of bread as allowance, which is less than the meat that was given daily to performers.

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[471] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/22; 2/23; 2/30; 2/85; 3/8; 9/52; 9/54.
[472] Ibid. "telḥīṣ mucibince teẕkireleri verilmek buyuruldı."
[473] BOA. D.BŞM.SRH. 1/151: "…… sefer-i hümāyūnda taḥrīr olunān levendāna verilen ta'yīnāta muḳābil her neferāta …."
[474] One *dirhem* in Ottoman standard was equivalent to 3.207 gr. See İnalcık, "Weights and Measures," 988.
[475] The document includes different correspondences on the same matter. This ratio for daily allowances was mentioned in folio b, at the bottom right of the page. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/3: "... beher nefere bir çift nān ve beş nefere bir vuḳiyye guşt ḥesab olundukda yevmi iki biñ yetmiş çift nān ve dört yüz on dört vuḳiyye lahm ider fermān sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Fi 9 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de 1132."

Similarly, armorers' daily ratio was calculated differently. As the account books indicate, for one member 48 *dirhem* (153.9 gr) of meat and a two loaves of bread was given. This amount was based on the ratio of the previous circumcision festival in 1675.[476] A number of correspondences on that matter that were written on the same document relates that copies were made from the former festival's books on 7 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (10 September, 1720) and the ratio was determined. Then, on the next day on 8 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (11 September, 1720) it was ordered that the armorers' allowances would be distributed on this basis and that their official certificate or receipt (*tezkire*) would be given.[477]

Hence, the daily amount of meat, rice and butter that each group received was different. As for meat, which was part of all groups' daily food package, the imperial tasters, performers (from different cities), *ṭulūmcı* (clownish attendants responsible for controlling the public, who were holding greasy bags in their hands made of goat leather), and water dispensers of the imperial palace received the highest amount of meat, with 100 *dirhem* (320.7 gr) per day. For others, however, the ratio was lower. For some groups, their social hierarchy could have been the criterion in determining the daily amount. For instance, water dispensers of the imperial palace received more allowance than that of the water dispensers of armorers, of the imperial kitchens and of the city. Yet in some cases the functionaries who were assigned from outside seem to have received more allowance than the personnel of the imperial palace, such was the case of cooks who were assigned from outside and performers. Then, perhaps for each group, there was an established practice that was taken as the norm, as the example of the aforementioned armorers' petition indicate.

[476] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/22
[477] Ibid.

Apart from that, each group took their daily allowances for a different number of days, depending on their service. The janissaries, for example, received daily allowances for 16 days, starting the day that they left their garrisons.[478] The ushers of the imperial armory received it for 15 days, the imperial tasters for 15 days, and the *ṭulūmcıs* 15 days. However, performers seem to have received allowances for more days than all other functionaries, as most of them arrived at the imperial city as early as the second week of August.[479] For example, the puppet players of Salonika started receiving their food allowances on 25 *Şevvāl* (30 August, 1720) and in total they received it for 34 days.

Although the account books mention the names of these aforementioned groups, other functionaries seem to have been omitted. For example, in a petition written by the superintendent of the festival asking for the distribution of the daily allowances of the functionaries of the festival, the tanners, halberdiers of the old and new palace, tray carriers and the slaves of the imperial dockyard were also mentioned.[480] Nevertheless, for some reason they were not mentioned among those daily allowance receivers in the account books of the festival.

3.2.1 Royal donations through food

In the account books, after mentioning the daily food allowances of the festival's functionaries, the clerks noted a number of royal donations (*inʿām*) that were given in the form of food. This section of the page mentions the name of Abdurrahman, whose petition was mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter, as well as

[478] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/3: "ṭaşra çıḳdıḳları günden itibaren..."
[479] Their arrivals to the imperial city and the exact dates are discussed in Chapter 5.
[480] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/52

some janissaries and water dispensers from the corps of armorers.[481] Accordingly, certain amounts of food donations were given to these beneficiaries. While for Abdurrahman this donation included a variety of foodstuffs, for others it was composed of clarified butter and rice,[482] which did not exist among the daily food packages of these groups. Certainly, these people were not the only ones who received donations of food. Although the account books do not mention others, throughout the course of the festival a number of officials and functionaries were also granted extra food gifts. Moreover, the dignitaries and the imperial family members were given confectionaries in predetermined amounts.

These donations through food that were given to people across social strata reminds us that food was the most basic form of gift giving. Yet at the same time, in the 1720 festival the sultan's extra food gifts signify power inequalities between the groups of beneficiaries.[483] When the lists of the sultan's food donations are examined, it emerges that some more prestigious foodstuffs such as sugar and coffee were reserved to a few beneficiaries. This situation signifies that the social status of the receivers was highlighted through some luxurious foodstuffs, as they were deemed worthy of receiving these items.

Two documents are particularly striking on that matter as they provide detailed lists of beneficiaries of food gifts.[484] These documents seem to have been copies of one another with some minor changes. One of them at the beginning of the page reads that this register was made after the official certificates of Ibrahim Efendi, who was the chief scribe of the imperial festival.[485] Both documents include detailed

[481] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/164: "sūr-ı hümāyūnda cebeciyān ocağından görevli sākālara bir def῾a on kiyye birinc ve 30 vukiyye revġan-ı sāde veriniz."
[482] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 24; MAD.d. 4729, 18.
[483] Tierney and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Anthropology of Food," 125.
[484] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/59; 7/93.
[485] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/93 " ... teslim olunān defātirdir ki bā teẕākir İbrahim Efendi."

inventories of food donations that were given either through the direct order of the sultan and or through certificates of Ibrahim Efendi. As Ibrahim Efendi was the chief clerk of the festival at the time, the latter type of donation must have referred to favors that were deemed suitable by the superintendent of the festival to reward some officials and functionaries in return for their contributions or they could have been given in response to the petitions of those people. However, in this case a royal permission was necessary. Thus, in principle, the sultan's benefaction was the source of all these bestowals. In addition, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the deputy of the festival's superintendent, Mehmed Agha, was in charge of delivering those food items to the intended receivers.

To begin with the sultan's personal bestowals, it is seen that they were given to the officials working at the outer palace such as the superintendent of firewood Mustafa Agha and the superintendent of *naḫıls* Mehmed Agha as well as some inner palace personnel working in service related duties. Yet, for some people such as Ahmed Agha, Abdi Agha, Yakub Agha or Ahmed Efendi, understanding their exact positions is not easy. Alternatively, men with the title agha could have been working as *bostancı* or alternatively they might have been eunuchs working at the palace. As seen in Table 14, for most of these men rice, clarified butter and also honey were given in substantial amounts. Coffee and sugar, however, were only granted to the superintendent of *naḫıls*, Mehmed Agha, and to a certain Yakub Agha. Indeed, Mehmed Agha seems to have received more donations than any other beneficiary mentioned in the list. When one considers the great significance that the festival's planners gave to the preparation and upkeep of *naḫıls*, this substantial amount of donation to Mehmed Agha can be seen as a reward in return for his critical duty during the festival.

Table 14. Sultan's Food Donations to Officials[486]

The name of the official	Rice	Clarified butter	Honey	Sugar	Coffee	Chickpea	Black eyed peas
The superintendent of *naḫıls* (*Naḫıl emīni*) Mehmed Agha	10 *keyl*	25 *vuḳiyye*	25 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*	-	-
The former halberdier (*Teberdār-ı sābıḳ*) Murtaza Çelebi)	3 *keyl*	5 *vuḳiyye*	5 *vuḳiyye*	-	-	-	-
Abdi Agha	5 *keyl*	10 *vuḳiyye*	10 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
Ali Beg	3 *keyl*	6	6	-	-		
The former halberdier (*Teberdār-ı sābıḳ*) Mehmed Çelebi	2 *keyl*	4	4	-	-		
Yakub Agha	5 *keyl*	10 *vuḳiyye*	10 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*		
Retinue of Yakub Agha (*Tabi'-i Ya'ḳūb Aġa*)	2 *keyl*	4 *vuḳiyye*	4 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
The keeper of the sultan's garments (*Çūḫādār*) İsmail	3 *keyl*	6 *vuḳiyye*	3 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
The superintendent of firewood (*Odun emīni*) Mustafa Agha	4 *keyl*	8 *vuḳiyye*	8 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
The halberdier (*Teberdār*) Vacib Hasan	2 *keyl*	4 *vuḳiyye*	4 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
To İsmail and (ve) *ürekeciye* (?)	2 *keyl*	4 *vuḳiyye*	4 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
Ahmed Agha	3 *keyl*	6 *vuḳiyye*	6 *vuḳiyye*	-	-		
Ahmed Efendi	6 *keyl*	-	-	-	-	2 *keyl*	2 *keyl*

Each beneficiary seems to have received a different amount of foodstuff as a donation. The amounts must have been determined through their social hierarchy and ranking given that for example, the halberdiers received less than the superintendents. Unlike all others however, the donation to Ahmed Efendi seems to have been made up of rice, chickpea and black-eyed beans. Maybe he was one of the

[486] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/59; 7/93.

petitioners asking for the bestowal of some specific items, which could have been the reason his food gift package was different from the others. Some short orders that addressed the deputy of the festival's superintendent, Mehmed Agha, show that these grants were given on different days. One of these orders dated 29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (2 October, 1720), is about food bestowals to the keeper of the sultan's garments (*çūḫādār*), İsmail, and another one dated 4 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (7 October, 1720) is about the superintendent of firewood Mustafa Agha's food grant.[487] Two further examples are on food grants to a certain Yakub Agha and one of his retinues. As seen in Table 14, these men were given individual food gift packages and from the orders, we learn that while Yakub Agha received his food gifts on 29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (2 October, 1720) his servant was donated a few days later on 5 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (8 October, 1720).[488]

The second group of beneficiaries to whom certain amounts of food gifts were bestowed through the certificates of Ibrahim Efendi seems to have been mostly composed of the officials from the scribal service. As seen in Table 15, all scribes were given rice, clarified butter, honey, sugar and coffee. As sugar and coffee seem to have been markers of status—at least in the festival's food-related aspect—perhaps these bestowals to clerks indirectly signify the growing significance of the scribal service and scribes in the overall Ottoman bureaucracy.[489] Apart from the clerks, a number of other beneficiaries such as a eunuchs, performers, a non-Muslim resident from Tophane named Şalomer (?) Çelebi and a certain official in charge of some market purchases (*bazārī*), Emir Çelebi, were also given some food grants. Yet, in accordance with their lower social status their food gift package did not include sugar and coffee.

[487] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/58; 7/118.
[488] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/123; 7/130.
[489] Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities."

Table 15. Food Donations to Clerks and Other Beneficiaries[490]

The name of the official	Rice	Clarified butter	Honey	Sugar	Coffee
The clerk (who) registered twilled cotton cloaks (?)[491] (*Kapama Kātibī*) Ahmed Efendi	4 *keyl*	25 *vuḳiyye*	30 *vuḳiyye*	3 *vuḳiyye*	1 *vuḳiyye*
The clerk who registers the (names of the) circumcised boys (*Kātib-i ṣıbyān-ı*) *ḫitān* Fazlullah Efendi)	3 *keyl*	25 *vuḳiyye*	20 *vuḳiyye*	3 *vuḳiyye*	1 *vuḳiyye*
The clerk of the cellar (*Kātib-i kiler*) Ömer Efendi	10 *keyl*	30 *vuḳiyye*	30 *vuḳiyye*	3 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*
The clerk of the imperial festival (*Sūr-ı hümāyūn kātibi efendi*)	50 *keyl*	100 *vuḳiyye*	100 *vuḳiyye*	10 *vuḳiyye*	15 *vuḳiyye*
An official in charge of some market purchases (*Bazārī*) Emir Çelebi	-	-	-	-	1 *vuḳiyye*
Clerk (*Kātib*) Mustafa Çelebi	10 *keyl*	20 *vuḳiyye*	20 *vuḳiyye*	3 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*
The clerk of the copper utensil (*Kātib-i Nüḥās*) Süleyman Çelebi	3 *keyl*	25 *vuḳiyye*	20 *vuḳiyye*	2 *vuḳiyye*	1 *vuḳiyye*
Eunuch (*Tavaşi*) Mūsa	3 *keyl*	6 *vuḳiyye*	6 *vuḳiyye*	-	-
From Tophane (Ṭobḫāneli)[492] Şalomer (?) Çelebi	5 *keyl*	10 *vuḳiyye*	10 *vuḳiyye*	-	-
A girl dancer the daughter of (...?) [493] (*…nın kızı köçek*)	3 *keyl*	10 *vuḳiyye*	10 *vuḳiyye*	-	-
Dancers and others (*Çengiyan ve sā'ire*) (22 *Şevvāl*-10 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*)	39 *keyl*	97.5 *vuḳiyye*	-	-	-

In this table, the most rewarded official seems to have been the chief clerk of the imperial festival, Ibrahim Efendi, who was also responsible for issuing these official documents. The key position of Ibrahim Efendi in the festival and the significance of

[490] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/59; 7/93.
[491] As will be mentioned below, during the festival cotton cloaks meade of twilled cotton were distributed to thousands of circumcized boys from the city folk. Thus, this clerk must have been in charge of distributing or registering these cloths.
[492] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/59 written solely as Şalomer (?) Çelebi, but in D.BŞM. SRH. 7/93 was mentioned as Ṭobḫāneli.
[493] In BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/93 written as such.

his services throughout the preparations seem to have been highlighted with the enormous amount of food bestowals he got, which was composed of 50 *keyl* (1,282.9 kg) rice, 100 *vuḳiyye* (128.29 kg) clarified butter, 100 *vuḳiyye* (128.29 kg) honey, 10 *vuḳiyye* (12.8 kg) sugar, and 15 *vuḳiyye* (19.2 kg) coffee. As seen in the list, these amounts were five or ten times more than the other scribes' food gift packages. The amounts of sugar and coffe are worth to pay attention to, as these items were given to a select number of officials, albeit in much smaller quantities.

Apart from these beneficiaries, other documents indicate that there were even more people who were given food donations throughout the festival. Among those other beneficiaries were some high and middle ranking officials, such as the chief white eunuch of the imperial palace, the chamber of the steward of the grand vizier, the imperial deputy who was in charge of purchasing foodstuff for the imperial palace, Abdurrahman Agha, the chief merchant of the imperial palace, and the steward of the janissary agha.[494] In addition, the head of *ṭulūmcıs* and the head of the imperial cooks received some food donations.[495] These people were given the same kind of foodstuffs as the aforementioned beneficiaries, albeit in varying amounts.

Particularly interesting is the existence of coffee among the food gift packages of many of this latter group. *Sūrnāmes* frequently mention that coffee was served before and after the banquets. Nevertheless, they do not comment on the consumption of coffee on different occasions. As many short orders indicate, coffee was delivered to certain officials at events other than banquets, and coffee was also consumed in the chambers of dignitaries and in the tents of middle-ranking officials.[496] Although in the account books the total amount of coffee was not mentioned, on the verso page of a two-page document where the amounts of some of

[494] See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/69; 6/17; 6/97; 7/32; 7/49.
[495] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH 4/90; 7/21.
[496] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/90; 6/17; 4/69; 4/35; 3/59; 3/32.

the foodstuffs that were delivered to the officials on 12 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (15 September, 1720) were mentioned, one sees the mention of coffee.[497] In that document, the total amount of coffee was mentioned as 378 *vuḳiyye* (484.9 kg) and 255 *vuḳiyye* (327.15 kg) was noted to be roasted coffee (*ḳāvrılmış*). The remaining 123 *vuḳiyye* (157.8 kg) was referred to as beans (*çekirdek*). However, when the amounts of other foodstuffs mentioned in this document are concerned, it is seen that these amounts are lower than the total amounts that were mentioned in the account books. Probably this document was a draft that registered some expenses of the kitchen. After the clerks registered these amounts, some additional provisions seem to have been made for the festival. In this respect, one can surmise that the total amount of coffee that was provisioned for the festival was very possibly higher than this amount.

3.2.2 The distribution of confectionaries to dignitaries and members of the imperial family

In the last sections of his *sūrnāme,* Hafız Mehmed mentions that throughout the festival each day a number of trays bearing sugared forms were distributed to the imperial family members. In addition, on some days, trays full of confections were sent to the tent of the sultan and to the grand vizier. For example, on the eight day of the festival, the superintendent of the festival brought one tray that was full of confections to the grand vizier and the grand vizier distributed these confections to aghas that were present around his chamber.[498] Hafız says that in total, 250 trays were distributed for these purposes.[499] Although Hafız Mehmed did not specify the number of dishes that were put on these trays, an undated document illuminates this matter. The title of the document indicates that, every night, confectionaries were

[497] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/59, the verso side of the document includes this information.
[498] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü,* 208.
[499] Ibid. 231-233.

given to the *ḥarem-i hümāyūn*, which in totality were made up of 250 trays and 1,000 dishes.[500] The name of each beneficiary and the amount and type of trays that he/she received throughout the festival were also noted in the document. Although Hafız Mehmed seems to have faithfully copied this information in his text, he mistakenly stated that all of these 250 trays were distributed on the day of the circumcision of the crown princes, which took place on 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (10 October, 1720). Nevertheless, on the basis of the declaration of the aforementioned archival document, one can definitely say that 250 trays referred to the total amount of trays that were distributed throughout the course of the festival.

Interestingly, not only the amounts of sugar trays but also their types showed variations according to the receivers' social rank. For instance, throughout the festival, Fatma Sultan (the wife of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha) received ten gilded (*sīm varaḳlı*) trays that were full of confections while other sultans got only three trays. The grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha, as might be expected, received a higher number of trays than all other members of the Imperial Council. He received ten gilded trays and five designed trays (*taṣvīr ṭabla*). The members of the Imperial Council Members however were given on an average two gilded and two designed trays. This numerical difference reflects the exceptional power and esteem of the grand vizier, who was known for his very close personal relationship with the sultan.[501]

By "gilded trays," the documents referred to trays covered in silver/gold or alternatively to the confections that were covered or decorated with gold leaf. Designed trays on the other hand, must have referred to sugar figures in the shape of

[500] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/56: " Oḳ meydānında sūr-ı hümāyūn mübāşeret oldığı günden bā-emr-i veliyü'n-ni'am beher gice harem-i hümāyūna iḳtiżāsına göre verilen enva'i şekerleme yevm-i mezbūrda biñ ṭabāḳ ikiyüz elli ṭabla verilmişdir."

[501] Raşid Mehmed Efendi in his chronicle occasionally mentions how the sultan was fond of the merits, skills and personality of his grand vizier. Özcan et al. *Tarih-i Râşid*, vol. II, 1183, 1184, 1214.

fruits, flowers, and animals. Receiving these figurative sugar pieces seems to have conferred a certain degree of prestige on the beneficiaries because, except for members of the Imperial Council, only a few officials were deemed worthy of receiving these figurative confections. Similarly, gilded trays were given exclusively to members of the Imperial Harem, sultans, members of the Imperial Council as well as to the chief white eunuch and the chief treasurer. Thus, even for those people in the highest ranks of the bureaucracy or the military, there was a social differentiation that expressed itself in the form of sugar figures and confections.

3.3 The imperial banquets during the festival

In the textual and pictorial narratives of the 1720 festival, the imperial banquets held a significant place. The authors of *sūrnāmes* start by mentioning the placement of the banquet tents in the festival space. Accordingly, next to the tent of the grand vizier one three-columned and two two-columned tents were pitched for the imperial banquets.[502] For each day's feasts, *sūrnāme* authors noted in detail the names of the participants and how the dining spreads were organized according to the hierarchies among different guests. The grand vizier was the host of these banquets as the deputy of the sultan and he participated in all of them in the company of the second- and third-ranking viziers and the imperial chancellor. The dining spreads of these dignitaries were put in the three-columned banquet tent. Except for the first day of the festival, when the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha ate alone, on all other days he shared his dining spread with the highest-ranking guests of that day. The dining spread next to that one, on the other hand, was reserved for the second high-ranking guests and the third and fourth ones for the lesser members. When compared with the

[502] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 185.

participants who were hosted at the two-columned banquet tents, it can be said that the guests of the three-columned banquet tent were more distinguished.

While the authors of the festival books outlined the social hierarchy between the dignitaries, guests and officials, which was communicated through their seating arrangements, the material details and especially the culinary aspect of these banquets were not mentioned at all. In the pictorial representations of these banquets, the painters depicted only the highest-ranking tables. In one double-page composition, they illustrated three or four dining spreads around which eight or ten people were sitting, with their legs covered by dining napkins (Fig. A1, A3, A4, A7). On these dining spreads, a few dishes or porcelain bowls were seen, giving some hints about some of the dishes that might have been served during the banquets, such as chicken, rice, soup, and rice pudding with saffron. The rest of the menu or the menu of the lower-ranking guests and that of the functionaries cannot be deduced from these representations.

In these pictorial representations, one also sees the imperial tasters and halberdiers, who gave service during the banquets. Similarly, both Abdi and Hafız Mehmed related in their narratives that these men were in charge of preparing the dining spreads in advance and organizing the service during the meal. Just before the start of the meal, they would bring ewers and washbowls for the guests, and they also served coffee, sherbet and compote before and during the meals.[503] In the pictorial representations of the festival, these servicemen were often depicted as carrying lidded copper dishes and porcelain or gold/silver bowls in their hands. Nevertheless, neither the textual narrative nor the archival documents provide information on the performative dimension of their service during the banquets. However, considering

[503] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri,* 5, 493; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 144; 191.

the great attention that was paid to etiquette and ordinance at Ottoman court rituals,[504] one might speculate that quite possibly these servicemen were entering the banquet tents and moving between dining spreads in a certain order. In addition, the depiction of lidded dishes in their hands suggests that when a new course was being served, the plate was brought to the table and the lid was opened in situ.

In imperial celebrations, banquets were always given special attention. The number of courses that were served during these occasions, as well as the ingredients of dishes, was often associated with the power and generosity of the host.[505] For example, in the imperial circumcision festival that was held during the reign of sultan Süleyman in 1539, on the henna night, 53 different types of dessert were served. In addition, for the banquets of the imperial council members, the ulema and pashas, 40 different courses, including even skewed peacock, were prepared.[506] Nevertheless, the menu of the lower-ranking beneficiaries was not as extensive as these more esteemed tables.

As has been mentioned before, the order in which people ate, the type of dishes they could taste and even the type of tableware items on which the food was served articulated the social hierarchies. This does not mean that in each particular historical context or during all occasions the same patterns were followed. This is to say that the peculiar conditions of each specific event should always be taken into consideration. In the 1539 festival, for example, while 40 different courses were seen on the viziers' tables, the janissaries tasted nine different courses, which was an extraordinary variety for this group. On the other hand for the "poor" (*fuḳarā*) who were probably composed of the ordinary folk, only two courses, including boiled rice

[504] See Necioğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*; Idem, *The Age of Sinan*.
[505] Imorde, "Edible Prestige," 102.
[506] Tezcan, *Bir Ziyafet Defteri*; Kut, "Şehzade Cihangir ve Bayezid'in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler," 227-238.

and rice pudding with saffron was served. To understand the exceptionality of this food variety that was observed in the imperial festival, one may look at the normal banquets that were given at the palace on the days the Imperial Council met in the mid seventeenth century. The meal for viziers consisted of only six courses and for servants and scribes only two courses were served.[507] Although in each example the participants of the banquets were differentiated through food, the manner in which this differentiation was put into practice differed from context to context.

The social differentiation between participants was also observed during other types of Ottoman court banquets. Among the menus of some court celebrations from the mid seventeenth century, Hedda Reindl-Kiel mentions a feast during the religious festival of the sacrifice when 14 courses were offered to the viziers. For the clerks and palace functionaries the menu was much more modest.[508] Another example is the menu of the banquet that was held in 1677 in honor of the Polish ambassador. There, 20 different courses were offered the guests. However for the retinue of the embassy only five courses were served.[509] Apart from that, in some cases even if the type of dish was the same, the ingredients were poorer for the lower-ranking guests. For example, during the aforementioned religious feast "chicken soup containing onion, pepper, chickpea, lemon juice, and parsley was also served to clerks but unlike that of the pashas without cinnamon and ginger."[510]

The public kitchens (*'imārets*) also offered a much smaller variety of food to their beneficiaries and guests. The standard menu in the *imarets* of Istanbul, Edirne, Konya, Damascus, Bolayır and Ergene consisted of two soups served with bread, once in the morning and once in the evening. For the higher-ranking visitors of these

[507] Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise," 61-64.
[508] Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise."
[509] Kolodziejczyk, "Polish Embassies in Istanbul," 56.
[510] Reindl-Kiel, "The Chickens of Paradise," 66-67.

institutions, however, a richer food variety was offered. For instance, at the Fatih imaret, special guests were served a mutton-enriched dish (*dāne*), stew, rice pudding with saffron or sometimes a rice stew with plums and other fruits (*ekşi aşı*).[511]

As far as celebrations and feasting at the Ottoman court are concerned, quite often what was served during these kinds of occasions and the ingredients of the dishes or drinks are not known.[512] The 1539 festival is an exception in this regard, given that the menus of the other festivals have not yet been discovered. For the 1675 festival, the author of one of the festival books, Abdi, mentioned only that the high-ranking guests had 25 courses as well as compote and pickles during the banquets. He also added that the amount of food that was served to dignitaries and to lower-ranking guests was different.[513] What about the 1720 festival? What kind of dishes and drinks were offered to the guests, how many courses were served at the tables of the dignitaries and other guests, and what type of dishes were reserved only to a select number of beneficiaries? This section aims at answering all these questions on the basis of the formerly unknown menu and ingredient lists of the festival's banquets.

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[511] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 59.

[512] There are a few exceptions to this situation. For example, Hedda Reindl-Kiel analyzed 52 lists of menus that were served at the imperial palace between 1661-1664. Contemporary to these menus Evliya Çelebi in his narrative mentioned the menu of a feast that was served at the palace of the governor of Bitlis. In addition, one should also mention the account of a Sufi namely Seyyid Hasan from Istanbul, who provided a vivid vista to the culinary culture of the middle-upper middle urbanites in the mid-seventeenth century. Sometimes the menus that were offered to him included 24 different courses, indicating the well to do social milieu that he was a part of. See Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise"; Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis,* 116-121; Gökyay, "Sohbetname," 56-65; Kafadar, "Self and Others," 121-150. Apart from that, from the fifteenth and late eighteenth, there are a number of treatises related to food, and in the nineteenth century the first recipe books in Ottoman lands was published. For an overview of all these sources see Kut, *Açıklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası*; also see Ünver, *Tarihte 50 Türk Yemeği*; Kut, "Türklerde Yeme-İçme Geleneği ve Kaynakları," 38-71; Sakaoğlu, "Sources for our Ancient Culinary Culture," 35-50. For published treatises see Muhammed bin Mahmud Şirvani, *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı*; Ünver, *Türkiye Gıda Hijyeni Tarihinde Fatih Devri Yemekleri*; Mehmet Kamil, *Melceü't-tabbahin*, Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*; Halıcı, *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, Mahmud Nedim, *Aşçıbaşı*. For a socio-historical analysis of food through the use of hagiographic and narrative sources see Trepanier, *Foodways and Daily Life*.

[513] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 493.

Before the menu of the banquets, the number of dishes that were served to the dignitaries, officials and functionaries should be briefly discussed. Among the archival documents a number of documents illustrate this point.[514] Accordingly, in these documents the exact amount of dishes that each member of the Imperial Council and each official working at the inner and outer palace as well as the lower-ranking service men could have seen on their dining spreads was carefully recorded. Two of these documents gave the number of dishes that would be served to the highest-ranking tables including that of the sultan and the grand vizier as 16.[515] In the account book of the festival, however, dishes served to this top-ranking group was mentioned as 20.[516] These additional four courses must have included side dishes such as pickles, marmalades and dry and fresh fruits, which were also served during the festival.[517]

The number of dishes seems to have decreased to twelve, ten, eight, seven, and five as one's social rank diminished. The least advantageous group in this respect was the lower-ranking service men of the festival such as water dispensers, torchbearers, tray carriers, palace pages, tanners as well as performers (musicians, dancers, acrobats and others) because, unlike the other participants, these men had to share their food with a number of their colleagues. As it was mentioned before, for these service men, in one dining spread every ten men would share four dishes.[518]

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[514] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 5/47: "Sūr-ı hümāyūn żiyāfet verilecek şofraların tertībidir." BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 8/25: "Sūr-ı hümāyūnda verilecek şofraların tertībidir." In addition to that in the account book of the festival this information was also recorded. BOA, MAD.d. 1284, 40,41. A similar information is also found in the account book of the 1675 festival BOA, MAD.d. 3340. fol. 4a. The number of dishes seem to have been different in this festival than that of the 1720. Merve Çakır made an analysis of this account book. See Çakır. "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü," 111-129.

[515] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 5/47; 8/25.

[516] BOA, MAD.d. 1284, 40-45.

[517] In the unknown menu that was served to the Safavid envoy Murtaza Kulu Han in 1722, it is seen that fresh and dried fruits were also counted as a different course. The menu is examined by the author together with a number of other menus and food lists that exist in the book of register. BOA. D.BŞM. MTE.d. 10963, 2-3, 36-37.

[518] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 5/47; 8/25. "Beher on nefer şaḥān dörd."

This means that both in terms of food variety and the amount, the dishes that were served to these servicemen were poorer than the higher-ranking ones.

At this point, an important question is whether the number of dishes referred to the number of different courses that one might taste or not. For the higher and middle-ranking officials and guests this must have been the case. Indeed, an undated document that mentions the total number of dishes that would be served to the festival's functionaries provides an insight on that matter. In the document, it is mentioned that the palace's halberdiers would be served seven dishes, and that each plate would have a different dish such as soup, stew, roasted meat, boiled rice, ragout, stuffed vegetable, and starch pudding.[519] For the lower-ranking functionaries, however, the number of dishes might not have referred to the number of different courses. In the same document one sees that the lower-ranking functionaries such as tray-carriers and torchbearers, among whom each 10 men would share four dishes, would only eat soup and ragout.[520] Namely, four dishes that were put on their dining spreads contained two types of dishes so that each member could taste on an equal basis.

3.3.1 Skewers for kebab, drainers for sherbet: The preparation of the menu of the banquets

What kinds of dishes were served during the banquets of the 1720 festival? Luckily, among the archival documents on the 1720 festival there is an undated document that records the menu of the festival. Interestingly, in the document the menu was divided into five categories according to the hierarchy of the participants and guests.[521] The first group was composed of the sultan, the grand vizier, the viziers and the

[519] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH 8/111.
[520] Ibid.
[521] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114.

provincial governors (*şehriyārī ve ṣadr-ı ʻālī ve vüzerā-yı ʻizām ḥażerātı ve mīr-i mīrān*) and their menu was composed of nineteen different dishes. The second group referred to the high-ranking guests of the sultan (*medʻuvvîn der oṭāġ-ı hümāyūn*), and they tasted sixteen different dishes. The third group was made up of the officials of the outer court including clerks, aghas, stewards and other functionaries (*müstaḥiḳ ve ḥükemā der oṭāġ-ı bīrūn*), who had a menu with nine different dishes. The fourth group comprised the lower-ranking service men such as torchbearers, armed forces, clownish attendants, water dispensers and performers (*ḳaraḳolluḳcı ve fişekçiyān ve sazendegān ve ṭulūmcıyān ve meşʻaleciyān ve sakayān ve sā'ire)* and they were offered five dishes. The last group was made up of the urban city dwellers, the poor and janissaries as well as members of the corps of armorers and artillerymen (*żiyāfet-i ʻām ve yeniçeriyān-ı dergāh-ı ʻalī ve cebeciyān ve tobcıyan ve fuḳarāperverde ve sā'ire*). This lowest ranking group's menu had only three simple dishes. As seen in Table 16, the menu of the festival displays a rich variety including soups, roasted meats, ragouts, stews, flaky pastries with filling, and different desserts. Yet, evidently this richness was mostly available to the dignitaries and higher-ranking participants.

As an overall observation, soup, stewed squash, meat dishes and boiled rice seem to have been commonly tasted by almost all participants with the exception of the fifth group. Yet, desserts and flaky pastries were exclusive to the more esteemed guests only. As far as meat dishes are concerned, it seems that their variety increased in accordance with the social status of the group. While, the first group's menu included roasted lamb, roasted chicken, pigeon stew, chicken stew, turkey, lamb ragout, the second and third group tasted three different meat dishes.

Table 16. Menu of the Imperial Banquets[522]

First Group	Second Group	Third Group	Fourth Group	Fifth Group
Chicken soup[523] (*Şorbā-yı perhiz*)	Chicken soup (*Şorbā-yı perhiz*)	Roasted meat (*Et kebābı*)	Ragout (*Yaḫni*)	Boiled rice (*Pilāv*)
Roasted lamb (*Ḳuzı kebābı*)	Roasted lamb (*Ḳuzı kebābı*)	Ragout (*Yaḫni*)	Stewed squash (*Ḳabāḳ ḳalyesi*)	Rice pudding with saffron (*Zerde*)
Piliç kebābı (Roasted chick)	Minced duck meat (*Ḳıyma-yı ördek*)	Stuffed vegetable dish (*Dolma*)	Soup (*Şorbā*)	Cold mutton slices (*Sögüş*)[524]
Okra (*Bāmya*)	Okra (*Bāmya*)	Stewed squash (*Ḳabāḳ kalyesi*)	Boiled rice (*Pilāv*)	
Stewed pigeon (*Gügercin ḳapāması*)[525]	Roasted chick (*Kebāb-ı piliç*)	Soup (*Şorbā*)	Rice pudding with saffron (*Zerde*)	
Stewed squash[526] (*Ḳabāḳ kalyesi*)	Stewed squash (*Ḳabāḳ kalyesi*)	Sweet grape molasses (?) (*Ṭāṭlu dībs* [?])		
Stewed chick (*Piliç ḳapāması*)	Lamb Soup (*Ḳuzı şorbāsı*)	Boiled rice (*Pilāv*)		
Turkey (*Mısır ṭavuġı*)	Flaky pastry [baked in] cooking pot) (*Ṭencere böregi*)	Rice pudding with saffron (*Zerde*)		
Lamb soup (*Ḳuzı şorbāsı*)	Sweet grape molasses (?)[527] (*Ṭāṭlu dībs* [?])	Starch pudding (*Pālude*)		
Flaky pastry [baked in] cooking pot) (*Ṭencere böregi*)	Flaky pastry [baked] in a tray (*Ṭebsi böregi*)			
Pomegranate flower marmalade/dessert (?) (*Şükūfe-i enār* [?])[528]	Sweet pastry cut in diamond shaped pieces (*Baḳlavā*)			

[522] In the document the dishes were noted in this exact order and underneath each dish a number was mentioned. Thus, this order might have referred to the order in which these dishes were served in the banquets.

[523] This must have been chicken soup. Hedda Reindl-Kiel says that in the book of registers that she has analyzed from the mid-seventeenth century, she occasionally encountered the term *perhiz çorbası* in place of *şorbā-ı makiyān.* Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise," 85.

[524] From the fifteenth century onwards this term is widely used as referring to boiled mutton. Also in the 1539 festival's banquets cold sliced mutton was served Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 338; Kut, "Şehzâde Cihangir ve Bayezid'in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler Üzerine," 237.

[525] *Kapāma* refers to the sealing of the cooking pot with a piece of dough during cooking meat and vegetable dishes.

[526] Stews are known in the Ottoman cuisine at least from late fifteenth century onwards. They were cooked with meat, vegetables and fruits. See Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat,* 484; Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 180; Barkan, "Osmanlı Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," 21.

[527]This dish appears two times in the list. *Dibs*, means grape molasses. In the Ottoman cuisine, molasses were used to sweeten desserts such as *palude* and *kesme*, as well as to give taste to the boiled rice. Possibly, this dish that was mentioned as *tatlu dibs* was used to give sweetness to boiled rice or to starched pudding.

[528] *Şükūfe* means flower. In the imperial palace's kitchens registers that were analyzed by Ömer Lütfi Barkan in different years the purchases of different kinds of flowers such as *şükufe-i benefşe, şeftali, zerrinkadeh, babunec,* are seen. These flowers were used in the making of assorted drinks, marmalades and confections. Some were also put inside salads. Apart from that in the 1539 festival's henna night a particular kind of dessert made of pomegranate flower (*çavariş-i gülnar*) was mentioned. Tezcan. *Bir Ziyafet Defteri*, 7; Yerasimos, *Sultan Sofraları*, 37. Despite the fact that I could not find a dish named as *şükūfe-i enār* in any of the published sources, I have seen the same type of dish in the banquet of the Safavid envoy Murtaza Kulı Han that was held in 16 *Rebi'ü'l-ahir* 1134 (3 February, 1722). BOA. D. BŞM. MTE.d. 10963, 36-37. Thus, I assume that this dish either referred to a type of dessert or marmalade.

First Group	Second Group	Third Group	Fourth Group	Fifth Group
Flaky pastry [baked] in a tray (*Tebsi böreği*)	A type of halva (*'Asūdiyye*)			
Sweet pastry cut in diamond shaped pieces (*Baḳlavā*)	A type of dish cooked with fruits, rice and flavored with sour grape or plum juice) (*Ekşi 'āşı*)[529]			
A type of halva (*'Asūdiyye*) [530]	White starch pudding (*Beyāż pālude*)			
Starch pudding in Persianate style (?) (*'Acem pāludesi*)[531]	Sweet dish made of cereals, raisins, sugar (*'Āşurā*)			
White starch pudding (*Beyāż pālude*)	Boiled rice (*Pilāv*)			
Sweet dish made of cereals, raisins, sugar (*'Āşurā*)				
Boiled rice (*Pilāv*)				
Lamb ragout (*Ḳuzı yaḫnisi*)				

As has been mentioned before, in the account books and other documents the number of dishes that would be offered to the dignitaries (first group) was mentioned as sixteen. Probably, every day a total of 16 different courses were chosen from among 19 dishes that were recorded on the menu. Indeed, a book of register that recorded

[529] This dish was cooked at *imarets* at least from the time of Sultan Mehmed II onwards. In addition, during the 1539 circumcision festival's banquets it was offered to the guests. In this festival, this dish was made with rice, currant, apricot, plum, almond and wild apricot (*zerdali*). The sour taste that the dish takes its name from the plum or black grape juice that was added during cooking. Ünver, Tarihte *Türkiye Gıda Hijyeni Tarihinde*, 8*;* Kut "Şehzade Cihangir ve Bayezid'in Sünnet Düğünündeki Yemekler," 234.

[530] This must be the type of halva this is commonly referred in Ottoman sources as *'aside* or *asude.* In *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* the same type of halva was mentioned as *'asıdiyye*. Yerasimos, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde Yemek Kültürü,* 539.

[531] Starch pudding's history dates back to the thirteenth century Arab cuisine. It was often made with honey, starch, water and occasionally it was also made with sugar. Sometimes it was served with an addition of flavorings such as rose water, musk and saffron. Starting with the nineteenth century in the recipe books one sees that starch puddings made with fruit juices. See Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*, 24; Mehmet Kamil, *Melceü't Tabbahin*, 60. In any of the published sources, I have not encountered a specific type of starch pudding referred as the Persianate style starch pudding. Yet, I have seen the same type of starch pudding in the unknown menus of the banquets that were held in honor of the Indian and Safavid envoys in 1717 (1129) and 1722 (1134) respectively. For these menus see BOA, D.BŞM. MTE.d. 10963, 2-3, 36-37. A friend of mine, Salimeh Amanjani, on a conversation mentioned that today at Shiraz there is a specific kind of starch pudding that is named as the "starch pudding of Shiraz." The ingredients of this starch pudding are same as that of the 1720 festival. Yet, it takes its name from how it is cut into very tiny, striped pieces. As a possibility, this specific type of starch pudding could also have taken its name from its shape.

daily food provisions for the preparation of the menus of the banquets[532] also substantiate this point. Certain food items were not mentioned in the provisions of some days. For example, in the daily provisions for the dishes of the dignitaries (the first group), pigeon was not mentioned on 19, 23, 25, 26, 28 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*.[533] From this we understand that the pigeon stew that is seen in their menu could not have been cooked and served at those days' banquets.

Daily food provisions for the preparation of the menus of the banquets show that some food items, flavorings and vegetables were exclusive to the dignitaries and higher-ranking guests.[534] For example, while chickpeas, squash, onions, and eggplant were commonly used in the dishes of the participants of all ranks, broad beans, black-eyed peas, parsley, and spearmint were used only in the dishes of the dignitaries and high-ranking guests. Similarly, some expensive and luxurious flavorings such as cinnamon, coriander, rose water, musk, cumin, mastic, and cardamom seem to have been peculiar to the dishes of the top-ranking participants. The meals of the lower-ranking functionaries and participants, on the other hand, had a limited flavor variety, with vinegar, salt, pepper, lemon juice and saffron. Yet the generous use of saffron even in the dishes of the lower-ranking participants is worth mentioning. As saffron was a very expensive spice, its generous use in the dishes of the lower-ranking participants as well as the janissaries and the common people can be perceived as a manifestation of the splendidness of the festival's banquets.

Apart from that, sometimes, even if the same kinds of ingredients were used in the dishes of all groups, their amounts varied according to the rank of the guests.

[532] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75. This book of registers is made up of twelve folios. At the beginning of the book there is page disorder as one sees a list that actually belongs to the fifth day of the festival. Yet, the rest of the book continues in sequence beginning from the one day before the start of the festival and continues until the last day of the public celebrations. Each section bear dates so that one can understand which days' and which group's food provisions were mentioned.
[533] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.
[534] Ibid.

For instance, with the exception of the fifth group (janissaries, the poor-needy and the common people), all other groups' provisions included different types of poultry such as chicken, chick, turkey, duck, and pigeon.[535] The exact amount of poultry that was provisioned for the preparation of the menu of the middle ranking participants seems to have been less than that of the high-ranking guests and dignitaries. Hedda Reindl-Kiel also makes a similar observation for the dishes that were served to the personnel of the imperial palace during Imperial Council days in the mid-seventeenth century. Accordingly, viziers' dishes included more meat than the rest of the participants.[536] All these show that, in addition to food variety, the ingredients and their amounts could be markers of social hierarchy and rank.

The joint consideration of the menu, the daily food provisions and some kitchen utensils that were used in the preparation of these dishes can provide hints to the ingredients of some dishes that were offered during the festival's banquets. One shall start with the scramble for food (*yāġma*),[537] which was offered to the janissaries on the first and seventh day of the festival and to the corps of armorers and artillerymen on the eleventh day. This ritualized form of distributing food that was like a show in itself, was also captured in the pictorial representations of the festival. In Levni and Ibrahim's paintings (Fig. A20, A21), on the first day of the festival, one sees a dozen janissaries on the recto page of the composition marching for food that was laid out on the ground on copper round trays. In Levni's painting, yellow saffron over the rice can also be identified (Fig. A20). Similarly, on the seventh day's scramble of food that was represented solely by Ibrahim (Fig. A22), one can see yellow saffron above the boiled rice. In addition, in the painting, one also sees

[535] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.
[536] Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise," 67.
[537] For *yāġma* see Gökyay, "Bir Saltanat Düğünü," 44; İnan, "Han-ı Yağma Deyiminin Kökeni," 645-648; Arslan, "Osmanlı Saray Düğünlerinde Yağma Geleneği," 54-57; Gökalp, *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi*, 63, 64.

roasted lambs on trays, which was also offered during the scramble. In the related archival document, it is mentioned that 500 lambs and sheep were provisioned only for this purpose.[538] As the aforementioned menu of this group indicates, apart from boiled rice, rice pudding with saffron and cold mutton slices were also offered during the scramble for food. The lists of daily food provisions mention that meat, chickpeas, peppers, saffron, clarified butter, honey and rice were supplied for the preparation of these courses.[539] Thus, one can surmise that the boiled rice included chickpeas and saffron, rice pudding was made with honey, and meat was flavored with pepper.

As far as meat courses that were served throughout the banquets are concerned, one can roughly divide them into four categories: roasted meats, ragouts, stews, and soups made of chicken or mutton. To begin with roasted meat (*kebāb*), as it was discussed in Chapter 2, the existence of different types and sizes of skewers (iron/steel or wooden; big and medium-sized)[540] among the provisions of the festival's kitchen indicate that chicks and lambs were roasted on the fire. A number of other types of kitchenware such as *ḳaz ayāġı-ı kebāb* (tripot cooking pot/stand (?) for kebab) and *pāy-ı kebāb* (a kind of utensil for portioning roasted meat or a stand for cooking roasted meat [?]) must have been used during roasting. In addition, the mention of a copper frying pan for *kebāb* (*nüḥās tābe-i kebāb*) indicates that some could also be fried in pans. The recipe for roasted chicken and roasted lamb from a copy of a treatise that was written in the first half of the eighteenth-century can given

[538] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 3b.
[539] For example see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 3b: "Berā' tabḫ-ı pilāv zerde-i yāġmā-ı yeniçeriyān-ı dergāh-ı 'alī 21 Zilka'de 1132. Erz 500 keyl, 'asel 2000 vuḳiyye, revġan-ı sāde 1600 vuḳiyye , za'ferān 14 vuḳiyye , büber 20 vuḳiyye, noḫud 30 vuḳiyye , büryān içün koyun ve ḳuzı 500."
[540] As it was mentioned in Chapter 2, 250 medium-sized and 34 big sized iron skewers were purchased. In addition, the account book of the festival mentions the purchase of 1,200 wooden skewers. See MAD.d. 1284, 26,27.

an idea on how roasted meat courses were made in this period.[541] The treatise states that at first the meat was flavored with salt, pepper, onion juice sometimes with cinnamon.[542] After some hours, the meat was put onto the skewer and slowly roasted on the fire. In addition, sometimes butter or other kinds of fats were poured over the meat. As these ingredients also existed in the food provisions for the 1720 festival's banquets, roasted meat was possibly seasoned with similar flavors.

Skewers for fish were also provisioned for the festival's kitchen's uses, but among the menu of the festival there is no mention of a dish made with fish. Then, who was eating fish *kebāb* during the festival? Daily food provisions for banquets resolve this question. In the list, one section was dedicated to the banquets of the envoys that took place between the eleventh and fifteenth day of the festival.[543] As *sūrnāmes* mention, the French, Russian, British, Dutch, Venetian, Austrian and Dubrovnik envoys took part in the festival's banquets. These guests were hosted in a separate tent that was solely reserved for their use and it was designed according to their special needs.[544] As one sees in the pictorial representations of their tents, instead of sitting on the ground, they were sitting on chairs (Fig. A23, A24). Indeed, the account books' mention of the purchase of 20 dining chairs (each from 70 *aḳçe*) further substantiates this information.[545] Apart from that, these guests were offered food at the time they were accustomed to eating, which was the midday.[546] This special treatment of the ambassadors was also evident in their menu. In the daily

[541] This treatise is transcribed by Nejat Sefercioğlu. It seems to have been a copy of *Ağdiye Risalesi*, which was introduced to the literature by Sühely Ünver. There are two dates in the treatise, one 1178 and the second one 1227. Yet for the latter there seems to have been a clerical mistake because in this section the author mentions a specific type of dish that was offered to Sultan Ahmed III during his Edirne visit. On the basis of this information, Ünver and Sefercioğlu conclude that this second date must have been 1127 (1717). See Ünver, *Tarihte 50 Türk Yemeği*; Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*.
[542] Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri,* 37-39.
[543] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 7a: "tabḫ-ı ta'ām-ı elciyān yevm 25 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de sene (1)132 ve 29 Ẕi'l-ḳa'de (1)132."
[544] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 653; Özcan et al. eds. *Tarih-i Raşid*, v. II, 1204, 1205.
[545] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 26: "iskemle-i ta'ām."
[546] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 653.

food provision lists, in the first place, a different foodstuff, which is assorted fish, was mentioned.[547] Accordingly, 50 *vuḳiyye* (64.1) kg fish of different types were provisioned for their banquets. Interestingly, this amount matches the total amount of fish that was recorded in the account book of the festival.[548] This is to say, this entire amount of fish that was supplied for the banquets was used solely for the dishes of the envoys.[549] Hence, even if Ibrahim occasionally depicted fish on the banquet tables of the dignitaries (Fig. A25, A26), he had mistaken the beholder, since fish was not offered to these groups

It is well known in the literature that fish was not among the favorite dishes of the residents of the imperial palace, at least not until the nineteenth-century.[550] Yet, a consideration of a number of banquets for envoys during reception ceremonies imply that, at least in the second half of the seventeenth and the early-eighteenth century, fish courses were preferred on these occasions. For instance, fish soup, roasted fish or stuffed fish was served during the banquets that were held in honor of the Transylvanian (1660), Polish (1677 and 1718), Russian (1719), and Safavid (1722) envoys.[551] Parallel to that, in the 1720 festival, roasted fish was offered to the invited envoys. Although it is not possible to reach a generalization from these examples, they purport a predilection, at least when food was prepared for envoys at the imperial palace at the time.

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[547] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75, fol. 7a.
[548] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 7.
[549] In addition, as the account books mention a small amount of sea bass of 2.5 kg was also supplied for the festival. Yet, this small quantity implies that very possibly it was provisioned either for one person the sultan or perhaps the grand vizier.
[550] One exception is the reign of Mehmed II, when substantial amount of fish was provisioned to the palace kitchens. See Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri."
[551] Hedda Reindl-Kiel discussed the Transylvanian envoy's banquet. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk examined Polish envoys in 1677. The rest of the abovementioned envoys' banquets are mentioned in an unpublished and unknown book of register that I have worked on. The book is made up of forty folios; it includes lists of food provisions that were supplied for different envoy's banquets between 1129-1134. Each page was dedicated to the provisions of a different envoy and two of these pages also include the menus. Especially the menu that was offered to the Safavid envoy 1722 includes three different types of fish dishes. Reindl-Kiel, "Chicken's of Paradise"; Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, "Polish Embassies in Istanbul"; BOA. D. BŞM. MTE.d. 10963, 2, 7, 15, 36-37.

During the festival's banquets ragouts and stews were also served to different groups. An eighteenth-century recipe of ragout shows that this dish was cooked with some basic ingredients such as onion, meat and chic pea.[552] As ragouts could be made with mutton, duck and pigeon, and all these types of meat were provisioned (in different amount) for all groups that participated in the banquets, it is quite possible that different types of ragouts were cooked during the festival.

When it comes to stews, the stewed squash that was offered to all groups (except for the fifth group) deserves special mention here. Squash was mentioned in the daily food provisions of each day and underneath the name of each group.[553] This implies that it is quite possible that, every day, stewed squash took its place on the banquet tables. Parallel to that, an enormous amount of squash (10,615 kg) was provisioned for the festival's kitchen. What did this stewed squash dish look like? A nineteenth-century recipe for stewed squash mentions ingredients as mutton, squash, onion, pepper, cinnamon, salt, peppermint, sugar or honey, unripe grape juice and grape juice.[554] As the recipe indicates, mutton, onion, pepper, salt and cinnamon were cooked together in a cooking pot. Then, squashes were peeled and cut into pieces. These sliced squash pieces were placed in the base of the cooking pot, above which an amount of meat and spice mixture was put. This was repeated for a number of times until the cooking pot was full. Then, unripe grape juice and water was added to the dish to give more flavor, and the dish was left for cooking. After a while, when the dish was almost cooked, grape juice or two spoons of honey or sugar were also added. When the dish was cooked, peppermint was added.

All of these ingredients existed among the food provisions for the banquets of the festival. Thus, it is quite possible that the stewed squash had a taste similar to the

[552] Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri,* 49.
[553] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.
[554] Halıcı, *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, 59.

aforementioned recipe. One should mention once again that, during the festival, some foodstuffs or seasonings were used solely in the dishes of higher-ranking officials and guests. Cinnamon and peppermint, for instance, were not supplied for the middle and lower-ranking officials and functionaries. In this respect, at least for these group's stewed squash, these two ingredients must have been removed from the dish. Or perhaps, during the festival, this dish was cooked without these seasonings and all groups tasted the same type of the dish. Contrary to the stewed squash that was offered to all participants, the stewed chick and pigeon that must have been cooked with some additional vegetables such as parsley, *ḳavāṭa,* and melokyeha seem to have been exclusively for the most esteemed guests.

Two particular meat dishes should also be mentioned here: stuffed vegetables, as mentioned on the menu of the court officials; and minced duck meat, mentioned on the menu of the high-ranking guests of the sultan. To start with stuffed vegetables, which is a common type of dish even today in Turkish cuisine, this dish was made with a number of vegetables, including squash, eggplant, cabbage, and vine leaves. During the festival, only squash and eggplant were provisioned in huge amounts. As squash was used for cooking the stewed squash then, very possibly during the festival, *dolma* was made of eggplant. Parallel to that, among the food provisions of the court officials, each day huge numbers of eggplants were mentioned.[555]

Identifying minced duck meat, on the other hand, is more difficult. Although one does not find the name of such a dish in the treatises on food and cooking or in published recipe books, another dish, *kıyma püryani,* might give an idea about the ingredients and the recipe of this meat dish. *Kıyma püryani* was mentioned in one of

[555] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.

the copies of a treatise on cooking that was written in the first half of the eighteenth century. In this recipe, the ingredients of this dish were mentioned as mutton, parsley, mastic, lemon juice, salt, pepper, and cinnamon. Accordingly, minced mutton and seasonings such as parsley, salt, mastic and pepper were put in a large bowl with water and left cooking until the meat became soft. When the cooking was done, cinnamon, pepper and lemon juice were sprinkled over the meat for additional flavor.[556] Given the fact that all these ingredients existed among the food provisions for the high-ranking guests of the sultan, perhaps minced duck meat was a similar dish.

As a last category, one should also mention the bread that was served with these dishes. One preparatory document that recorded the amounts of basic foodstuffs that would be provisioned for each dining spread gives an idea about that matter. The document mentions that for the highest-ranking dining spreads (must refer to the sultan, grand vizier, the imperial council members and most distinguished guests), three loaves of quality breads (*nān-ı ḫāṣ*) were served. For the dining spreads of the officials of the state, on the other hand, only one loaf of quality bread would be given.[557] This information shows that even the number of breads that were offered to these higher-ranking participants was subject to differentiation according to the rank and status of each particular group. The document does not mention the lower ranking tables such as that of the functionaries of the festival who also participated in the banquets. One might speculate that since those functionaries were given daily allowances in kind, which invariably included a two loaves of bread, perhaps an extra amount of bread was not offered.

[556] Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri,* 55.
[557] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/65: the title of the document reads: "sūr-ı hümāyūn ta'āmlarında bir ṣofraya verilecek ḥarc."

3.3.2 Side dishes, sweetened drinks and desserts

Apart from main courses, side dishes were also offered during the banquets, but only for high-ranking officials and guests. In the first place, pickles, fresh and dried fruits come to mind. As has been mentioned before, six types of pickles (pickled capers, picked caper buds, eggplant, squash, peppermint and rose) and a number of different fruits, especially varieties of grapes, were provisioned for the festival. Certainly, some amount of these must have been served as side dishes during the banquets. Additionally, compotes were offered to a select number of the participants. Archival documents clearly differentiated those officials and dignitaries to whom compote would be served during the banquets. Accordingly, the grand vizier, the chancellor, the chief treasurer, the second and third ranking viziers, and the superintendent of the festival would have two bowls of compotes per day and the steward of the grand vizier, the agha of the janissaries, the chief butcher, the chief official of the imperial cellar, the chief clerk of the imperial festival, the master of horses and the superintendent of the registry of landed property would have one bowl of compote.[558] This indicates that tasting compote was a sign of social status, at least during the festival's feasts. Quite possibly, the compote was served to a larger group of participants that included the provincial governors and some high-ranking members of the ulema. Indeed, one document's mention of the provisioning of 100 compote spoons for the banquets also substantiates this assumption.[559] Besides, in one of the paintings of Levni that illustrates the banquet held on the second day of the festival for the chief military judges and judges, on the recto side of the page in the foreground, one sees a dining spread around which ten judges were sitting (fig

[558] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/47. This document seems to have been a preparatory list indicating numbers of compotes and dishes that officials and dignitaries would be offered. The account book of the festival also includes the same information however when it comes to the numbers of compotes it only mentions amounts that were offered to the imperial council members.
[559] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/189.

A2). When examined carefully, one sees that these ten judges were holding dark brown deep spoons, which are visibly different from spoons that other figures are holding. These ten men were depicted as if bending towards a deep bowl that was put at the center of the dining spread. Quite possibly, this depiction illustrates the judges' tasting of the sweet side dish, compote. Indeed, Levni's depiction of these spoons draws striking visual similarity to the compote spoons that exist today at the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum's kitchens.[560] This evidence further substantiates the claim that Levni depicted compote in the banquet tables.

Often compotes were not noted among the main dishes in the menus of the banquets, implying that they were not considered an independent dish.[561] Parallel to that, in the menu of the 1720 festival, they were not mentioned at all. Luckily, some other archival documents tell about the ingredients of these sweet side dishes that were served during the banquets of the 1720 festival. As these documents put it, 300 *vuḳiyye* (384.8 kg) sugar, 375 musk beans, 26.5 *vuḳiyye* (33.99 kg) lemon juice, 472 eggs, 30 *vuḳiyye* (38.48 kg) apples, 242 *vuḳiyye* (310.4 kg) quince, 106 *vuḳiyye* (135.99 kg) currants, 140 *vuḳiyye* (179.6 kg) apricots, 456 *vuḳiyye* (585 kg) *razzaki* (large sized grapes) grapes, 65 *vuḳiyye* (83.3 kg) plums and 38 *vuḳiyye* (48.7 kg) pears were used solely for this purpose.[562] This rich variety of fresh and dried fruits indicate that, quite possibly, different types of compotes were prepared throughout the course of the festival for the dignitaries and high-ranking guests. The mention of musk among the ingredients of compotes signifies that these sweet side dishes also

[560] These spoons that can also be seen today in the exhibition of the imperial kitchens date the nineteenth century.
[561] Hedda Reindl-Kiel makes this observation based on the seventeenth century menus that she has analyzed. One exception however to this was the account of the account of the seventeenth century Sufi Seyyid Hasan. In his *Sohbetname* compote appears as a main course. See Reindl-Kiel, "Chickens of Paradise," 64, 65; Gökyay, "Sohbetname," 60.
[562] BOA. DBŞM. SRH. 7/78; MAD.d. 4729, 22.

had a pleasant and strong odor. Eggs, on the other hand, must have been used to give a concentrated texture to the liquid part of the compotes.[563]

Unlike compotes that were reserved only for a small number of participants, throughout the festival, assorted sweetened drinks were offered to participants of all ranks. Nevertheless, their ingredients and the way in which they were served varied according to one's social rank. Hafız Mehmed, in his *sūrnāme* frequently comments on how these sweet drinks were served. As he states, during the banquets, halberdiers with side lock were serving assorted drinks sweetened with sugar (*sükkeri eşribe-i mütenevvi*ʿ) in bowls (*kāse*) to the viziers and in soft calf leather water bags/bottles (*telātīn ḳırba*) to the high-ranking guests. The rest of the participants, on the other had, were offered drinks sweetened with honey (ʿ*aselī şerbetler*) in stout leather water bags/bottles (*gāvasāle ḳırbalar*).[564] An archival document strikingly repeats this declaration of Hafız Mehmed. Indeed, it gives additional information by saying that these drinks were served with ice.[565] In addition, it indicates that throughout the festival, honeyed drinks would also be served in barrels (*fūçı*) that were placed at the ceremonial space. These must have been offered to the assigned members of janissaries, imperial armorers and artillerymen perhaps to the spectators as well. This differentiation that was articulated through drinking objects is striking so whether the drinks were sweetened with sugar and honey. As has been stated before, sugar was a

[563] I have seen egg among the ingredients of compotes that were served during two other contemporary banquets, which were held in honor of envoys at the Ottoman palace respectively in 1717 and 1722. BOA. D.BŞM. MTE.d. 10963, 2-3, 36-37. Although I could not find the mention of the addition of egg to the compotes in the published recipe books or treatises, in the seventeenth century the traveler Thévenot mentioned that white parts of the egg was put inside the sherbet. Similarly, this technique is today used in the preparation of e liquors and cocktails. White parts of the egg are put inside the alcohol with other ingredients to give it a richer and more concentrated texture.
[564] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 195, 203, 212.
[565] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/142: "misāfir ḫaymesine medʿuvvin içün tertīb olunān şofralarda kāse ile sükkerī şerbet ve simāṭ içün medʿuvviniñ ẓābiṭānına telātin ḳırba ile sükkerī şerbet, neferātına gāvasāle ḳırbayla ʿaselī verilüb şofra ve simāṭdan māʿada meydāna fūçı vażʿ olunub iyāb ve ẕuhūr idenlere ʿaselī şerbet verilmek yaḫud hemān simāṭ şofralara ẕikr olunduġı vech üzere ḳārlı ve iḳtiżāsına göre buzlı şerbet verilmek fermān buyurulması emr-ü fermān hürmetlü saʾadetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. El Ḥac Ḥalil emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn"

luxurious item for the majority of the people living in Ottoman lands in the eighteenth century. Parallel to that, in the kitchens of ordinary people and in their foods, cheaper sweeteners such as honey or grape molasses often replaced it.[566] Almost as a reflection of this situation, this expensive sweetener emerges as a marker of prestige and status in all food-related rites of the 1720 festival. Likewise the drinks of the middle and lower-ranking participants of the banquets were not sweetened with sugar; rather, they were given taste solely with honey.

Some archival documents indicate that a number of other ingredients were also used for the drinks of dignitaries and higher-ranking guests. As the account books of the festival put forth, 99,064 *akçe* were spent for the preparation of four types of sugared drinks, namely ambergris drink (*eşribe-i 'anber*),[567] ambergris drink for the sultan (*eşribe-i 'anber-i ḫāṣsa*), a type of drink made of a specific plant named which looks like a lemon (*eşribe-i mısrī hummāṣ*)[568] and assorted drinks (*eşribe-i mütenevvi'a*).[569] More detailed lists were also provided in the documents, which strikingly unearth all of their ingredients, the exact amounts as well as prices. As seen in Table 17, ambergris, lemon and unripe grape juice, sandal, sugar, musk, alum and cochineal (referring to organic red paint) were also put inside these sweet drinks. Thus, one may conclude that these drinks that were prepared in different types had a pleasant odor and at least some were red colored.

[566] Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*.
[567] In the imperial palace's expenses, it was recorded that this specific type of drink was provisioned from Yanbolu (modern day Bulgaria). Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı,* 62, 229. Yet, the mention of the ingredients of the drinks imply that for the festival quite possibly this drink was made at the kitchen of the festival.
[568] Arif Bilgin mentions that although this plant was often sometimes defined as sorrel (*kuzukulağı*), Evliya Çelebi says that this was a fruit looks like a lemon. In the expense registers of the Ottoman palace between the fifteenth and seventeenth century a certain type of sweeten drink made of this plant (*şerāb-ı hummāṣ*), musk, sugar and amber was listed. From the sixteenth century onwards this drink was provisioned from Egypt. See Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı*, 228, and 229, n. 303.
[569] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 30, 77; MAD.d. 4729, 24; D.BŞM. SRH. 8/9.

Table 17. Ingredients and Tools for the Preparation of Assorted Sweet Drinks

Name of the ingredient or other type of expense	Amount	Price (per unit)
Musk bean	220	9 *akçe*
Ambergris	12	549 *akçe*
Lemon juice	11 *vuḳiyye*	250 *akçe* (per *vuḳiyye*)
Unripe grape juice	10.5 *vuḳiyye*	250 *akçe* (per *vuḳiyye*)
Sandal	400	-
Alum	44	2 *akçe*
Cochineal	270 *dirhem*	13 *akçe* (per *dirhem*)
Paper and rope	210	-
Sugar	659 *vuḳiyye*	105 *akçe* (per *vuḳiyye*)
Jar	205	12 *akçe*
Payment for confectioners	-	7,908 *akçe*

Additional information that was recorded in one of the account books of the festival also tells exactly how many jars of these drinks were prepared.[570] Accordingly, 188 jars of assorted drinks, 61 jars of ambergris drinks (of 44 jars reserved only for the sultan and possibly also for his chamber), and one jar of *eşribe-i mısrī hummāṣ* drink were provisioned for the festival. Interestingly, the aforementioned account book indicates that this drink that was referred to as *eşribe-i mısrī hummāṣ* was purchased indeed, at a very high price. As it indicates, one jar of this *eşribe-i mısrī hummāṣ* weighted 7 *vuḳiyye* (8.9 kg) and 1 *vuḳiyye* (1.282945 kg) of this drink cost 200 *akçe.* In total, 1,400 *akçe* were paid for only one jar of this specific type of drink, which must have been tasted by a very exclusive group of people that would have included the sultan, some members of his family and perhaps his grand vizier.

As seen in Table 17, ambergris was a very expensive item, so the number of jars that was made out of this luxurious item seems to have been smaller. Indeed, the majority of this type of drink seems to have gone to the chamber of the sultan. The remaining 17 jars were very possibly offered to the dignitaries and the most esteemed guests. As drinks were mentioned in jars, one wonders the total weights of these drinks. Given the lack of information on this matter in the related documents,

[570] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 24: "eşribe-i mütenevvi'a 188 ḳavonos, eşribe-i 'anberli 17 ḳavanos, eşribe-i 'anberli-i ḫāṣṣa 44 ḳavanos, eşribe-i hummāṣ-ı mısrī 1 ḳavanos." Although the ingredients of drinks were mentioned also in other documents, this specific information on the number of jars of those drinks was only mentioned in this document.

one might rely on the information mentioned for *mısrī hummāṣ*. As one jar of this drink weighed 7 *vuḳiyye* (8.9 kg) and in totality 205 jars of all types of drinks was prepared for banquets, then, this was equivalent to 1,824.5 kg sweet drinks. One should mention once again that these drinks that were sweetened with sugar and given flavor, scent and color with additional items were offered to the dignitaries, the high-ranking guests and the high-ranking officials. The rest of the functionaries and participants of the banquets seem to have tasted only honeyed drinks, and, fortunately, the total amount of these honey-sweetened drinks were not mentioned in the archival documents.

So far dishes, side dishes or drinks that were served during the banquets have been discussed. However, some appetizers or snacks could have also been consumed apart from banquet times. As an example, an undated document among the archival documents of the 1720 festival indicates the amounts of some foodstuffs that would be daily or weekly sent to the chamber of the sultan throughout the course of the festival. Accordingly, each day 1.7 kg coffee, 1.28 kg sugar, 0.6 kg currants, 1.28 kg assorted drinks and rose marmalade, 3.8 kg grapes, 6 lemons and 19 gr cinnamon, 3.2 kg assorted fruits for compote and 2.5 kg candle wax would be delivered to the sultan's chamber.[571] In addition, two jars of pickled capers and 3.8 kg other types of pickles would also be sent on a weekly basis. This short note, possibly written by the chief clerk of the sultan to the superintendent of the festival Halil Efendi, interestingly shows what types of snacks the sultan preferred to consume at his tent. Fresh and dried fruits, especially grapes and currants, marmalades, pickles, compotes and assorted drinks seem to have been among his favorites.

[571] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/53: "Ḳahve beher yevm 1.5, kilerciye beher yevm şeker 1 ḳıyye, eşribe 1 kıyye, gülbeşeker 1 ḳıyye, yāş üzüm 3 ḳıyye, līmon 6 'aded, turşu-ı kebere haftada 2 ḳavanos, sā'ir turşular haftada 3 ḳıyye, dārcın 6 dirhem, hoşāb içün meyve 2.5 ḳıyye, kuş üzümi beher yevm 0.5 ḳıyye, şem'-i revġan 2 kıyye, yevmiye şem'-i 'asel sa'ter 300 dirhem. Bu minvāl üzere 'ināyetlü efendimiziñ dāirelerine böylece verile."

Another such short document dated 15 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (18 September, 1720) notes the delivery of five different types of pickles to the chamber of the grand vizier.[572] Accordingly, pickled caper, pickled caper bud, eggplant, squash and peppermint pickle one jar of each would be sent to the chamber of the esteemed deputy of the sultan. These two examples indicate that the dignitaries consumed certain types of side dishes or snacks at their chambers. In addition, *sūrnāmes* frequently mention that halberdiers were serving rose marmalade and drinks to the guests and dignitaries, both before and after the banquets. Furthermore, Hafız Mehmed mentions that each day the superintendent of the festival, Halil Efendi, delivered one jar of rose marmalade to the tent of the circumcised boys and there, assorted drinks were also offered to these beneficiaries.[573]

Contrary to the rose marmalade that seems to have been tasted by a relatively larger group of people throughout the festival, another kind of marmalade, namely, *kebbād* [574] (it refers to a kind of citrus which has a thick rind and juicy, sour fruit) was provisioned in very small amounts. On 18 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (21 September, 1720) the deputy of the superintendent of the festival was asked to send one jar of this marmalade to the cellar of the festival and on the next day he delivered one jar of *kebbād* this time to the steward of the grand vizier. [575] This peculiar type of marmalade was very possibly reserved only for very few people.

Certainly, marmalades were not the only type of dessert that was offered to guests during the festival. As the aforementioned menu of the festival shows, a rich variety of desserts, including starch and rice puddings, sweet dish made of cereals, raisins, sugar, the sweet pastry cut in diamond shaped pieces, halva, and grape

[572] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/65.
[573] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*.
[574] This fruit was also referred to as *kebbad limonu* and it was often used in making of marmalade. See Işın, *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, 201.
[575] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/107; 4/196.

molasses were prepared for the banquets. However, most of these were available only for the highest-ranking participants of the banquets. With the exception of the dining spreads of the sultan, the imperial council members, the provincial governors and the most esteemed guests, other groups only tasted a basic type of dessert, which was rice pudding with saffron. This differentiation through sweet courses further indicates that one's association with sugar, sugared dishes and drinks designated his/her social hierarchy, at least during the 1720 festival.

What about the ingredients of these status marker sweets, how they were prepared? Some archival documents and contemporary treatises on food and cooking provide information to estimate the recipes of these desserts. To start with some basic ones such as the starch pudding, this dessert was made with sugar/honey/grape molasses and starch and water. As during the festival starch pudding was served to the highest-ranking dignitaries and guests, then for these groups it must have been prepared with sugar. Indeed, the mention of white starch pudding among the menu of these first two groups indicates that certainly it was prepared with sugar and white wheat starch.[576] In addition, often rose water was also added to this desert after it was cooked.[577] Parallel to this, rose water existed in the daily food provisions of these two groups for each day.[578] Apart from that, in the menu of the third group that comprised the officials of the state, this dessert was also mentioned. It was referred only as starch pudding, implying that very possibly, for this group, it was made with honey or grape molasses so that it did not have a white color. Other desserts sweetened the mouths of only the top ranking participants of the banquets. As an archival document mentions, *baḳlavā*, for example, which was offered to the guests

[576] In a copy of *Ağdiye Risalesi*, in the section on starch pudding, it was mentioned that if it was made with wheat starch then this starch pudding would have a white color. Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*, 32.
[577] Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*; Ünver, *Tarihte 50 Türk Yemeği*, 20.
[578] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.

only for seven days between 23 and 29 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (26 September-2 October 1720). The same document also mentions its ingredients as starch, flour, honey, clarified butter, and almond.[579] Thus, the festival's *baḳlavā* was given taste with almonds and sweetened with honey. The festival's kitchen's purchase of 19 thin copper dishes for baking *baklava*[580] implies that during the festival it was made in huge amounts, given that the utensils of the kitchen were not enough and extra provisions were made.

As far as *'āşurā* is concerned, this sweet dish was often prepared with various types of ingredients such as cereals, dried and fresh fruits, legumes and some flavorings. Suraiya Faroqhi, for example, notes that, at the Trabzon Hatuniyye imaret, it was prepared even with meat and salt.[581] For estimating the ingredients of this sweet dish that was served during the 1720 festival's banquets, contemporary lists of ingredients that were used for preparation of this dish during the month Muharram at the imperial palace can give an idea. These ingredients were recorded in documents kept by the clerks of the imperial kitchens for the years 1135 (1723), 1136 (1724), and 1137 (1725).[582] Each document mentions the ingredients of this sweet dish that was cooked for the imperial harem and also for outside, possibly referring the outer court personnel as well as residents of the imperial city.[583] Interestingly, the ingredients of the *'āşurā* that was offered to these two groups were different, the most particularly, for the second group, honey instead of sugar was used.

[579] BOA. D. BŞM. SRH. 7/75: Bera': baḳlavā ve börek: Revġan-ı sāde 120 vuḳiyye, daḳīḳ 160 vuḳiyye 'asel 160 vuḳiyye, badām 5 vuḳiyye, nişāsta 40 vuḳiyye." For the recipe of *baḳlavā* from an eighteenth-century treatise on food see Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri,* 21.
[580] BOA. SRH. 9/75; MAD.d. 1284, 25.
[581] Faroqhi, "Food for Feast," 206, 207.
[582] BOA. D.BŞM. MTE. 5/55; 5/91; 5/124.
[583] BOA. D.BŞM. MTE. 5/91: "Beray ṭaşra 'aşure ḫarcı"; D.BŞM. MTE. 5/55: "'aşure berāy fuḳarā."

As during the 1720 festival, this sweet dish was served only to the highest ranking tables then, it would be more appropriate to consider the ingredients of this dish that was prepared for the imperial harem during the aforementioned Muharram months. In *'āşurā*, which was prepared for harem in year 1723 and 1724, as ingredients wheat, dates, hazelnuts, almonds, black eyed peas, broad beans, walnuts, sugar and salt were used.[584] In year 1725, however, ingredients seems to have been richer, as this sweet dish additionally included currants, rose water, and fig.[585] With the exception of figs and walnuts, during the 1720 festival all other ingredients were supplied to these groups to whom this sweet dish was served. Thus, one might surmise that possibly during the 1720 banquets this sweet dish had similar ingredients. In addition, the recipe of a nineteenth-century *'āşurā* that was cooked at the imperial palace mentions that, after cooking, musk and pistachio were added to these sweet dishes.[586] Parallel to this recipe, among the daily food provisions of these groups, one also sees musk and pistachio.[587] Thus, these might have been added to the *'āşurā* that was prepared for the banquets of the 1720 festival.

The halva that was referred in the menu as *'asudiyye*, on the other hand, was prepared with starch, honey, butter and water. The eighteenth-century recipe of this halva indicates that all ingredients were put in a pot and they were stirred at low heat until the butter would appear over the surface of the mixture. Then, this butter was drained and halva was put in small dishes.[588] As the recipe of this dessert includes butter, this explains why it was offered to the most esteemed participants. Because contrary to clarified butter, which was an indispensible foodstuff in daily provisions of all groups, butter was only provisioned for the dignitaries and highest-ranking

[584] BOA. D.BŞM. MTE. 5/55; 5/91.
[585] BOA. D.BŞM. MTE. 5/124.
[586] Halıcı, *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, 20.
[587] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.
[588] Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*, 25.

guests.[589] Parallel to that, a relatively small amount of butter (73.7 kg) was provisioned for the banquets as opposed to clarified butter, which was purchased in huge amounts (13,436.2 kg).

3.4 Conclusion

During the 1720 festival the sultan's benefaction was conspicuously manifested through giving food gifts and food allowances to various people and offering dishes to thousands of participants in the sumptuous banquet of the sultan. To this end, an enormous amount of food provisioning was made prior to the festival. The present chapter illuminated the amounts, types and details of the supply process at least for some of the foodstuffs. Even if the Ottoman palace seems to have purchased those foodstuffs at a relatively cheaper price than the average rates, still only this food-related aspect of the festival cost millions of *akçes*, explaining the great scale of the event.

The chapter also unearthed what constituted the daily food allowances of various functionaries as well as performers, and what was offered to the people at the banquets of the festival. While the pictorial representations of the festival provided glimpses of what could have been served during the banquets, the culinary aspect of the festival has so far remained unknown. This chapter unearthed every particular detail related to the names and ingredients of dishes, side dishes, desserts and drinks that were offered to guests, officials and functionaries during the banquets. Such a wealth of information on the menu of the festival's banquets is extraordinary.

This chapter also discussed how the benefaction of the sultan was hierarchical and depended on one's social status. Not only the types and amounts of

[589] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/75.

foodstuffs that constituted the daily food allowances of some officials and functionaries but also banquet meals of various participants varied according their ranks. For example, some functionaries had only two types of basic foods in their daily food package, yet some had four or five items. Likewise, the banquet participants tasted a different number of courses, depending on the rank of each group. These differences between the dishes served to various people also designate which specific food items or seasonings and spices were regarded as emblems of power and prestige during food-related rites of the festival. Without any doubt sugar was one of the most significant status markers throughout the festival, as it was often given as a gift to higher-ranking officials, and it was used solely in the dishes of these dignitaries. Food donations to Abdurrahman Agha, with whom this chapter started, also included a certain amount of sugar. Although the identity of this Abdurrahman Agha is obscure, he was most certainly not a court official or a guest of the banquets. In this case, the presence of sugar in the food gift package represented the generosity of the sultan, not the social status of the beneficiary.

In sum, while available sources provide a vivid vista to the material, the social and financial dimensions of the festival's food-related aspect, unfortunately they do not tell much about the performative aspect of the imperial banquets in particular. The archival and pictorial sources provide some hints to how the colorful, silk and cotton napkins, the embroidered cloths used as handkerchiefs or towels, and richly dressed imperial tasters might have looked inside the banquet tents. Yet, when it comes to understanding the spectacle and the semiotic aspect behind the serving of food, we have a scarcity of information. The present chapter discussed that even when showing his benefaction through food, the sultan and his officials observed the existing rules of precedence and rank among the dignitaries and functionaries of the

court as well as those of the residents of the city and performers across the empire. While this preoccupation with rank and protocol was evident in other forms through which the benefaction was distributed during the festival, it was perhaps the most explicitly represented in food-related aspect of the festival.

CHAPTER 4

THE BENEFACTION OF THE SULTAN THROUGH GIFTING

When the public announcement of Sultan Ahmed III's sons' circumcision festival was made, all uncircumcised boys living in the imperial capital city as well as sons and pages of court officials were invited to register their names in the book of circumcision (*defter-i ḫitān*) that was kept by the chief clerk of the festival.[590] Starting with 5 *Şevvāl* (10 August, 1720), in just a two-week period after the official announcement, the chief clerk of the imperial festival Ibrahim Efendi was recording the names of those boys into his book of registers[591] and the superintendent, Halil Efendi, was already concerned with preparing the necessary clothing for those young beneficiaries.

In Islamic societies, circumcising the poor and the needy was one of the primary acts of showing the donor's voluntary beneficent giving.[592] Sometimes these rituals were turned into massive celebrations, such as the case of three great circumcision festivals of the Ottomans that took place in 1582, 1675 and 1720. In these events, the Ottoman sultans took the circumcision of their crown princes almost as a pretext to stage grand-scale festivals through which they manifested and distributed their benefaction in a hyperbolic manner. During these festivals, thousands of boys were given unrecompensed circumcision, clothing and food. Yet, certainly these were not the sole beneficiaries of the sultan's festival, given that the sultan's benefaction also touched dignitaries and functionaries through a complex system of gifting.

[590] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181-182.
[591] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/76.
[592] Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, 81-82.

The Ottoman official terminology often used a different vocabulary to mark functional distinctions between the gifts of the sultan. Most frequently, three terms were utilized, *in'ām,* referring to a broad category of royal gifts and rewards; *'iydane,* meaning gifts given on religious feasts and *taṣadduḳ*, the religious alms-giving.[593] As far as the 1720 festival is concerned, gifts of the sultan were mostly referred to in the documents either as *in'ām* (the royal donations) or as *iḥsān* (the benefaction). The use of the term *iḥsān* is meaningful since commissioning an imperial festival was directly associated with the concept of the sultan's benefaction. Some dignitaries, especially the grand vizier, also joined the sultan in the distribution of this benefaction. Parallel to that, in the narratives of the festival these terms were also used for referring to the gifts and rewards that grand vizier gave to the functionaries, performers and workmen. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, some gifts that were distributed during the festival were made up of various foodstuffs. Additionally, throughout the festival monetary gifts, positions in court institutions as well as clothing were also given to a larger group of beneficiaries including viziers, pashas, court officials, functionaries, and circumcised boys.

As Natalie Zemon Davis has argued, in early modern patrimonial societies, the patronage system was carried out by gifting.[594] Thus, gifting strategies were of great importance in sustaining hierarchical relations at all levels. Sometimes gifts displayed one's commitment and loyalty to a superior; sometimes they intended to establish networks and bonds between equals or future partners, or they could simply manifest the favor of a superior to an inferior. As the form and function of gifts varied, so did the types of gifts one could give and receive. This is to say that the

[593] Atasoy et al. *İpek,* 32-33.
[594] Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century*, 62. Also see Ben Amos, *The Culture of Giving*. On gifting in the Islamic cultures see essays in Komoroff ed. *Gifts of the Sultan*; Kangal ed., *On Bin Yıllık İran Medeniyeti*.

type of gift was often determined by one's social position. Yet, alterations in time and across cultures also occurred. In this respect, gifts and gifting rituals were dynamic and immensely complex. But as a common feature, almost all systems of gifting were bound with the mutual bonds of obligation, as the sociologist Marcell Mauss has put it in his seminal study on gift exchange.[595]

This reciprocal and non-spontaneous aspect of gift exchange was also evident in the Ottoman world. As far as the sultan is concerned, dignitaries, provincial governors, members of the inner household, court artists, and sometimes artisans had to show their commitment and also gratitude to the sultan through their gifts.[596] Indeed, especially in the case of the middle and high-ranking officials, gifting to a superior ascribed a further semiotic meaning of "displaying one's own position in the network of favor, bondage, duty, honor and submission with a tribute in kind."[597]

These gifts were often recorded in Ottoman archival documents with a specific terminology, as *pīşkeş*, meaning gifts given to someone socially superior to the donor. While the content and amount of these in-return gifts changed from one period to another, there was a clear hierarchy between the officials in terms of the types of gift they could present. The hierarchy not only defined the protocol of gifting between the sultan and his subjects, it also marked the gifting strategies among the subjects. For example, the gift packages of an Ottoman provincial governor of Şehrizor between 1659 and 1661 to his superiors, including the Imperial Council Members, during the occasion of the feast at the end of Ramadan were

[595] Mauss, *The Gift*.
[596] For Ottoman gift exchange see Meriç, *Türk Sanat Tarihi Vesikaları*; Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Sarayında Ehl-i Hiref," 23-76; Tim, "Ottoman Gift Exchange," 149-169; Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange,"113-125; Idem, "Luxury, Power Strategies," 107-120; Idem, "Power and Submission," 37-88; Idem, "Dogs, Elephants, Lions," 271-86; Mustak, "A Study on the Gift Log."
[597] Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission," 37.

clearly differentiated according to the rank of the receiver.[598] While the grand vizier's package included expensive fabrics and a sum of 2,000 gold coins, other members of the council did not receive gold coins among their gifts.[599] Thus, the governor of Şehrizor was conscious in maintaining a hierarchy among the gift packages that were sent to the high-ranking bureaucrats at Istanbul.

This chapter aims at approaching gifting rites during the 1720 festival. The first part will start with discussing the royal donations that were given to the higher and middle-ranking officials, and to the functionaries by the sultan and also the grand vizier. The second section will be focusing on a particular type of donation, namely the *ḫil'at,* a robe of honor. While giving robes of honor was neither an invention of the Ottomans nor was it a prerogative of the sultan, this symbolically charged rite "permeated every aspect of Ottoman court life both secular and religious."[600] Parallel to the great significance of robe of honor at the Ottoman court, during the course of the 1720 festival at certain times different types of robes were bestowed upon certain individuals. On the authority of the archival documents, this section intends to highlight slight differences in the type and quality of fabrics and the number of garments. These differences, in turn, communicated the hierarchical differences between the receivers of these significant donations.

The third section will address a relatively unknown group of beneficiaries of the festival, the circumcised boys. In the festival's textual and pictorial narratives, this group of beneficiaries is apparently underrepresented because the narratives seem to have focused mostly on the sultan, dignitaries and the events that they participated in. Nevertheless, this was a public circumcision festival thus; one of the most relevant questions related to it was who were these circumcised boys? On the

[598] Reindl-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies," 117.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Atasoy et al. *İpek,* 32.

basis of three extensive books of registers and official documents as well as list and petitions including information about the circumcised boys, this section aims at unearthing the fascinating social dimension behind this festival.

Finally, this chapter will look at the reciprocal aspect of gift exchange, more specifically to the gifts of the dignitaries, officials and guildsmen to the sultan. As opposed to what one sees in the case of the circumcised boys, gift-giving rituals were mentioned in a very detailed manner in the narratives of the festival starting from the first day. This means that our authors were highly selective when determining what to include in their narrative and what not to include. A joint consideration of these narratives and complete gift registers of the imperial treasury will illuminate the background of this process, that is, the preparation of these gifts. As one understands from the archival documents, the planners of the festival were keen to make sure that each gift would adhere to the established protocol of gift giving. On the basis of these sources, this section will also aim at addressing some issues that might have arisen during this gift preparation process, particularly among the guildsmen. Although available documents do not seem to have represented all of these tensions, the existent ones indicate that some of the residents of the city might not have been able "to share the festival spirit."[601]

4.1 Royal donations to officials and functionaries

In the account books of the festival, there are only a few indications of monetary grants. Referred under the term *in'ām*, these grants were given to confectioners (*şekerciyān*) and to officials in charge of chicken provisioning for the palace (*tavukcıyān*). Accordingly, confectioners received a grant worth 3,000 *aḳçe* on the

[601] Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast."

first day of month *Şevvāl* (6 August, 1720), and the head of the officials in charge of chicken provisioning (*sertavukcıyān*) got a 5,880 *aḳçe*-grant, which would be distributed among forty-nine members on 24 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* (27 September, 1720).[602] Apart from these, the account books of the festival do not specify any monetary grants. However, in the registers of the imperial purse of the sultan (*ḫarcı-ı ḫaṣṣa ve ceyb-i hümāyūn*) for month *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* and *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* (September-October 1720), when the festival took place, one sees some other monetary grants. These were given to a number of performers who made shows on the seventh day of the festival, to craftsmen who were involved in the preparation of the room of the circumcised princes, to the cityfolk who watched the circumcision procession, as well as to members of the imperial family (including both female members and the sons of the sultan) on the occasion of the festival.[603] These grants were covered from the imperial purse of the sultan so they were not included in the expenses of the festival.

The account book of the former festival of 1675, however, indicates that more than 2,000,000 *aḳçe* were spent solely for the monetary grants during this festival.[604] Similarly, in the gift registers of the 1582 festival, beneath the gifts of almost each guild that participated in the festival, the sultan's monetary grants were recorded. For example, the coffeemakers received a royal grant worth 2,000 *aḳçe*, gilt makers 1,000 *aḳçe* and *hammām* workers 4,000 *aḳçe*.[605] This difference between the expenses of these festivals is striking. Even if one were to take into consideration that the clerks of the 1720 festival might have omitted recording some of those

[602] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 21.
[603] TSMA.d. 2363/11, fol. 2a, 2b; TSMA.d. 2363/12, fol. 2a.
[604] BOA. MAD. d. 3770, fol. 21b-22a; for the transcription of some parts of the account book of the festival and their evaluation see Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü." In Hazerfen Hüseyin's *Telḫīṣ* on the section that related the 1675 festival's gift giving rituals, the author also noted substantial amounts of '*aṭiyye* (grants) underneath the name of each guild. These monetary donations varied from one guild to another guild and the lowest range was 1,000 *aḳçe.*
[605] This information is also mentioned in Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission," 56. For the original reference see TSMA.d. 10022, fol. 4a, 5a.

monetary grants in the registers of the festival, the lack of a specific section in the last part of the account books, where all expenses were recorded in summary part, still implies that quite possibly monetary grants were much more limited in the 1720 festival.

Narratives of the festival provide some additional information on the grants of the sultan and the grand vizier. Hafız Mehmed says that at the end of the festival after the procession of *naḫıls* and candy gardens, the sultan distributed coins to those who were involved in the preparation of these objects. Accordingly, the chief architect Mehmed Agha and the assistant master carpenters (*dülger ḳalfaları*) received 100 *ġurūş*, *naḫıl* workers 30 *ġurūş*, candy garden workers 40 *ġurūş*, painter/designers 10 *ġurūş* and a certain Persian who made flowers (perhaps referring to a decoupage maker) 14 *ġurūş*.[606] In addition, the members of the imperial dockyard, who were in charge of carrying those objects during the procession, received a donation worth of 500 *ġurūş*. Indeed, the higher-ranking ones among this group were also given robes of honor, which will be approached later.

Besides the sultan, his esteemed deputy, the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, seems to have been involved in the distribution of the benefaction as well. In particular, the narrative of Vehbi is striking on that matter, as he carefully recorded the grand vizier's donations and favors throughout the course of the festival. As one reads in his narrative, during the daytime and nighttime shows, the grand vizier frequently distributed coins to performers or to functionaries of the festival. As will be discussed in the next chapter in detail, the grand vizier even granted freedom to a slave and in other cases he bestowed additional favors such as permanent positions in state institutions to other beneficiaries.

[606] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 230. Vehbi also mentions that grants were given to those people yet he does not mention the exact amount of these donations. Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 688.

In addition to these, Vehbi and Hafız Mehmed noted that at the end of the circumcision ritual of the crown princes that was held at the imperial palace, in the so-called Circumcision Room, the grand vizier showed his generosity and benefaction towards the personnel of the imperial palace. As they put it, after the ritual the sultan granted robes of honor to his most esteemed dignitaries. Thereafter, the dignitaries left the palace one by one.

According to the authors of the *sūrnāmes*, when the grand vizier was moving towards the middle gate (referring to the gate of the salutation of the imperial palace) he was generously throwing gold coins to left and right.[607] Then, he mounted his horse and left the imperial palace. This episode that apparently highlights the benefaction and generosity of the grand vizier concludes the textual narratives of the festival. Interestingly however, in the pictorial representations of the festival in the last painting rather than the grand vizier the sultan was depicted as throwing gold coins to his inner household members. In these paintings the sultan is seen as standing in front of İftariye Kiosk; on his right side one sees Baghdad Kiosk, where the crown princes were resting in their beds. On his left side one sees the Circumcision Room (Fig. A27, A28). While the sultan was depicted at the center of the composition as he was tossing gold coins onto the floor, a group of halberdiers and two officials from the sultan's imperial chamber are seen standing on both sides. Some members among the group were trying to catch those gold coins that spread over the floor. Painters depicted these figures in a very lively fashion as if one man was trying to hold coins up in the air, one bending towards the floor, another one looking his back and others collecting coins on the floor. This depiction stands in

[607] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 690: "ḥażret-i ṣadr-ı ʿali... kef-i güher pāşlarından yemīn ü yesārına zernisār olarak orta ḳapūñun iç ṭarafında olan parmaklık ṭarafına vardıḳda...". Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 234: "Baʿdehu ṣadr-ı āʿẓam ḥażretleri dahi yemīn ü yesāra altūn iḥsān ederek orta kapı dahilinde..."

contrast to the motionless depiction of the other members of the same group, which further dramatizes the act of those gold catchers[608] and the main message of the scene, which is the distribution of the sultan's benefaction to his subjects. As has been mentioned above, according to the textual narrative of the same book such a scene did not happen. Indeed, it was the grand vizier not the sultan who distributed gold coins at the second courtyard of the imperial palace. Yet, the patron/s and possibly the supervisor of the illustrated books of the festival seem to have found this imaginary scene more appropriate for the end of the book. A particular painting in the illustrated *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival in which Sultan Murad III was throwing gold coins from the balcony of Ibrahim Paşa Palace (Fig. A29) might have been a source of reference for the painters of the 1720 *sūrnāme*. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to determine exactly who was responsible for the selection of this scene to be placed at the end of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* of the 1720 festival. Without any doubt, this very last image that one sees after the serial imagery of the procession of the dignitaries and the court elite conveyed a message related to the benefaction of the sultan. For the ending scene of the festival that was, in theory, held by and sponsored through the benefaction of the sultan, such a representation is indeed very meaningful.

4.2 Robes of honor for the dignitaries and officials

Ḫil'at (robe of honor) was an established tradition in the Islamic world well before the Ottomans adopted it.[609] Under the Abbasid dynasty honorific robing had evolved

[608] Gottlieb, "Movement in Painting," 22-33.

[609] Actually, the tradition related to giving robes during diplomatic or ceremonial occasions dates back to the last centuries BCE China, to Han Dynasty's (206 BC-220 AD) use of silk textiles to form alliances and bonds with the nomadic tribes. Through the appropriation of the tradition by the Central Asian tribes, robing tradition transmitted to Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Persia and from Sassanid Persia towards the west to the Byzantines. In the Islamic world on the other hand, it was under

into a prescribed form and had become an essential part of the court ceremonial. Caliphs gave robes of honor to officials, vassals, and independent Muslim rulers to forge personal bonds, to mark the receiver's allegiance or to confer status.[610] To explain the basic function of robes of honor Paola Sanders says that bestowing a *ẖil'at* to someone symbolized a hierarchical relationship between a superior and subordinates.[611] In this respect, bestowing robes of honor upon someone was not the prerogative of the caliph or a political leader. Rather, on all kinds of secular or religious occasions superiors such as viziers, military commanders, and provincial governors could give robes to their subordinates.

In the Ottoman court, where visual and material distinctions were carefully observed and regulated,[612] robes of honor that often took the form of a caftan made of luxury textiles, were of great significance. While robes of honor were given to dignitaries, vassals, officials, and envoys on very different types of celebrations, including religious festivals, appointments, promotions, and reception, those honorific garments were clearly differentiated among themselves. Although Ottoman *ẖil'at* did not carry any woven or printed inscriptions to mark the giver or the receiver,[613] the differentiation of the robe was expressed through "a combination of a number of principles, including the type, the quality, the number of garments and

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Abbasid dynasty that robing rituals became significant part of the court ceremonials. For a discussion of the medieval uses of robes of honor in the west and in the east see essays in Gordon ed. *Robes and Honor*.

[610] Sourdel, "Robes of Honor in Abbasid Baghdad," 139, 140. For the Abbasid court ceremonial of the eleventh and early twelfth century see the account of a Buyid court official Hilâl Al-Sâbi, *Rusum dar Al-Khilâfah* (The Rules and Regulations of the Abbasid Court).

[611] Sanders, "Robes of Honor in Fatimid Egypt," 233.

[612] This not only included differentiation through clothing but also through patronage patterns or through the court etiquette. See Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*; Idem, "A Canon for Arts."

[613] Similar to the Ottoman robes, Timurid, Safavid and Mughas robes also did not carry inscriptions. Thus, such inscribed robes seem to have been in usage in the Islamic court during the medieval period. For such embroidered *tiraz* bands see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, plate x; Mackie, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks", 127; also see Philips, "Ottoman hil'at between Commodity and Charisma," 113-114; 127-127.

whether they were lined with fur or nor."[614] The court etiquette had its role in determining these differences. For example, the members of religious elite were often given robes made of wool rather than silk in accordance with the religious practice. The grand vizier on the other hand was often given robes in pairs, one sable-fur lined and one without fur. [615] The outer face of those robes that were awarded to the most esteemed officials was often made of broadcloth (*çūḫā*) or silk woven with gold and silver threads (*serāser*).[616]

Certainly, not all robes or caftans were referred to as *ḫil'at* in the contemporary archival or narrative documents.[617] On this ground it is important to consider "what makes an Ottoman *ḫil'at* a *ḫil'at*?"[618] Although scholars seem to have been in general consensus that sources do not provide clear-cut descriptions of Ottoman *ḫil'ats*, a few surviving examples and some visual evidence indicate that these were long robes that were often characterized by extraordinarily long sleeves.[619] It is also suggested that very possibly these sleeves were not worn but thrown back over the shoulders, a feature that must have accentuated the ceremonial function of those long robes.[620] During the 1720 festival, on different occasions, both the sultan and the grand vizier bestowed robes of honor upon a number of dignitaries and officials. As the narratives of the festival and the chronicler Raşid Mehmed

[614] Atasoy et al. *İpek*, 34.
[615] Hülya Tezcan says that the use of furs at the Ottoman palace was subject to rules. According to the palace etiquette ermine (*ḳāḳum*) furs were reserved for summer wear, sable furs (*semmūr*) for winter. Indeed, during season changes an imperial order was announced allowing for the change of the type of fur that was worn by the dignitaries. Tezcan, "Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultan," 64.
[616] Atasoy et al. *İpek,* 33-34.
[617] For example, among 3128 estate inventories between years 1545-1659 of military title holders of Edirne that are examined by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, to my observation a *ḫil'at* was recorded only once. Among the estates of a certain Hasan Ağa (d.1659), who was a *bostancıbaşı*, there was a *serāser ḫil'at,* which was worth 10,000 *aḳçe*. Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Ait," 414.
[618] Philips, "Ottoman hil'at Between Commodity and Charisma," 124.
[619] Ibid. 124-126. One such physical example survived from the 1760s (that is today preserved at Berlin Museum of Islamic Art) a robe that was granted by the grand vizier to the Prussian envoy Gregorovious. Helmecke, "Catalogue Entry 24: Robe of Honor," 212; also see the last section of Amanda Philips' article.
[620] Philips, "Ottoman hil'at Between Commodity and Charisma," 126.

Efendi notes, during the marriage ritual of the niece of the sultan, after the procession of *naḫıls* and candy gardens, and after the end of the circumcision of the crown princes, a dozen robes of honor were given to certain individuals. In addition to these, narratives also mentioned other occasions during which robes were given to an additional group of beneficiaries. For example, when the guild parades started on the sixth day of the festival the sultan granted robes of honor to the chief merchant of the imperial court (*bezirgānbāşı*), the steward of the grand bazaar (*bezistān ketḫüdāsı*) and the chief master goldsmith (*ḳūyūmcubāşı*).[621]

In another example, the grand vizier gave a robe of honor to the master of horses (*mīrāḫor*) Hasan Agha who delivered the sultan's gift of an Egyptian horse to the grand vizier on the fourth day of the festival.[622] As the narratives of the festival related, giving such an additional type of gift, a horse to the grand vizier during an imperial festival was not customary.[623] Indeed, Vehbi said it was given to the grand vizier to distinguish him among other viziers.[624] Parallel to that, in the pictorial narratives of the festival, this event was represented in a double-page composition (Fig. A30, A31). In these paintings, on the verso page one sees the grand vizier standing in front of his tent and staring at his exceptional gift that was depicted on the recto page.

In the pictorial representations of the festival, one does not see any depiction of a robing ritual. Instead, in both copies one sees this particular horse-giving scene to the grand vizier. The exceptionality of this gift, which was indicative of the distinguished position of the grand vizier among all others, seems to have been

[621] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 556.
[622] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 538; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 196. This robe was worth of 350 *ġurūş* see BOA. IE_HLT. 3/320.
[623] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 538*;* Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü,* 196
[624] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 538: "vüzerā-yı eslāfdan mümtāz etmek ḳaṣd ile ikrām ü iʿzāz buyurulıb." Hafız Mehmed Efendi also makes a similar comment. See Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü,* 196.

highlighted through the imagery. Depicting this scene and omitting all other gifting scenes must have been a deliberate choice of the patron/s, the supervisor (of the illustrated books) or of the painters.

If one turns back to robing rituals during the festival, they started with robes of honor that were given to the dignitaries who were involved in the marriage arrangements of Emetullah Sultan (the niece of the sultan) and Osman Pasha. According to Raşid Mehmed Efendi, this ritual took place on 10 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (13 September, 1720), five days before the inauguration of the festival. As Raşid relates, the chancellor Tevki'i Mustafa Pasha was the best man of the groom, and the chief mufti (*şeyḫü'l-islām*) performed the ritual at the imperial palace.[625] Just after the ritual, the sultan gave robes of honor to the chief mufti, to the best man of the groom, to the steward of the grand vizier and to the son of the groom who acted as his father's deputy during the ritual.[626] Interestingly, among the surviving archival documents there are petitions of the chief treasurer to the sultan for the payment of some of these aforementioned robes that were given on the day of the marriage. In one of them one sees the mention of the robe of honor that was given to Tevki'i Mustafa Pasha on the day of the marriage ritual (*ḫīn-i ʿaḳd-i nikaḥ*).[627] According to the document, this robe was of the most excellent type (*ḫāṣṣü'l ḫāṣ*) that was made of silk (*ḥarīr*) and it was lined with sable fur (*semmūr post ḳaplū*). Moreover, as the document indicates, this excellent quality robe of honor was worth of 600 *ġurūş*.[628]

[625] Özcan et al, *Tarih-i Raşid*, v. II, 1189, 1190.
[626] Ibid. v. II, 1190.
[627] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/317. This document asking for the payment for the robe dates 13 *Zi'l-ḳa'de*, some days after the actual ritual. Yet, a note in the middle of the document mentions that the ritual took place on 9 *Zi'l-ḳa'de*.
[628] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/317.

Indeed, Raşid Mehmed Efendi further specifies the type of the silk that was used. As he says, this robe was made of silk cloth made of gold and silver threads (*serāser*).[629] The robe that was given to the chief mufti on that day seem to have been of the same value since it was also worth 600 *ġurūş*. Yet, as has been mentioned before, often for the robes of the religious elite broadcloth was preferred. Parallel to that, the grand mufti's robe was covered by white broadcloth (*beyāż çūḳa ḳaplū*) and it was again fur-lined.[630] Finally, the documents mention the robe that was given to the steward of the grand vizier. This robe seems to have been the least expensive among these aforementioned ones, which was worth 400 *ġurūş*. The document mentions it as a fur-lined cloak[631] that was covered by broadcloth (*çūḳa ferāce ḳaplū semmūr kürk*).[632]

These three examples indicate that even during the 1720 festival there was a differentiation among types of *ḫil'ats.* Another archival document further clarifies this differentiation. The document dates 15 *Şevvāl* 1132 (20 August, 1720) so it coincides with the preparatory phase of the festival. It certifies the imperial treasury's provisioning of a large amount of robes of honor for the imperial circumcision festival.[633] As the document indicates, at the stocks of the imperial treasury there were 227 robes of honor. However, this number was not sufficient for the needs of the imperial festival, so 650 robes of honor would additionally be purchased. To this end, the chief treasurer asked royal permission for the purchase of new robes and for the delivery of the necessary certificates.[634] On the verso side of

[629] Özcan at al. *Tarih-i Raşid*, v. II, 1190.
[630] BOA. IE_HLT. 4/325.
[631] This might have referred to an outer caftan, which is also called ceremonial caftan. See Atasoy et al. *İpek*, 23.
[632] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/318.
[633] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/314. This document was previously mentioned in Atasoy et al. *İpek*, 35, n.115. However in the book, the inventory number of the document and the details of the robes were not mentioned.
[634] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/314: "'Arż-ı bendeleri budur ki, rūznāmçe-i hümāyūnda iḫrāc olundıġı üzere el-

the page, types of those 650 robes of honor that would be purchased were also mentioned. Accordingly, 64 robes would be the most excellent quality (*ḫāṣṣü'l ḫāṣ*), 152 robes with an accompanying sash (?) (*ḳuşaḳlıḳ*), 202 high quality robes (*aʿlā*), and 232 quality robes with a plain pattern (?) (*ḫāṣ-ı sāde*) would be provisioned for the festival.[635] Indeed, the document also mentions numbers and types of robes that were kept at the stock of the treasury. Accordingly, 56 robes were the most excellent quality type, 8 robes were with an accompanying sash (?), 38 high quality types, and 125 were quality robes with a plain pattern (?).

When these numbers are considered together, it emerges that throughout the festival, the most frequently given robe of honor was quality robe with a plain pattern (?) (*ḫāṣ-ı sāde*). The use of the term plain (*sāde*) for defining those robes of honor might have referred either to the pattern of the textiles or to the absence of gold/silver embroidery in these robes. Indeed, in another document, a robe of honor was defined as a plain fur-lined cloak covered by broadcloth.[636] From this description one understands this plain robe was made of broadcloth and included fur lines. The use of the term imperial (*ḫāṣ*) for defining robes indicates that very possibly, just as the most excellent quality robes, these robes were also given directly by the sultan.[637] Indeed, when their prices are considered, it seems that there was not a huge price gap between the two types. For instance, the most excellent quality robe that was given to Tevkiʿi Mustafa Pasha on the marriage day and to the chief white

yevm ḫazine-i ʿāmirede envāʿiyle ikiyüz yigirmi yedi tob ḫilʿat mevcūd olub inşāʾllah-ı teʿāla sūr-ı hümāyūna ol miḳdar ḫilʿat kifāyet itmemekle ecnāsıyla taḥrir olunduġı üzere altıyüz elli tob ḫilʿat mübāyaʿa ve mevcūd ittirilmesi fermān-ı ʿālīleri buyūrulūr ise rūznāmçe-i hümāyūn ḳadar ve mecmūʿı cedīd olmak üzere mübāyaʿa ve ecnāsıyla iḳtiżası üzere tezkireleri verilmek bābında fermān devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir."

[635] BOA. IE_HLT. 3/314.

[636] BOA. IE_HLT. 4/330: "çūḳa ferāce ḳaplū bir tob sāde post-ı semmūr."

[637] Amanda Philips also makes a similar comment. She also notes that in Safavids this term referred to those robes exclusively given by the shah after he wore it. Yet, at least in the example of the 1720 festival these robes were to be newly purchased so they cannot belong personally to the sultan. See Idem, "Ottoman hilʿat Between Commodity and Charisma," 119.

eunuch on the day of the circumcision of the princes was worth 600 *ġurūş.* Yet the aforementioned quality robe with plain pattern was worth 500 *ġurūş*. [638] This shows that both robes were of luxurious quality intended for the top-ranking beneficiaries.

At this point it is worth mentioning that even if the robes of honor were categorized at the imperial treasury according to their type, even inside these categories there might have been some differences. A case in point is the most excellent quality robes that seem to have been given to the top ranking officials. In the aforementioned examples, these robes were worth 600 *ġurūş*. Yet, two other robes of honor of the same type that were given to the grand vizier on the 6 Z*i'l-ḥicce* and 7 Z*i'l-ḥicce* (9-10 October, 1720) were worth 1,100 and 800 *ġurūş* respectively.[639] In the narratives of the festival, these robes were described in similar terms as covered with silk cloth made of gold and silver threads and fur lined. Then, the price difference in this same type of robe of honor must have either been related to the amount of gold and silver thread that was used in the robe[640] or to the additional accessories that were given together with the robe.

Unfortunately, in most of the archival documents that certified the purchases of the robes of honors that would be given the officials, these robes were described in vague terms. Except for the aforementioned examples, often the type of the robe was not specified. To this end, determining to whom quality robes with a plain pattern and robes with sashes were given is not possible. Perhaps, some of these robes such as the high quality (*a'lā*) robes were those that were given by the grand vizier to other officials. Robes with sashes, on the other hand, might have referred to a

[638] BOA. IE.HLT. 3/317; IE.HLT. 4/322; BOA. IE.HLT. 4/330
[639] BOA. IE.HLT. 4/323; IE.HLT. 4/335.
[640] Dr. John Covel, who was among the retinue of the British embassy to the court of Mehmed IV in Edirne, mentioned in his account that the amount of the gold and silver thread that was used in the robe of honor symbolized the status the receiver. Cited in Philips, "Ottoman hil'at Between Commodity and Charisma," 123, n.52.

relatively lower quality type of robe in comparison with the aforementioned most excellent quality ones. In an estate inventory of a deceased governor Türk Ali Pasha (d. 1700) for example, a robe that was worth 2,000 *akçe* was described as having sashes (*kūşaḳlı*).[641] Although, in the surviving archival documents on the 1720 festival the least expensive robe of honor was worth 300 *ġurūş* (equivalent to 3,600 *akçe*), perhaps there were some others with sashes that were purchased at relatively cheaper prices.

Although the types of robes were not specified in many of the documents, their prices can give an idea. It is seen that the middle ranking officials received relatively less expensive robes as opposed to the dignitaries. For example, as opposed to the extremely expensive robes which were worth 600, 800 or 1,100 *ġurūş,* the robe that was given to the tutor and imam of the princes and to the steward of the grand vizier was worth 400 *ġurūş,* the robe of the master of horses was worth 350 *ġurūş,* and the robe of the chief physician of the court was worth 300 *ġurūş.*[642] These price differences were certainly related to the quality and type of the robe. Thus, material and visual aspects of the robes indirectly represented the hierarchical differentiation among the officials.

One should also mention that besides their symbolic value, these expensive robes had a material value. This must have been one of reasons why in the aforementioned archival documents their prices were mentioned. Indeed, from some other contemporary sources it is also known that some robes of honor might have been used as a currency as they could be resold or were used as safety loans that

[641] The information is mentioned by Philips, "Ottoman hil'at Between Commodity and Charisma," 119, n. 33; Idem, *Everyday Luxuries*, 159. The original reference is from Çetin, "Istanbul Askeri Kassamına Ait."
[642] BOA. IE.HLT. 3/318; 4/331; 4/327.

replaced cash payments.[643] Seen from this perspective it is clear that these robes also carried material value. So, these exceptionally luxurious and symbolically charged garments were really expensive donations.

4.3 The sultan's benefaction across the city

Hafız Mehmed in the introduction part of his narrative noted that the voluntary act of showing beneficence through circumcising (*ṣadaḳa-ı ẖitān*) for the poor and needy (*fuḳarā ve zuʿafā*) was the customary law during the imperial circumcision festivals.[644] As he continued, when it was announced that in September 1720 Sultan Ahmed III would hold a public circumcision festival, upon an imperial order the relatives of the uncircumcised boys of the city and orphans themselves came and registered their names to the book of the chief clerk of the festival.[645] The pages of the inner palace, of Galata Palace, and sons of some deceased pashas in provinces and sons of dignitaries, who were not yet circumcised, would also be provided unrecompensed circumcision. While the superintendent of the festival was in charge of preparing a garment package that was composed of a cap, shoes, cloak and sash for the poor and needy boys, more elaborate garments were also provided to the more distinguished beneficiaries.[646]

Starting with the second day of the festival (16 Z*i'l-ḳa'de* 1132) up until the crown princes' circumcision day (7 Z*i'l-ḥicce* 1132), each day approximately one hundred or two hundred boys were circumcised at a tent that was reserved for this purpose at the festival space. And, when the public celebrations ended, this tent was

[643] Amanda Philips argues that the lack of any specific sign (such as inscriptions) in Ottoman robe of honor might have been one of the reasons behind their reusability and their transaction value. See Philips, "Ottoman hil'at Between Commodity and Charisma," 122, 128.
[644] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 182.
[645] Ibid: "sūr kātibi defter-i ẖitānına kayd olunurlar idi."
[646] Ibid. Vehbi also mentions this however he does not specify the types of prices of those garments.

transferred to the first courtyard of the imperial palace. Throughout the course of the public celebrations at Okmeydanı, at a certain time these boys were preceding in front of the tent of the sultan in the company of the chief physician[647] and a number of attendants. From there they were walking towards the tent of the circumcision. In the pictorial representations of the festival, one occasionally sees those boys, who are barely recognizable in the composition. In these scenes that depicted the enactment of various performances, a dozen of these boys were depicted inside the composition of the recto pages (Fig. A32, A33). If one does not pay attention to the details of the composition however these boys are almost unrecognizable among the group of attendants, performers, tents and all other material details that occupied the scene.

This aspect of the pictorial representation also holds for the textual description of circumcised boys. Other than the aforementioned information that was provided by Hafız Mehmed, nothing else was mentioned for these young beneficiaries. The authors solely noted how many boys were circumcised at each day of the festival.[648] As has been mentioned before, this omission was related to the fact that the narratives of the festival had different focus points and the circumcised boys seem to have been of minor importance among other subjects.

Although this collective circumcision ritual was one of the most basic components of the overall morphology of the festival, nothing proper is known about it. This lack of information leaves us with various unresolved question related to the identity of these boys and their integration process to the festival. This section aims

[647] According to archival documents in totality 202 physicians and barbers were assigned for the circumcision of those boys. Accordingly, 33 physicians were those attached to the society of the talented and working at the imperial palace (*ḫaṣṣa cerrāḥān tābi'-i ehl-i ḥiref*), 5 were those working at hospitals that were attached to five imperial complexes (*cerrāḥān-ı darü'ş-şifa'*), 14 were lieutenants during the time of military campaigns (*mülâzimān-ı sefer-i hümāyūn*), 58 were from the outside meaning physicians working at the imperial city (*cerrāḥān-ı ehl-i i ḥiref-i bīrūnī*) and lastly 92 were barbers who were assigned for the circumcision (*ḫitāna ta'yin olunan berberān*). For this categorization and names of all these men see BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/22; MAD.d. 6889, 11-12-13.

[648] When compared with the archival documents, the numbers provided by *sūrnāme* authors seem to have been limited.

at illuminating these questions on the basis of formerly unknown archival documents that are solely related to the circumcision of boys.

4.3.1 Registration to the book of the circumcision

Among the archival documents that were kept by the chief clerk of the festival perhaps the most interestingly ones are three extensive books of registers, which are composed of 72, 70 and 26 folios respectively.[649] These books of registers strikingly illuminate the identities of the circumcised boys, their ancestral names, and the name of their neighborhoods in the affiliated districts of the city. One of these books, which dates 5 *Şevvāl* 1132 (10 August, 1720)[650] at the beginning page must have been the earliest among the others as the first additions to this book was made on the next day on 6 *Şevvāl* 1132 (11 August, 1720). This book records the names of all of the registered boys in a random order, who were referred to as *ġılmānān* (literally means pages yet, here refers to the circumcised boys). These boys are mostly made up of boys living in the imperial city as well as including a few number of pages from the imperial palaces, uncircumcised boys (possibly apprentices) working at the outer palace (such as at the imperial kitchens and imperial confectionary), sons and pages of some palace officials and dignitaries, and finally boys whose names were registered through the initiatives of some viziers and aghas. With the exception of the first group, the others were always specified in the document with the addition of a different caption so that one can certainly identify the identity of these relatively more distinguished beneficiaries.[651]

[649] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/139; 5/76; 6/88.
[650] BOA. D.BŞM. 5/76. The caption reads: "iḥsān-ı ḫitān-ı fuḳarā der sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitān ḥażret-i şehriyarī-i civān-baḫt el vakī fi 5 şevvāl sene 1132"
[651] For example, see BOA. D.BŞM. 5/76, fol. 35b, 53a, 61-62b, 62b-63a

In a uniform order, the aforementioned book of registers records the neighborhoods, names, and ancestral names of these boys. Indeed, when more than one boy was registered from one household or when a collective registration from a neighborhood was made in one entry, the number of boys was also specified at the bottom. As the first additions to this book date 6 *Şevvāl* (11 August, 1720)[652] this means that registrations started very promptly, as the preparations for the festival had begun on 22 *Ramażān* (28 July, 1720). Thus, in two weeks time the chief clerk of the festival was already preoccupied with registering boys' names to the book of the circumcision. This book of registers, I argue, must have been either the original book of the circumcision kept by the chief clerk of the festival (as Hafız Mehmed says) or one of its complete copies.

Apart from this book of registers, among the archival documents there are more than 2,000 petitions that were written in an almost uniform format stating the poorness of the petitioner and non-affordability of the circumcision.[653] Saying this, the petitioners simply asked for the registration of the name of the boy to the book of the imperial festival.[654] On the upper left margin of these petitions, one also sees the imperial order of the sultan, uniformly ordering the superintendent of the festival for

[652] This date was recorded in the first two page of the document, after this note throughout the book one occasionally sees the mention of dates. See BOA. D.BŞM. 5/76.

[653] These petitions can be seen in non-inventoried folders in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. Folder 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. While folder 4 and 9 also includes other types of documents, other folders, each including approximately 200 documents, solely include those petitions. A detailed analysis of all of these petitions for a socio-historical inquiry exceeds the objectives of this study. To this end, throughout my discussion a number of examples will be provided among various others. Yet, I am planning to undertake this task as a future project.

[654] Very often the petitions were written in a similar format, with similar expressions. Some examples are, BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/111: "Devletlü ve saʿadetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsūn. Bu ḳulları Yenikapu karyesinde sakin olub dört yaşında oġlumʿAli ḫitāna muḥtac olmaġla bu sūr-ı hümāyūnda maʿān sünnet olunmaḳ üzere deftere ḳayd olunmaḳ rica olunır. Bende Meḥemmed ʿaṭṭar. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/84: "Devletlü ve merhametlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Bu cariyeleri İstanbūl'da Küçük Ayāṣofya maḥallesi sakininden olub dūl olmaġla oġlum öksūz ʿAbdü'l-ḥalidi ḫitān itdirmeye iḳtidārım olmamaġla mercūdur ki sūr-ı hümāyūn defterine ḳayd ve maʿān ḫitān buyurılmaḳ bābında fermān sulṭānımıñdır. Bende ʿAyşe ḥatūn"

the registration.[655] So, these petitions show that the registration occurred in two ways. The first way was coming to the imperial palace in person and registering the name of the boy to the book of registers. The second one was through petitioning to the court.[656]

A petition written by the superintendent of the festival Halil Efendi on that matter further clarifies how this process was handled. In this petition Halil Efendi asks the sultan whether the names of boys that were noted in the petitions would be registered in the book of registers after petitioning to the sultan or their names would be directly recorded to the book and then petitioned to the sultan.[657] The imperial order at the document indicates that the superintendent would register those names according to the imperial order on that matter.[658]

These petitions are also interesting as they include some additional information on the social backgrounds of the petitioners and their sons. Although identifying all of those petitioners exceeds the concern of this study, broadly speaking such petitioners' social backgrounds display great variations. While some were artisans and craftsmen,[659] some were middle ranking palace officials and some were retired officials, and some carried status-conferring titles such as *ḥācı* and *seyyid.* Yet, for the majority of the petitioners no occupation was mentioned at all.

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[655] Responses simply read: "ḳayd olsun."

[656] Petitioning to the Ottoman court especially to articulate the dissent, strife, disagreement seems to have been an established practice by the early seventeenth century. Indeed, these petitions were catalogued under a different register at the palace namely *Şikayet Defterleri*. Although petitioning to the court for the circumcision certainly was not the same type, still their great numbers signify the well-established practice of sending petitions to the court for different matters.

[657] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/32: "…buyurduḳda bu güne gelenler ḥużūr-ı 'alīlerine 'arż-ı ḥal idüb 'alī hadden fermān-ı 'alīleriyle deftere ḳayd olunub yaḫūd hemān gelenler şöhretiyle deftere ḳayd ve vaḳtiyle düştūr-ı 'alīlerine 'arż olunmaḳ mı fermān buyurılır bu vechile fermān-ı isġaneleri sorub eyle ise emr-ü fermān devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende El Ḥac Ḥalil emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn."

[658] Ibid: "Sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni efendi, bu maʻkuleleri buyurılmış fermān geregi gibi kayd eyleye."

[659] For example some of these petitioners were *nohudcu, leblebici, camcı, baklavacı, kürkçü, boyacı* BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/137; 9/88; 9/89; 9/116; 10/15; 10/32.

Petitions of the middle ranking palace officials and some retired officials need special attention here. Although the content of these petitions are same as the others, from the imperial order, it emerges that sons of these officials were differentiated from the rest through the clothing they would receive. As the documents read, some of these petitioners' sons would be given the middle quality clothing (*evāsıṭ kisve*).[660] For example, the son of the deceased Hüseyin Agha (who was the former superintendent of the Imperial Dockyard), the son of the deceased *mübāya'acı aġa* (agent responsible for the wholesale purchase of grain), the son of *teberdārlar ketḫüdāsı* (the steward of the halberdiers), the son of a *ḥelvāḫāne emekdārı* (an old official from the imperial confectionary) and the son of a certain *ḳapu ketḫüdāsı* (steward of the doorkeepers), each would receive unrecompensed circumcision and a relatively more expensive type of clothing.[661] In the account books of the festival, this more esteemed group of beneficiaries was referred to as *ġılmānān-ı bīrūn* (literally meaning pages of the outer palace but this category also includes some apprentices working at the outer courtyard, sons and pages of some palace officials and retired officials). Yet, as will be mentioned later even this group was not uniform among themselves.

Apart from fathers who sent petitions for the circumcision of their sons, in some cases when the father was not alive, widows and orphans sent petitions to the court. In these petitions boys were simply referred to as orphan (*yetim*).[662] Occasionally, some petitions also include information on the ages of the circumcised boys. Broadly speaking, the scale seems to have been rather wide ranging from four to twelve. Yet, a more detailed examination is necessary to reach a general conclusion on this point. Finally, as it has been mentioned before sometimes more

[660] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/136; 4/143; 4/140; 4/141.
[661] See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/136; 4/143; 4/141; 9/36; 9/32 respectively.
[662] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/84, 9/91; 9/121; 10/13 10/35; 10/66; 10/109; 11/4; 11/98.

than one boy was registered from the same household. For example, Ḥavva Hanım from Kasımpaşa, petitioned for the registration of her three sons.[663] Likewise, ʿÜveys from Kasımpaşa had three sons and he petitioned for their registration.[664] In all cases, the petition was accepted and the names of all these boys were registered in the book of the circumcision.

4.3.1.1 The number and daily ordinance of the circumcised boys

As has been discussed above both through these petitions and through direct registration process, the names of boys were recorded in the book of the registers. This book of registers records a total number of 5,006 boys, who were registered in the book during the phase of preparations to the festival.[665] Yet, interestingly some boys among those registered were not circumcised during the festival because other documents that seem to have been kept after the end of the festival show that the actual number of all circumcised boys was 4,166.

As will be discussed in detail later, among these documents the account books include information also on the total expenses that were made for the provisioning of clothing.[666] There, boys were categorized as *ġılmānān-ı fuḳarā* (referring to the city folk who were defined as poor), *ġılmānān-ı enderūn* (pages of the inner palace), *ġılmānān-ı ġalaṭa* (pages of Galata Palace) and *ġılmānān-ı bīrūn* (pages of the outer palace but includes apprentices working at the outer courtyard, sons and pages of some palace officials and retired officials). As the account books mention in totality 4,166 boys were given clothing. 4,027 among this group were composed of the city folk (including also 106 boys from the corps of the imperial

[663] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 11/211.
[664] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/100
[665] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/76, fol. 62b.
[666] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 77; MAD.d. 4729, 28, 29.

guards), 6 were those pages from the inner palace, 31 were pages from Galata palace and the remaining ones were those that were referred to as *ġılmānān-ı bīrūn.* This is to say that only 3% of the circumcised boys were those with relatively more privileged social backgrounds. The great majority was composed of those socially undifferentiated group of boys from the residents of the city.

The same information was also recorded in a one-page document, possibly a draft note including information on the amounts and types of clothing for the circumcised boys.[667] This document includes additional information related to the daily ordinance of the circumcision of the boys. As seen in Table 18, the document starts with the second day of the festival, when collective circumcision rituals began and it continues until 6 Z*i'l-ḥicce,* which was the day before the circumcision of the crown princes. For each day, the document notes the total number of the circumcised boys with the exception of the aforementioned *ġılmānān-ı bīrūn, ġılmānān-ı ġalaṭa* and *ġılmānān-ı enderūn*. As has been mentioned before, this latter group of beneficiaries was differentiated from the rest through their clothing, something that clearly represented their distinguished position among the circumcised boys. On this ground, it is possible to argue that these boys were not circumcised collectively with the others, which must have been the reason why they were not mentioned in this list. This document mentions a total amount of 4,027 boys, when one adds *ġılmānān-ı enderūn, ġalaṭa* and *bīrūn* to this group, one reaches a total number of 4,166 just as the declaration of the account books of the festival.

[667] BOA. D.BŞM: SRH. 7/138. See both the front and backside of the document.

Table 18. Daily Classification of the Circumcised Boys[668]

Date	The Number of Circumcised Boys
16 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	138
17 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	284
18 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	272
19 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	238
20 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	290
21 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	255
22 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	250
23 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	217
24 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	67
25 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	232
26 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	393
27 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	450
28 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	283
3 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* at the new [imperial] palace (*Der saray-ı cedīd*)	57
4 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce*	130
5 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce*	116
6 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce*	249
The corps of the imperial guards (*Ocaġ-ı bostānī*)	106
Pages of the inner palace[669] (*Ġılmānān-ı enderūn*)	6
Pages of Galata Palace (*Ġılmānān-ı ġalaṭa*)	32
The pages of the outer palace (*Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn*)	101
TOTAL	4,166

When this information is compared with the extensive book of registers that included names of the registered boys, one sees that 840 boys are missing. Quite possibly those registered boys escaped from the circumcision. Indeed, according to the declaration of Hafız Mehmed such escape incidents often happened during the circumcisions.[670]

As has been mentioned before, apart from this summary list that classifies the numbers of the circumcised boys day by day, among the archival documents there is another detailed book of registers that was kept for the same purpose.[671] This book of registers seems to have been an incomplete copy of the book that must have been

[668] For the preparation of this table I have jointly considered the information provided in BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/138; MAD.d. 1284, 77; MAD.d. 4729, 28, 29.
[669] As will be mentioned later, actually for the pages of the inner palace 5 members were recorded in the account books additionally one chief eunuch whose name was Süleyman Agha was also registered. In this list, to prevent confusion I have included this eunuch among the members of the inner household.
[670] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 198.
[671] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 6/88.

kept at the festival space by the clerks of the festival to document (in situ) the names of boys who were given unrecompensed clothing and circumcision. This book of registers starts with the day when the collective circumcision began and with some missing pages come until the last day of the ritual. Underneath the caption of each day, the names and neighborhoods of the circumcised boys were recorded and at the end of each day the total numbers were also noted. As one sees in these registers, everyday boys coming from different districts and neighborhoods were circumcised together. This is to say that one does not see a district-wide or neighborhood-wide organization for determining which boy would be circumcised on which day. The random sequence of these boys in the book implies that quite possibly each day the planners of the festival (Halil Efendi or his deputy Mehmed Agha) selected a certain number of boys among those who were registered in the book in advance. If this was the case then these boys and their families must have been present at the festival space waiting for the circumcision. Although some pages of the book is missing and some clerical mistakes seem to have occurred in the copying process[672] the existence of such a register is indicative of the meticulousness of the clerks in documenting every particular phase of a certain event. By keeping this register the clerks seem to have crosschecked whether a boy's name was registered in the predetermined lists or not. Besides, keeping this register must have served for certifying the delivery of the unrecompensed clothing that was given to boys just before they were circumcised.[673] Thanks to this second book, we are able to understand the details of these processes.

[672] A number of verso or recto pages of the book seem to have been left empty such as 17b, 18b, 19b, 25a, 26a. This implies that the copying process of this book was incomplete. In addition, in some days when recording the total number of circumcised boys minor clerical mistakes seem to have happened. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 6/88.

[673] The types and costs of these clothes that were given to the circumcised boys point will be approached later. Yet, a document mentions that those clothes would be given to boys just before they were circumcised. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/57.

Even more interestingly, the clerks of the festival also kept another book of registers for the circumcised boys. This book that is composed of 72 folios, classifies all circumcised boys according to their place of residence in the imperial city.[674] In this book of registers, the imperial city was conceived in seven main parts including district (*ḳażā'*) of Üsküdar, Beşiktaş, Tobhane, Galata Kasımpaşa, İstanbul and Eyyüb Ensari, as they were noted respectively.[675] Each district then, was divided into numbers of neighborhoods, the most extensively for Istanbul and the least for Galata. At the introduction of the book, before the registration of the names of the boys the clerks seem to have provided a summary list noting the names of those districts and their accompanying neighborhoods. After this preface like introduction, at folio 3b the book of registers start.[676] Following the order of this introductory part, at first the names and ancestral names of boys who were living at Üsküdar district were recorded. Inside the district the clerks also classified boys according to their neighborhoods. For example at Üsküdar, names of boys were categorized underneath captions bearing the name of their neighborhood such as Hasan Ağa, Valide-i Atik, Şemsi Paşa, Selvi Beg, Karacaahmed, Atıcılar, Eski Cami, Kadıasker, Mahmud Efendi, Selman, Ağa Cami with (*ma*ʿ) Eski Cami, Davatcılar.[677] Thus, thanks to this division even without reading the full information recorded for each boy, one might determine at which neighborhood of the district this boy was living. Indeed, the same

[674] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/139. Here, for the concerns of this study I am mainly concerned with understanding the general content of the book, it organizational logic and why clerks might have classified circumcised boys according to their districts and neighborhoods. Yet, the extraordinarily detailed information that is provided in the book related to the urban history of the city at this period deserves a much more detailed examination, which I plan to undertake later in an independent research project.
[675] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/139.
[676] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/139, fol. 3b: "İḥsān-ı ḫitān-ı fuḳarā der sūr-ı hümāyūn ḥażret-i şehriyārī-i civān-baḫt el vāḳiʿ fi 20 Şevvāl sene 1132. " As the caption dates 20 *Şevvāl* 1132, this indicates that very possibly the clerks started to prepare this book of registers coincidentally with the actual book of the circumcision. Thus, as the names were registered in the book of the circumcision, the clerks must have updated this district wise classification book.
[677] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/139.

order was followed throughout the book. As has been mentioned before during the circumcision of boys a district-wide or a neighborhood-wide organization was not followed. Then, very possibly this book of registers was prepared by the clerks at a later phase, perhaps after the end of the festival to determine how many boys were exactly circumcised from any neighborhood of any district of the city. While from some neighborhoods of a particular district and a very high number of participation was the case, from some others the participation was much more limited. Indeed, some neighborhoods did not even participate in this grandly conceived act of charity of the sultan.

4.3.2 A Social differentiation through circumcised boys' clothing

Besides providing unrecompensed circumcision, the sultan also donated clothing to the circumcised boys as a manifestation of his voluntary act of the beneficent giving. Vehbi in his narrative said that clothing was prepared for approximately 5,000 boys who would be circumcised.[678] Parallel to that, in an undated petition related to the delivery of these clothes, the superintendent Halil Efendi mentioned that clothing was prepared for 5,300 boys.[679] When one considers that the total number of registered boys was 5,006 prior to the inauguration of the festival, then one might assume that Halil Efendi must have provisioned extra clothing in case possible additions would be made. Although Vehbi did not mention the details of these clothes, Hafız Mehmed stated that both the type and cost of these clothes varied according to the social statues of the boys. As he said, for poor and needy boys red broadcloth cap, a twilled cotton cloak fastened in front, sash made of thread and a pair of shoes would be given. Hafız further added that the cost of the clothing of the

[678] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 470.
[679] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/57

pages of the inner palace, Galata palace, sons of pashas and officials on the other hand, ranged between fifty *ġurūş*, seven *ġurūş* and six *ġurūş* according to the status of the beneficiary. And, these clothes were of middle and high quality.[680] Certainly, Hafız Mehmed must have had access to this information through his patron Halil Efendi, who was in charge of provisioning these clothes. Although this information strikingly matches with the archival documents, the clerks of the festival and of the account bureau seem to have provided even more detailed information.

As seen in Table 19, boys and their clothing were classified into seven groups. Both the number of boys who comprised one group and the worth of their clothing varied. The most expensive clothes were given to the pages of the inner palace that were composed of only five people, whose clothing was worth of fifty *ġurūş*. And, the cheapest clothes were given to 4,027 boys from the city folk, whose clothing was worth only of two *ġurūş*.

Table 19. Classification of the Circumcised Boys According to Their Clothes[681]

Classification of Circumcised Boys	Number of Boys	Cost of one piece of clothing	Total Cost
Ġılmānān-ı enderūn	5	6,000 *akçe* (50 *ġurūş*)	30,000 *akçe*
İbrahimzāde Süleyman Aġa *ser ṭavāşi*	1	6,000 *akçe* (50 *ġurūş*)	6,000 *akçe*
Ġılmānān-ı ġalaṭa	32	840 *akçe* (7 *ġurūş*)	26,880 *akçe*
Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn	20	1,200 *akçe* (10 *ġurūş*)	24,000 *akçe*
Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn	50	600 *akçe* (5 *ġurūş*)	30,000 *akçe*
Ġılmānān-ı fuḳarā	4,027	240 *akçe* (2 *ġurūş*)	966,480 *akçe*
Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn	31	2,161.451*akçe* (18.012 *ġurūş*)	67,004.981*akçe*[682]
			1,150,364.98 *akçe*[683]

In this categorization, the group of pages from the outside (*ġılmānān-ı bīrūn*) deserves special attention. Three different groups of pages from the outside were

[680] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 181.
[681] In the account books and other registers the total cost of clothing for each group was recorded in *akçe*. To understand the cost of the clothing per person I have divided this total amount into the number of boys that was recorded for the group. For the information see MAD.d. 1284, 77; MAD.d. 4729, 28,29; D.BŞM. SRH. 7/138.
[682] In the account book it was mistakenly written as 67,005. See MAD.d. 1284, 77.
[683] In the account book the total amount was mistakenly calculated as 1,104,360. See MAD.d. 1284, 77.

mentioned in the archival documents, whose clothing was also differentiated. When a number of petitions and some short notes are examined, it emerges that social statues of these boys (and of their fathers) were not the same. For example, the most esteemed members among this group seem to have been those that were composed of 31 boys, whose one-piece clothing was worth 18 *ġurūş*. Interestingly, as one document mentions, among this group there was a certain Mehmed Bey,[684] who was the son of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha. As the narratives of the festival indicate, upon an imperial order the sultan had declared that the son of his grand vizier (Mehmed Bey) would also be circumcised during the timeframe of the festival. Indeed, two *naḫıls* and a candy garden were also prepared to symbolize the rite of passage of the son of the esteemed grand vizier.[685] As Mehmed Bey was among those 31 boys, very possibly the other members of the group were also the sons of the high-ranking pashas and also viziers.

The second group was made up of 20 boys, whose clothing was worth 10 *ġurūş*. A petition of Halil Efendi provides an insight into the identities of these boys' fathers. In this petition, the superintendent of the festival asks the sultan whether the son of the deceased agent for *mübāyaʿacı* (an official in charge of wholesale purchase of grain) Ahmed Agha would get clothing worth ten *ġurūş* or not.[686] The answer of the sultan was positive.[687] Thus, one understands that sons of middle ranking officials received clothing that was worth 10 *ġurūş*. Indeed, in another document, these clothes were mentioned as high quality clothing (*kisve-i aʿlā*).[688]

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[684] BOA. SRH. D.BŞM. 9/49.
[685] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 473, 474.
[686] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/143: "Devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Fermān-ı ʿalīleriyle merḥūm mübāyaʿacı Aḥmed Aġanın oġlu defter-i ḫitāna ḳayd olunmuşdı. Kisvesi onar ġurūşa yapdırılmak fermān buyurılan kisvelerden verilmek fermān buyurılır ise emr ü fermān devletlü saʿadetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende El Ḥac Ḥalil emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn."
[687] I BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/143: "Sūr-ı hümāyūn emīni efendi ʿarẓuḥalin mucibince onar ġurūşa kisveleri verilmek buyurıldı." Fi 11 Zi'l-ḳaʿde 1(1)32."
[688] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/138: "bīrūnī kisve-i aʿlā bā-fermān- ı ʿalī, nefera 20."

A group of 50 boys, who were also referred to as pages from the outside however, received a cheaper type of clothing, which was worth only five *ġurūş*. This piece of clothing was noted as middle quality clothing (*kisve-i evāsıṭ*).[689] Very possibly, sons of lower-ranking officials and uncircumcised apprentices working at the outer palace (such as the imperial kitchen and imperial confectionery) comprised this group. Thus, even among this group there was a clear social differentiation that was articulated through the visual codes of clothing.

As Suraiya Faroqhi has put it, clothes "formed an essential part of the presentation of the self."[690] Thus, types of clothing often manifested wealth, social status, and political distinction.[691] Since clothing was one of the most explicit ways of designating one's social status, in Ottoman society where social hierarchies were meticulously observed, certain robes and headgears were often exclusive to a limited group of officials "functioning as a sign distinction."[692] The invention of a tall red-capped tall white turban (*mücevveze*) during the reign of Süleyman I (r.1524-1566) to distinguish the ruling elite from the ordinary people[693] was one of the examples pointing to the great attention that was given to regulate social distinction through clothing. If one turns back to the clothes of the circumcised boys, as seen in Table 20, during the 1720 festival, their costs and qualities further illustrate that clothing functioned as a sign of social differentiation.

[689] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/138 "bīrūnī kisve-i evāsıṭ bā-fermān-ı 'alī, nefera 50."
[690] Faroqhi, "Introduction or Why and How,"16.
[691] Cloths were also a part of the public order in Ottoman society. From time to time edicts were issued regulating what types of cloths and cloths Muslims and non-Muslims were allowed to wear publicly. Faroqhi, "Introduction or Why and How…", 22-25; Zilfi, "Goods in the Mahalle," 300; Schick, "The Place of Dress," 93-102; Wilson, "Souvenirs and Stereotypes," 35-36.
[692] Necipoğlu, "A Canon for Arts," 207; also see Idem, *The Age of Sinan*, 33-39.
[693] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 34.

Table 20. Types of the Clothing Given to Circumcised Boys[694]

Boys	The Outer and Inner Garment	Trousers	Headgear	Shoes	Accessories	The Worth of the Clothing
Pages of the inner palace and Ibrahimzade Süleyman agha the chief eunuch (*Ġılmānān-ı enderūn* & İbrahimzāde Süleyman Aġa *ser ṭavāşī*)	Outer robe with long skirts and sleeves made of brocaded silk textile that was woven with gold/silver wire or thread, and loose [inner] robe made of toothed designed light satin textile (*Telli*[695] *ḫaṭā'ī ḳaftān, Ṭarāḳlı aṭlas ʿentārī*)	Broadcloth trousers secured round the waist in folds (*Çuḳā çaḳşīr*)	Quilted turban and Muslin band wrapped around a headgear (*Ḳāvuḳ, Bendī destār*)	A set of inner boots and overshoes (*Mest pābūş*)	Sash with belt fastening (*Kemerbend ḳūşāḳ*)	50 *ġurūş*
Pages/boys from the outside (*Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn*)	A kind of cloak/coat fastening in the front made of striped patterned variegated silk and cotton textile and a kind of shirt made of blue colored twilled cotton (*Çubūḳlı alāca ḳutnī ḳapama, mā ʿyī boġaşı mintān*)[696]	Broadcloth trousers secured round the waist in folds (*Çuḳā çaḳşīr*)	Cap made of broadcloth (*Çuḳā kelle puş*)	A set of inner boots and overshoes (*Mest pābūş*)	Sash made of silk warp and cotton (*Ḫelālī ḳūşāḳ*)[697]	18 *ġurūş*
Pages/boys from the outside (*Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn*)	Woolen outer robe of gown with long skirts and sleeves) and a kind of shirt made of silk and satin cloth (*Peşmī ḳaftān, Ṣandāl mintān*)	Broadcloth trousers secured round the waist in folds(*Çuḳā çaḳşīr*)	Cap made of broadcloth (*Çuḳā kelle puş*)	A set of inner boots and overshoes (*Mest pābūş*)	Sash made of silk warp and cotton (*Ḫelālī ḳūşāḳ*)	10 *ġurūş*
Pages from *Galata* palace (*Ġılmānān-ı ġalaṭa*)	Woolen outer robe of gown with long skirts and sleeves and a kind of shirt made of silk and satin cloth (*Peşmī ḳaftān, Ṣandāl mintān*)	-	Cap made of broadcloth (*Çuḳā kelle puş*)	A set of inner boots and overshoes (*Mest pābūş*)	Sash made of silk warp and cotton (*Ḫelālī ḳūşāḳ*)	7 *ġurūş*
Pages/boys from the outside (*Ġılmānān-ı bīrūn*)	Woolen outer robe of gown with long skirts and sleeves and a kind of shirt made of silk and satin cloth (*Peşmī ḳaftān, Ṣandāl mintān*)	-	Cap made of broadcloth (*Çuḳā kelle puş*)	Shoes (*Pābūş*)	Sash made of silk warp and cotton (*Ḫelālī ḳūşāḳ*)	5 *ġurūş*
Poor and needy boys (*Ġılmānān-ı fuḳarā*)	Kind of cloak/coat fastening in front made of twilled cotton (*Boġaşı kapama-ı borlı*)	-	Red cap made of broadcloth (*Al çuḳā kelle puş*)	Shoes (*Pābūş*)	A sash made of a piece of thread (*İplik ḳūşāḳ*)	2 *ġurūş*

[694] The full information that I have provided in this table dwells on a joint consideration of a number of documents including BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/138; SRH. 9/49; MAD. d. 4729, 28-29; MAD.d. 1284, 77. For the names and qualities of the textiles that were used by Ottomans see Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları," 291-340; for silk textiles see Tezcan, *Atlaslar Atlası;* Atasoy et al, *İpek*.

[695] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 28-29, the outer robe of 5 pages of the inner palace was mentioned as *telli ḫaṭā'ī* type, yet for the certain Süleyman Agha the type of the outer robe was mentioned as *zincirbāf* (woven with chains). In BOA. SRH. D.BŞM. 7/138, on the other hand, two groups were not differentiated and their outer robe was simply referred to as *zincirbāf.* Since the particular section of BOA. MAD. d. 4729, 28-29 is more detailed on that matter, I have followed this document. Other pieces of the clothing of pages of the inner palace and that of Süleyman Agha were uniform.

[696] The clothing of this group of boys composed of 31 members (among whom one also sees the son of the grand vizier) were separately mentioned in a short document, which describes their clothing in great detail. In other sources however their clothes were not mentioned. Thus, I have based on this document for this specific section of the table. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/49.

[697] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 29, it is referred to as *İstānbūl ḫelālīsi*.

As seen in Table 20, the differences sometimes occurred in the form of the absence of a certain piece of garment in the gift package such as an inner robe and trousers. And, sometimes they occurred in the form of tiny differences that are reflected in the type of the textile or the accessories of the cloths. Even if the clothing package of boys from the city folk seems to have been rather modest both in terms of the variety and the qualities of the textiles,[698] obtaining these garments still must have been very important and perhaps desirable for those residents of the city who certainly had limited material resources. Parallel to that, Hafız Mehmed says that sometimes after receiving their new clothing, boys escaped from the festival space without being circumcised.[699]

Such instances might have happened, because from a petition, we understand that these clothes were distributed to poor and needy boys at the festival space, just before they were circumcised. In this petition, Halil Efendi asks the sultan whether the non-ornamented clothes (referring to the clothes of the poor and needy boys) would be given after the circumcision or after the registration (to the book).[700] The imperial order indicates that they would be distributed after the registration.[701] Here, the term registration must have referred to the second phase of registration that happened at the festival space, just before the occurrence of the circumcision ritual. As has been mentioned before, this second registration aimed at checking whether the name of the boy was already registered in the book and it also certified the

[698] In the 1675 festival they received a similar kind of clothing. See Çakır, "Edirne'de Saltanat Düğünü." A short document among the archival documents on the 1720 festival shows that copies were made after the registers of this festival and cloths were prepared by taking these as the reference point. See BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/4.
[699] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 190.
[700] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/57: "Devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Ġılmānān-ı sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitān beş biñ üç yüz nefer-i bāliġ ve fermān buyūrılān kisveleri ḥażır ve āmāde iken bażıları kisveleri muṭalladan ḫālī olmalarıyla kisveleri ba'de'l- ḫitān verilmek mi yāḫūd ḳayd'el ḫitān verilüb mülebbesen ḫitān olunmaları mı fermān buyurılır ne vech ile fermān buyurulır ise emr ü fermān devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende El Ḥac Ḥalil emīn-i sūr-ı hümāyūn."
[701] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/57: "Ḳayd-ı ʿaynī üzere verilmek buyurıldı."

delivery of the clothing. To further substantiate this point, Hafız Mehmed in his narrative said that just before uncricumcized boys performed their procession at the festival space, they put on their new clothes at the tent of the superintendent of the festival.[702] When all these are evaluated together, it emerges that each day the chief officials selected a certain number of boys among the pre-registered ones who would be circumcised on that day. They were re-registered in another book, and then they were given the new clothing. Indeed, in the pictorial representations of the festival, these boys are always seen in their new, uniform-like clothes. In one of Ibrahim's paintings parallel to the descriptions of the archival documents, it is seen that they were wearing cloaks (of different colors such as light and dark green, purple, blue), which had a fastening in front, simple sashes, red caps and shoes (Fig. A34). Levni also depicted cloaks of different colors, which implies that such outer garments were made of a number of colors (Fig. A35, A36). Even if, as Hafız Mehmed said, some boys might have escaped from the circumcision with their newly delivered clothes, distributing these clothes to boys before they were circumcised must have had other functions. As these boys performed a procession in the festival space, they were visible to the audience. In this respect, from an organizational point of view the physical appearance of these boys should have also been in conformity with the pomp of the event. In addition to this spectacle aspect, walking in front of the tent of the sultan and across the festival space in their new clothes, these boys apparently represented and embodied the benefaction of the sultan, which was put in practice in in form of providing unrecompensed circumcision and clothing to all these boys. While these boys were collectively circumcised at the tent of the circumcision, the more distinguished beneficiaries seem to have been spatially differentiated from the

[702] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü.*

rest. For example, a note in one of the books of the registers shows that five pages of the inner palace would be circumcised in the third courtyard of the imperial palace at *ḫāne-i seferli* (commonly known as Seferli Koğuşu).[703] Although the clothes of the pages of Galata Palace were distributed three days prior to the festival, on 12 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (15 September, 1720) for some reason the sultan did not find it suitable for the pages of the inner palace.[704] As their clothes were richly ornamented and made of luxury textiles, perhaps the sultan wanted to make sure that these clothes would appear in their best condition on their day of their circumcision. Thus, he might not have permitted their delivery prior to the festival.

Although the aforementioned document mentions the exact location of the circumcision for the pages of the inner palace, for other boys (including those pages of Galata palace and sons of dignitaries, middle ranking officials and apprentices working at the imperial palace), documents do not designate any location. Yet, as has been mentioned before, without any doubt they were not collectively circumcised at the tent of the circumcision at Okmeydanı. Based on this information, it is possible to argue that very possibly they were circumcised separately, somewhere at the imperial palace. This signifies that circumcised boys were not only visually but also spatially differentiated among themselves.

4.4 The reciprocal aspect of gift exchange: Obligatory gifts to the sultan

In the elaborately prescribed Ottoman court etiquette, gifting rites were of particular significance. As has been mentioned before, while these reciprocal gifts merged bonds, alliances, networks among individuals, in cases when they were presented to

[703] D.BŞM. SRH. 5/76, 53b: "Ḫāne-i seferlide sünnet olunacak uşāḳlar 5 neferā: vezīr-i mükerrem Mehmed pāşāzāde küçük Muṣṭafa Beg, küçük ʿAbdullah dāyezāde, küçük Muṣṭafa dāyezāde, küçük ʿAli dilsiz, ḫāne-i kilerde küçük deli İbrahim."
[704] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/83: "…ancak ġalaṭa sarayında oturanlara virilüb saray-ı cedīd-i 'āmirede oturanlar yoksun olunmak buyurıldı."

a superior and to the sultan, they represented one's submission, loyalty and commitment. Parallel to this perception, *sūrnāme* authors seem to have perceived the gifts of the dignitaries to the sultan as a form of showing their devotion, commitment and obedience.[705] In addition to this semiotic meaning of the gifts, as Hedda Reindl-Kiel says "for an Ottoman a fine gift should emphasize the honor of another individual, since its symbolic value turned into the real material value at the moment it was reclaimed."[706] This means that besides symbolizing one's commitment to a superior, the material value of the gifts also represented the power of the presenter. Parallel to that, the gifts that were presented to the sultan directly went to his treasury. Indeed, the scribes often recorded their weight or values in extensive books of registers, which further indicates the significance of the material value of those gifts. The Ottoman consideration for the material value of gifts represents a totally different way of perceiving gifts than the contemporary Western tradition. This must have been the reason why occasionally gifts of some envoys from the West were not appreciated or found appropriate at the Ottoman court.[707]

There was an etiquette governing the rules of gifting at the Ottoman court. Indeed, these "customary" rules of gifting were often recorded in books of registers, which were consulted in times of need. It is worth mentioning that these gifts that were conceived as customary or mandatory for an official, envoy, or guild changed from time to time.[708] Thus, although the former records of gifts that were kept by the protocol office, the account bureau and the imperial treasury were consulted in times

[705] Authors particularly used the term *'ubūdīyet eylediler* when they related the gifts of the dignitaries. Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 494; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 234.
[706] Reindl-Kiel, "East is East," 117.
[707] It is known that often envoys lamented about Ottomans' greediness for demanding more gifts or gifts of better value. See Ibid. 114-115.
[708] This point is addressed in a number of articles written by Hedda Reindl-Kiel yet most notably in authors' article entitled "Power and Submission," which compares gifts of the 1582, 1675 and 1720 festival and makes interesting observations on the changes of gift types between three great festivals. See Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission."

of need, additions to these gifts or changes could have had happened. These new gifts were also recorded in new registers. During the 1720 festival, registers that recorded the gifts of the dignitaries and guildsmen were also kept. In addition, *sūrnāmes* of the festival also provide us an extensive record of most of these gifts. Especially Vehbi's text is very detailed on that matter, as for each day; he mentioned the names of the gift-givers and the types of gifts. Hafız Mehmed, on the other hand, provided information on the gifts of the guildsmen. Indeed, unlike the text of Vehbi and archival documents, he additionally noted the monetary value of the gifts of the guildsmen. This concern once again designates that the material value of these gifts was as significant as their symbolic worth.

The narratives of the festival are important to provide us information on the scheduling of the gifting rites throughout the festival and on the order in which gifts were presented to the sultan. However, a careful comparison of these sources with the extensive gift registers of the imperial treasury[709] reveals that *sūrnāmes* occasionally made omissions. As will be mentioned later, the gifts and the names of some provincial governors seem to have been omitted in Vehbi 's extensive narrative. In addition, in his textual narrative, gifts presented by some invited envoys were not mentioned at all. Through a joint consideration of the narratives of the festival and the related archival documents, this section aims at providing a critical evaluation of the types of gifts that were presented to the sultan during the 1720

[709] TSM.d. 9561. This book of registers that was kept by the chief treasurer provides the complete record of gifts that were presented to the sultan and to the crown princes during the festival. Although this book is well known and mentioned by other scholars such as Esin Atıl and Hedda Reindl-Kiel, both authors mention that they did not examine this extensive book of registers in their studies. Apart from this complete book, there are a number of independent pages, possibly extracted from another such book, which might have been an earlier draft copy, that include information on gifts of some governors and high-ranking officials. Hedda Reindl-Kiel uses these documents in her studies, yet they represent just a small part of the gifts. Also see TSMA.d .9670/2; 9670/6; 9670/5; 9670/46; 9670/48 9670/64; 9670/65; 9670/66; 9670/67; 9670/68; 9670/69; 9670/70; 9670/72; 9670/73. For the 1675 festival the imperial treasury also kept a very similar book. This book of registers (TSMA.d. 154) is transcribed by Şaduman Tuncer in his M.A Thesis. See Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival."

circumcision festival. In addition, a comparison with gifts that were presented during the 1582 and 1675 imperial circumcision festivals will highlight the change in the preferred types of gifts.

4.4.1 Gifts of dignitaries

According to *sūrnāmes*, on the first day of the festival the dignitaries began to present their gifts to the sultan. As Vehbi noted, presenting these gifts was an old custom and they manifested one's gratitude for the benefaction of the sultan.[710] The first ranking presenter was the grand vizier who was followed by the other Imperial Council Members. This gifting rite continued until the last day of the festival. Gifts of the court officials, members of the ulema, provincial governors, the guildsmen of the city and also invited envoys were presented to the sultan one by one. These reciprocal gifts had to meet certain prescribed rules of etiquette. To this end, narratives of the festival and archival documents both mention that the chief officials in charge of festival preparations consulted the former registers and determined those customary gifts.[711] Indeed, occasionally, in the gift register that was kept by the chief treasurer, one sees such specific notations. For example, on the section that recorded gifts of the governor of Boğdan, it was recorded that the governor provisioned these gifts in return for the gifts that were given (to the governor of Boğdan) during the 1675 imperial festival.[712] This statement explicitly articulates the non-spontaneity of these reciprocal gifts.[713]

[710] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 487: "...'adet-i ḳādīme-i devlet-i müsteḳādīme üzere iẓhār-ı şükr-i ni'met-i şādī içün 'arż olunacak hedāyālar pāy-ı endāz-ı ḫüdāvend-i mümtāz kılınması telḥīṣ..."
[711] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 475; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169; 8/59.
[712] TSMA.d. 9561, 18a: "Biñ seksen altı tariḫinde vāḳi' sūr-ı hümāyūnda verilen hediyyelerine bedel tedārik eyledikleri…"
[713] Mauss, *The Gift*.

Often the types, amount and also weights of these gifts were noted in these registers. In the complete gift register of the 1720 festival and in one of its preparatory drafts, at the end a summary note was inserted, which indicated the total weight of the most frequently given silk textiles and gold/silver objects.[714] Indeed, in this preparatory draft register and in the registers of the monthly expenses from the purse of the sultan (*ḫarcı-ı ḫaṣṣa ve ceyb-i hümāyūn*) for the month *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132, when the festival took place, the clerks mentioned to whom these textiles or other gifts were redistributed. It is seen that sometimes these were given to a certain sultan from the imperial family either for personal use or for her trousseaus (*ciḥāz*).[715] Thus, these gifts were used and recirculated at the imperial palace after they entered the treasury.

The clerks' concern for determining the net weight of those luxury objects further signifies that these gifts were "conceived as a part of a secondary currency in kind."[716] In addition, at the opening section of the register, the caption indicates that the worth of those various types of gold/silver objects, the jewelry, coins and assorted types of other goods were equivalent to 5,000 *ġurūş*.[717] At this point it is worth asking whether some of the highest-ranking viziers and pashas were also sending monetary gifts to the sultan. As has been mentioned before, there is evidence that occasionally some middle ranking governors sent monetary gifts to their superiors such as gifts of a certain governor of Şehrizor (between 1656-1661), which

[714] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 20b: "Bālā-yı defterde zirā'atı beyān olunan rūmī ve frengī dībā, telli ve sāde ḫaṭā'ī, düz ve ṭaraḳlı aṭlasıñ dirhemleri beyān-ı zikr olunub, sīm evānīleriñ yekünleridir. Rūmī dībā 3,204.5 dirhem, frengī dībā 1940 dirhem, telli ḫaṭā'ī 6354.5 dirhem, sāde ḫaṭā'ī 3614.5 dirhem, sāde atlas 4,849.5 dirhem, ṭaraḳlı aṭlas 6,174 dirhem, sīm dirhem 51,003.5." For the preparatory draft register that was kept by the clerks of the imperial treasury, which recorded gifts of the 1720 festival see TSMA.d. 1064, fol. 19a-18b, 30a-29b, 31a-30b.
[715] TSMA.d 2363/11, fol. 3a, 3b, 4a. TSMA.d. 1064, fol. 19a-18b, 30a-29b, 31a-30b.
[716] Rendl Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange," 117.
[717] TSMA.d. 9561: "Muṣāḥif-i şerīf ve kisbet-i nefīs ve beş biñ ġurūşluk pāra ve mücevherāt ve evānī-i sīm ve sā'ir emti'a-ı mütenevvi'a bi'l-cümle irāde-i hedāyedir."

he sent to his superiors on the occasion of a religious festival.[718] Indeed, in the imperial purse registers of the sultan from the early eighteenth century, one occasionally sees monetary gifts sent by provincial governors such as during the occasion of the religious feast after Ramadan and feast of the sacrifice.[719] Yet, in the gift registers of the imperial treasury that recorded gifts that were presented to the sultan during the 1720 festival, one does not see any mention gifts in the form of silver/gold coins.

The account of Luigi di Sant'iller, who stayed in Istanbul between 1720 and 1724 might provide some hints on that matter.[720] In his account, Luigi di Sant'iller mentioned the circumcision festival of the sultan, and he claimed that among the pompous gifts of the governors to the sultan there were also monetary gifts. According to his account, the governor of Cairo sent 100 purses (equivalent to 50,000 *reali* [Ottoman riyal]) and Arabian horses, and the governor of Baghdad sent the same amount in gold coins and luxury textiles.[721] Interestingly, the imperial purse registers of the month *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (the month when the festival was held), at the beginning section, an entryindicates that the governor of Bagdad, Hasan Pasha, sent 15,000 *ġurūş* to the imperial treasury as a present for joyful news (*müjdegānesi olmaḳ üzere*).[722] What this "joyful news" denoted was not specified in the document, but in this month, the circumcision festival was inaugurated. This might therefore have referred to the imperial festival of the sultan. Since this gift was not mentioned in the treasury's gift registers for the 1720 festival, perhaps the type of this gift

[718] Reind-Kiel, "Luxury, Power Strategies," 117.
[719] For example in the imperial purse registers of month *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* of the year 1132, one sees that the governor of Bagdad sent gold coins to the sultan as his gift for the feats of the sacrifice. See TSMA.d. 2363/12, fol. 1b.
[720] The manual of this traveler was published in 1737 at Bassano/Veneto. The source is cited in Faroqhi, " The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 399; Idem, "When the Sultan Planned," 211. Faroqhi says that this traveler must have had connections to the Veneto as his book was published within the Venetian domains.
[721] Faroqhi, " The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 399; Idem, "When the Sultan Planned," 211.
[722] TSMA.d. 2361/11, fol. 1b.

(*müjdegāne*) was differentiated it from other gifts in kind that were presented to the sultan by officials during the festival. Suraiya Faroqhi argues that these kinds of monetary gifts might have been used to compensate some of the payments of the festival.[723] Indeed, the archival evidence indicates that some expenses of the 1720 festival were not paid in cash. Rather, they were financed from the treasury's regular tax incomes. For example, the cost of the newly prepared tents (for the festival) was financed from the pool tax of the next year.[724] This example raises the possibility that some other expenses of the festival might have been covered by the monetary gifts from some pashas.

As has been mentioned before, among the *sūrnāmes* of the 1720 festival Vehbi's text is particularly detailed on the gifting, as he was clearly concerned with stressing the hierarchy between the officials of the state and also the pomp of the event. Despite some minor omissions, it is seen that this text almost uniformly followed the treasury's gift register. A two-page archival document strikingly designates that, to compile his text, Vehbi made copies of the treasury's gift register. This two-page document is about the gifts of the grand vizier, some pashas and members of the ulema who presented gifts on the first and second days of the festival.[725] Interestingly, on the recto folio of this document, one sees the copy of a text, which follows word by word the narrative of Vehbi, where he related gifts of the grand vizier, the chief mufti, and chief military judges. Quite possibly this was one of the draft notes of Vehbi when he made copies after the treasury's gift register.

As far as Vehbi's omissions are concerned, when compared with the treasury's gift register, it emerges that on some days he did not mention the names and gifts of some provincial governors or military judges who sent gifts to the

[723] Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned," 211.
[724] BOA. AE. SAMD. III. 179/17554.
[725] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/46.

sultan.[726] For example, when recording the gift presenters of the sixth day Vehbi did not mention the former judge of Aleppo Osmanzade Efendi or the former *muḳābeleci* (official who collates documents) Elçipaşazade Abdullah Efendi.[727] However, in the aforementioned gift register of the treasury one sees their names and gifts on the day.[728] In the thirteenth day of the festival, Vehbi omitted the name of the judge of Aleppo. Besides, he noted names of a number of officials yet for some reason he did not specify their gifts.[729] On that day however, the Venetian and Austrian envoys participated in the gift presentation rite. Vehbi just briefly mentioned that these envoys presented their gifts to the sultan, again without giving any detail on the type of their gifts.[730]

In addition to these examples, Vehbi also omitted the gifts of the members of the inner household such as the officials of the imperial chamber and high-ranking aghas who presented gifts to the sultan after the end of the public festivities on 1 *Zi'l-ḥicce* 1132 (4 October, 1720).[731] Indeed, this part of his narrative is very short and cursory implying that perhaps he did not witness those more private rituals that took place at the imperial palace.

As far as the types of the gifts are concerned, broadly speaking, the majority of them were luxury textiles. To explain the great appeal of textiles in Ottoman gift exchange system, Michael Rogers referred them as "the currency of the Ottoman honors system."[732] In the late sixteenth century, there seem to have been strict rules of protocol determining the amount of such textile gifts that were deemed appropriate for different officials. For example, in the 1582 festival, the customary

[726] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 6b, 7a, 8b
[727] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 571.
[728] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 8b.
[729] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 16b; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 664.
[730] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 663, 664.
[731] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 19b-20a, 20b.
[732] Rogers, "Ottoman Luxury Trades," 139.

amount of textile gifts that viziers presented was twelve *ṭonluḳ* (*donluk* in Modern Turkish, means for one garment),[733] for governor-generals nine *ṭonluḳ* and for district governors five *ṭonluḳ*.[734] Indeed, as Hedda Reindl-Kiel states the same kind of a protocol was also observed in the numbers of silvers vessels.[735] In the 1675 and 1720 festivals' gifts, however, such strict rules that defined the amounts of gifts and articulated about the donor's rank is not observed.

As far as the most preferred type of textiles are concerned, one can deduce a changing predilection from late sixteenth century to the time of the 1720 festival. As opposed to brocaded velvet (*çātma*), silk woven with gold and silver threads (*serāser*) and a heavy and thickly woven type of silk (*kemḫā*) were the most preferred textiles in the gifts of the 1582 festival. In the 1720 festival, lighter silks such as different types of high quality satin (*dībā*), a type of silk cloth with a lotus pattern (?) (*ḫaṭā'ī*) and satin (*aṭlas*) seem to have been frequently placed in the gift packages of the dignitaries. Among the other preferred types of textiles were *ḳuṭnu*, *ḫāra*, *çuḫā*, *ṣof*, *ḳānāviz* and *destār*.[736]

Apart from luxury textiles, the jewelry, weapons, horses and harnesses seem to have been other most frequent gift items among the gift packages of the viziers and pashas. As previously put forth by Hedda Reindl-Kiel, the lack of other types of animals such as dogs, camels, falcons among the gifts of both the 1675 and 1720 festival implies that very possibly such animals were not preferred as gifts by the dignitaries any more. Interestingly, horses seem to have featured almost uniformly among the gifts of all of the provincial governors, although the number of horses

[733] The length one *ṭonluḳ* was 12 *zirāʿ* (cubits), which for textiles equals to 0.605 m. Thus, one *ṭonluḳ* textile was 7.8 m. in length. Reindl-Kiel "Power and Submission," n. 223; Inalcık, "Weights and Measures," 988.
[734] Reindl-Kiel "Power and Submission," 49.
[735] Ibid. 50.
[736] See TSMA.d. 9561; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*.

shows variation. Indeed, in some cases when, for some reason, provincial governors were not able to send horses, they sent a precious stone instead that was equal to the cost of a horse such as the case of the governor of Sayda Kara Mustafa Pasha and the governor of Şehrizor Abdurrahman Pasha.[737] This further indicates that, at least where the 1720 festival is concerned, horses were customary gifts of provincial governors, together with bundles of textiles.

In the pictorial representations of the festival, with the exception of a painting that depicted gifts of the grand vizier, one sees only one other gift-giving scene that represented the eighth day's gifts (Fig. A36). On this day, vizier Osman Pasha, who was also the governor of Mosul, the governor of Aleppo Arifi Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Aydın, Abdullah Pasha, the governor of the Hüdavendigar district, Derviş Mehmed Pasha, the chief sergeant, Ebubekir Agha, and other aghas of the outer palace presented gifts to the sultan. In the pictorial composition of Levni, one sees a number of horses accompanied by a group of attendants who were holding bundles of textiles in their hands moving in front of the sultan in a serpentine movement. Certainly, the representation of only horses and textiles in the composition refers to the fact that the gift packages of those officials were mainly composed of these two items. Yet, the undifferentiated depiction of all these makes it impossible to identify which one of these belonged to which pasha or agha. This might have been a deliberate pictorial choice, perhaps to designate that these gifts were almost equal to one another. However, as will be discussed in detail later, in the paintings that depicted the gifts of the grand vizier painters, one sees that painters highlighted certain objects, which are clearly recognizable in their compositions.

[737] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 571: "Sayda Begberlegisi Ḳārā Muṣṭafā Pāşā ṭarafından at bedeli bir ḳıṭʿa cevher-i girān-ḳıymet…" Although in the gift register one does not see such a statement the mention of a diamond decorated object at the first place among the gifts substantiates the claim of Vehbi. See TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 8a, 8b.

As far as the gifts of the members of ulema are concerned, books held a significant place in their packages. While they presented luxury textiles and porcelain pieces in their gifts, books seem to have been indispensible pieces. Among these books, Koran copies and books on theological and juridicial subjects represent the majority.[738] By contrast, with the exception of the grand vizier, among the gifts of pashas and viziers, books are not seen at all.

4.4.1.1 Gifts of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha

The imperial treasury's gift register starts with a long section on the gifts of the highest-ranking official, the grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha. Parallel to that, in the official narrative of the festival gifts of the grand vizier held a significant place. Vehbi devoted a number of pages to relate gifts of this most esteemed dignitary to the sultan, the crown princes and the imperial women. The textual narrative is accompanied by a double-page painting in both copies, which represents the moment when the steward of the grand vizier presented these gifts to the sultan (Fig. A37, A38). In their compositions Levni and Ibrahim seem to have depicted some of the most distinguished gifts of the grand vizier. Levni was apparently depicting more of such luxurious objects as his scene includes more figures that were depicted as holding these gifts at their hands. In both of these depictions, one identifies a clock, a jeweled belt, a gem-crusted chest, a gem-set ewer, a green colored and fur-lined robe, various bundles of textiles, a number of guns, and horses. Additionally, Levni depicted a precious ruby, diamond and emerald set fastening that was used in the robes (*çāprāst*); that is seen on the hand of the halberdier, who was depicted standing just behind the chief black eunuch, who was holding a gem set porcelain bowl.

[738] Hedda Reinl Kiel makes a comparison between book gifts of the 1582, 1675 and 1720 festivals. As she puts it, from the 1582 festival until the time of the 1720 in the book gifts one shall deduce a general predilection towards religious subjects. Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission," 75-87.

Moreover, in Levni's composition on the recto page, one also sees two porcelain vases, each held by one sergeant. These vases must have had contained perfume and amber, which were among the gifts to the sultan.[739] Although Levni was more detailed in his composition of the scene, it should be mentioned that he made some additions that are unmentioned in the text or in archival documents. For example, he depicted six rifles in his painting, yet according to the sources, five rifles were given to the sultan.[740]

According to the archival documents and narratives, the green colored and fur-lined robe that was presented to the sultan, was a special kind, which was covered by green broadcloth and lined with new, black fox fur.[741] To highlight the preciousness of this fur-lined robe, Vehbi stated that it was worth 28 purses of *ġurūş*.[742] Besides this robe, various furs were also presented to the sultan by the grand vizier, which might be seen as the manifestation of the luxury of the gifts of the grand vizier.[743] Two *taḫta* (a sheet of fur sewed and prepared for use in lining) sable fur, one *taḫta* lynx fur, two *taḫta* ermine furs and four robes that were covered by dark brownish green, red, blue and dark blue broadcloth, respectively, and lined with fur made of pieces from the back of the neck of wolf or fox (*cilḳafā*), fur from the belly of an animal (*nāfe*), fur of the throat (*boġaz*), and white fox furs were also given.[744] Apart from these, bundles of colorful silk textiles of various types and some edible gifts such as various types of confectionaries existed in the huge gift package of the grand vizier.

[739] Vehbi gives different amounts for these, yet I have followed the declaration of the gift register. TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 3a, 3b.
[740] TSMA.d. 9561.
[741] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 3a; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 490.
[742] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 490.
[743] For the symbolic associations of fur and fur line garments in Ottoman court see Tezcan, "Furs and Skins"; Atasoy et al. *İpek*, 34, 35.
[744] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 3a. Vehbi also mentions these gifts but he does not note their colors.

Although all gifts of the grand vizier seem to have been mentioned in the text of Vehbi in almost the same order as the gift registers of the treasury, strikingly he omitted the first ranking gift, which was a mid-sized *ḳıṭʿa* (calligraphic specimen) *Kelām-ı Şerīf* by the renowned calligrapher, Şeyh Hamdullah, as it was clearly stated in treasury's registers.[745] As Sultan Ahmed III himself was a calligrapher and was also known for his love of the art of calligraphy,[746] the symbolic value of the gift must have been immense, which explains why this gift was noted in the first order in the gift registers of the 1720 festival, before the mention of any other luxurious gifts.

Apart from presenting gifts to the sultan, the grand vizier also gave valuable gifts to members of the imperial family including the crown princes and the women. The gifts of the crown princes were composed of books including illuminated Koran copies and Divan of certain poets such as Kemal-i Hucendi, Şeyh Sadi and Gazi Murad Han, horses and jeweled dagger or clock. For the imperial women, he mostly gave luxury textiles.

These luxurious and splendid gifts of the grand vizier are eulogized in the text of Vehbi. Interestingly, Vehbi compared these gifts with gifts of all former grand viziers, particularly the gifts of Sinan Pasha, who was the grand vizier to Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595) during the time of the 1582 festival, and the gifts of Köprülüzade Ahmed Pasha, who was the grand vizier during the time of the 1675 festival. While Ahmed Pasha's gifts were inferior to those of other grand viziers, Sinan Pasha's gifts, as Vehbi said, were considered superior to all until the present

[745] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 2b: "Bā ḫaṭṭ-ı Ḥamdullah el maʿrūf bi-ibni'ş-şeyḫ, saġīr ḳıṭʿa Kelām-ı Şerīf." On this famous calligrapher see Ünver, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah;* Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*; Idem, *Şeyh Hamdullah Hattı.* Tülay Artan has unearthed that among the inheritance registers of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha, one sees a number of calligraphy albums of Karahisari and other renowned calligraphers. So, during the festival Ibrahim Pasha might have presented to the sultan one such piece of calligraphic sample from his own collection. See Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin," 309, n. 44.

[746] Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) As a Calligrapher."

time. However, according to Vehbi, Sinan Pasha's famous gifts could not even match half the value of the gifts of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha.[747] This comparison is significant as it explicitly articulates that the planners of the festival might have perceived their festival comparable to those two circumcision festivals that were held in 1582 and 1675. Moreover, this statement of Vehbi further implies that the 1582 festival might have been the ideological reference point in the minds of the planners of this festival. Indeed, throughout his narrative Vehbi occasionally compared also some other aspects of the 1720 festival such as the spectacle of the games and shows with the 1582 festival. After these comparisons, Vehbi always concluded that whatever happened during the 1720 festival, was five times greater than that of the 1582.[748] Thus, at least according to the official narrative of the festival surpassing the pomp of the 1582 festival seems to have been one of the motives behind the staging of this festival.

In addition to these, through a comparison of the gifts of the grand vizier with the other grand vizier's gifts, Vehbi might have intended to highlight the extraordinary generosity and power of his actual patron. As Vehbi said, unlike many of his colleagues, the intention of the grand vizier was not the collection of property or possession of wealth. Rather, his main wish was giving service to the sultan through his life and his material belongings, and displaying his loyalty.[749] Then, according to the official narrative of the festival, these tremendously luxurious gifts of the grand vizier signified the great commitment and loyalty of the grand vizier towards the sultan.

[747] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 494.
[748] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 642.
[749] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 494: "maḳṣūd-ı mevlūdları cemʿ-i māl ve iddiḫār-ı menāl olmayub ancaḳ ṣevketlü, ḳudretlü, mehābetlü ṣehriyār-ı ʿālem efendimiz ḥażretlerine māl u cān ile ḫidmet ve iḫlās ile iẓhār-ı ʿubūdiyyet oldıġı bedīdārdır."

4.4.2 Gifts of the guildsmen

Apart from the dignitaries and officials of the court, the guildsmen of the city also presented gifts to the sultan during the 1720 festival. Vehbi and Hafız Mehmed in their narratives noted the names of 47 guilds for the guilds' gift presentation, which began on the sixth day of the festival and continued on the eight, ninth, tenth and eleventh days.[750] However, as will be discussed later, the archival documents indicate that these guilds were accompanied by a number of subsidiary guilds that were referred simply as subsidiary (*yamaḳ*). While all of the subsidiary guilds were obliged to share the expenses for the preparation of the gifts and parade shows, only a few seem to have participated in the parade with their master guild.

Just after the guilds paraded from the festival space on their preordained days, each guild's steward presented their prepared gifts to the sultan. Vehbi in his narrative mentioned that these gifts were "the customary gifts"[751] of these guildsmen, which implies that there was an established practice that was followed during these kinds of occasions. A relevant question that should be raised at this point is whether these customary gifts were recorded elsewhere or not. An undated petition written by the guildsmen of Istanbul strikingly illuminates this matter. In the petition, the guildsmen of Istanbul asked the court to issue a copy of the gift registers of the former festival (the 1675 imperial circumcision festival in Edirne) that were kept at the imperial chancery by the chief marshal.[752] One also sees the imperial order at the left margin of the page, which orders the clerks to issue a copy from the records of

[750] This daily ordinance of the guilds was actually different during the phase of the preparations of the festival. This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
[751] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 690: "mu'tād-ı ḳadim üzere hediyyeleri olan ….."
[752] BOA. B.DŞM. SRH. 8/59: "Devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Bu ḳulları İstānbūlda vāḳi' eṣnāf fuḳarāları olub ālāy-ı (?) ordu-ı sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitānda erbāb-ı ḥiref ṭarafından rikāb-ı hümāyuna verilecek hediyye-i ḥaḳirānemiziñ miḳdārı ve iḥtiyātı ma'lūm olmaġla bundan muḳaddem sūr-ı hümāyūnda esnāf ṭarafından verilen hedāyeyi müş'ir bāşı muḥāsebede muḳayyed olan defterden bir sūret iḫrāc ve şimdiden tedāriḳine mübāşeret içün yedlerimize āḥz-ı (?) şerḥiye bābında ol fermān sa'adetlü sulṭānım ḥazretiniñdir. Eṣnāf-ı İstānbūl.

the chief chancery.[753] Thus, from this undated document one understands that before the start of the festival upon the request of the guildsmen a copy was made after the former gift registers and then this information was conveyed to the guildsmen. But how did this process work?

An extensive book of registers that records the gifts of the guildsmen resolves this question.[754] The caption of this book of registers reads, "This is the book of the gifts of the guildsmen that will be given during the imperial festival which will begin in the first day of the month *Zi'l-ḳa'de*" (4 September, 1720). The registers also include a date, which is 18 *Şevvāl* 1132 (23 August, 1720), which juxtaposes the preparatory phase of the festival.[755] In addition, a note at the beginning of the book of registers addresses *bezistān ketḫüdāsı* (the steward of the merchants of the covered bazaar). It indicates that upon an imperial order each guild should be informed about their customary gifts and the steward of each guild was supposed record these gifts in the new book of the imperial festival. The note also bears a date, which is 25 *Şevvāl* 1132 (30 August, 1720).[756] Thus, it was inserted in situ after the book was prepared.

When the aforementioned petition of the guildsmen and this book of registers are evaluated together, it emerges that this book must have been prepared on the demand of the guildsmen. After its preparation, the book of registers (or its copy) was delivered to the *bezistān ketḫüdāsı*, who was in charge of maintaining the communication between the guildsmen and the court on that matter. After getting to know about their customary gifts, stewards of the guilds were supposed to register

[753] BOA. B.DŞM. SRH. 8/59: "(sah) mucibince baş muḥāsebeden sūret verilmek buyuruldı."
[754] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169.
[755] Ibid. "İş bu biñ yüz otuz iki senesi Zi'l-ḳa'desi ġurresinde ibtidā olunacaḳ sūr-ı hümāyūn içün ḥużur-ı hümāyūna eṣnāf ṭaraflarından verilecek hedāyānıñ defteridir. Fi 18 Şevvāl sene 1132."
[756] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169: "Bezistān ketḫüdāsı işbu defterde olan eṣnāflardan fermān olunan hedāyālarını her eṣnāf ḥaẓır ve amāde eyleyüb verecekleri hedāyāyı her eṣnāf defter-i sūruñ yeni defterine ḳayd itdirmeleriçün ketḫüdālarını saġir idib tenbih ü te'kīd eyleyesiz. Fermān-ı şerīf olmaġın mucibince ḳayd olunmuşdır. 25 Şevvāl sene 1132."

those gifts in the new book of the imperial festival that was kept by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival, Halil Efendi. This process leaves little space for possible mistakes that might have been made in determining the customary gifts of the guildsmen.

Strikingly, these gifts of the guildsmen are almost identical to the gifts that were presented to the sultan by the guildsmen of Edirne and Istanbul during the 1675 festival.[757] This means that, for the gifts of the guildsmen, the registers of the former festival were attentively followed, as opposed to the gifts of the dignitaries and officials, whose gifts display variation from the previous festival. However, when compared with the gifts of the guildsmen in the 1582 festival, some major changes can be discerned. Mostly strikingly, in the 1720 festival, as opposed to the 1582 festival, among the gifts of the guildsmen one does not see any books.[758]

During the 1720 festival, the types of gifts of the guildsmen varied. Broadly speaking, metal objects such as gold/silver trays, candlesticks, bowls, ewers, washbowls, incensory and rose water flasks, and textiles are frequently seen among the gifts of many of the guilds. Yet, the number of these objects and whether they were subsided with some others change from one guild to another. For example, some guildsmen could afford simply a metal incensory and rose water flask, such as the guild of tinsmiths, some guilds such as candle makers, could afford only a pair of scissors and a silver candlestick. One sees the depiction of this silver candlestick in one of the paintings of Levni (Fig. A39). On the verso page of his representation of the sixth day's guild parade, one sees the steward of the guild of candle makers presenting a candlestick to the steward of the doorkeepers (*ḳāpıcılar ketḫüdāsı*). In the front line, various members of the guild were depicted while holding burning

[757] For the transcription of the gift register of the 1675 festival see Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival."
[758] Hedda Reindl-Kiel makes this observation. Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission."

candles. In the painting of Ibrahim, opposed to Levni's painting, one does not see this candlestick, as he did not often depict gifts of the guildsmen in his guild parade compositions.

Other guilds' gift packages included both metal objects and additional items, such as the guild of grocers and their subsidiaries, whose gifts were made of metal as well as dry and fresh fruits and flowers.[759] The herbalists/perfumers' gift package was similar, as they presented metal objects, spices and confectionaries carried on trays. Gifts of some guilds, on the other hand, were related solely to their craft. For instance, beeswax dealers gave only candles as gifts to the sultan. Likewise, sword and knife makers presented swords and knives to the sultan, and paper makers prepared paper, scissors and inkwells as gifts to the sultan.[760] Interestingly, Vehbi additionally mentions a fan among the gifts of the paper makers.[761] Nevertheless, according to archival documents, this gift was not presented to the sultan. Thus, Vehbi seems to have made an addition to the gifts of paper makers.

The limited variety and the modesty of some guilds' gifts imply that these gifts must have been determined according to the finances of the guilds. To put it very simply, some relatively richer guilds seem to have prepared more expensive and luxurious gifts, and the poorer ones[762] more modest objects. Indeed, certain wealth disparities seem to have been observed even among the members of the same guild, as reflected through their contribution fees for the preparation of these gifts.

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[759] The type of gifts of the guildsmen is same in the treasury's gift register and in the aforementioned preparatory book of registers, which recorded gifts of the guildsmen. Vehbi however in some instances mentions further gifts that were unmentioned in these books. As this latter book of registers solely focuses on the gifts of the guildsmen I have based on this book for my references. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 3a, 3b.
[760] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 14a; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 6a.
[761] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 631.
[762] On wealth differences between different guilds and among the members of the same guild see Ji, "Rich Artisans and Poor Merchants?"; Genç, "Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth Century."

However, broadly speaking, preparing these gifts and the parade shows meant a financial burden for many of the guilds, a point which will be elaborated below. [763]

Some guilds seem to have presented real luxuries as their gifts to the sultan. For example, Old Bazaar merchants, who took part in the parades on the sixth day of the festival, presented an emerald and diamond inlayed belt, a porcelain bowl and compote plate, various types of Frankish satin and English broadcloth.[764] The gifts of the chief merchants of the imperial court, who were in charge of overall palace purchases, were even more extensive. According to the registers, these merchants presented various expensive silk textiles, brocaded dining napkins, cushions, shawls, a golden washbowl and a ewer, a tray, sapphire inlayed porcelain dishes and sapphire inlayed middle sized bowls.[765] The silk manufacturers of Istanbul on the other hand, gave real luxuries as their gifts to the sultan. Their gifts were composed of the jewelry including a diamond inlayed belt, pearl decorated golden (robe) fastening, five golden row of horses tethered in line and five golden bridles.[766] In the related painting of Levni (Fig. A40) at the last row of the recto page, one sees two guildsmen carrying this belt and the fastening in trays.

Likewise, gifts of the goldsmiths were composed of jewelry as well as gold and silver objects such as giant candlesticks, a golden ewer, a tray, bowls, an incensory and a rose water flask. Particularly interesting is the mention of a fan, which was decorated with emeralds, diamonds and pearls, a jewel-inlayed shield and an alarm clock, pieces that were not seen among the gifts of other guildsmen.[767] In his painting of the tenth day's parade, Levni put the guild of the goldsmiths in the

[763] Suraiya Faroqhi has formerly drawn attention to this aspect of the guilds' contributions to the imperial festivals. See Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned A Great Feast, Was Everyone in Festive Mood."
[764] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 9b; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 2b; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 564.
[765] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 11b; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 5b; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme.*
[766] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 12a; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 4a; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 618.
[767] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 14a; BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, fol. 6a; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 633.

first line, even though they were parading in the last order, according to the archival documents.[768] Perhaps Levni intended to foreground some of the luxurious gifts of this group (Fig. A41). On the recto page of his painting at the bottom right, one sees members of the guild carrying some of their aforementioned gifts. One can easily recognize the fan, the shield, and giant candlesticks, which were among the most notable gifts of this group.

As a last category, some guilds' gifts included elaborately designed kiosks and palanquins. Particularly interesting is the kiosk that was made by the guild of carpenters, who took part in the parades, on the ninth day of the festival. According to Vehbi, this kiosk, which was covered with red satin textile, paraded with the guild members and after their parade it was given as a gift to the sultan. Indeed, in the related painting of Ibrahim, one sees this kiosk in the front line, which was depicted as a two-storied structure that was carried by oxen. Afterwards, the steward of the guild paraded while riding on his horse (Fig. A42). Despite the mention of Vehbi and depiction of Ibrahim, for some reason this gift was not recorded in the archival registers of the 1720 festival. Nevertheless, according to the gift registers of the previous circumcision festival, carpenters presented a similar kind of kiosk to the sultan also during this occasion. Since this festival's gift registers were consulted and taken as a reference for the 1720 festival, then very possibly clerks mistakenly omitted this gift when recording the gifts of the carpenters or when copying their draft notes.

[768] TSMA.d. 9561, fol. 14a. Although Vehbi and Hafiz Mehmed largely seem to have followed the ordinance of the guilds in the way they were mentioned in the archival documents, occasionally he moves out of this pattern. For example they mentioned goldsmiths as the fourth guild in the ninth days' parade. Divergences between these sources are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4.2.1 The burden of the obligatory contribution: Tensions among guilds

It is well known that, at least from the sixteenth century onwards, craftsmen and artisans were obliged to provide an increasing range of craft service and for payment of extra taxes for the preparations of war.[769] This obligation was also put in practice during the times of imperial celebrations and festivals, when the guildsmen of the city had to present gifts and enact sumptuous parades. As Suraiya Faroqhi once put it, due to this burden during the time of an imperial festival, everyone might not have been "in a festive mood."[770] This refers particularly to the situation of most of the guildsmen of the city, who had to contribute to the festival by enacting parade shows, by presenting gifts to the sultan, and by lending their copper utensils.

Some examples from the 1720 festival indicate that covering these expenses was difficult for some guilds. Thus, occasionally tensions occurred between guild members. A previously discussed case in point by Suraiya Faroqhi is about the complaints of broadcloth sellers.[771] During the phase of the preparations of the festival, they brought a case to the judge of Istanbul. According to the registers of the 1675 festival, broadcloth sellers were a subsidiary to the merchants of the Istanbul *bedesten*, and these guilds used to make their gifts together. However, this time the chief merchant to the court (in charge of overall palace purchases) said that broadcloth sellers were his subsidiary guild, and on this grounds that he wanted them to make an extra contribution. Broadcloth sellers opposed this demand and asked the judge that they should be expected to make the same contribution as in the 1675 festival. After the examination of the previous registers, their demand was granted.

[769] Faroqhi, *Artisans of the Empire*. During 1651 artisans of Istanbul put forth a civilian revolt, which asked for the reduction of the newly imposed taxes. Also see Ji, "Artisans' Networks and Revolt."
[770] Here I refer to the title of Suraiya Faroqhi's article "When a Sultan Planned a Great Feast Was Everyone in Festive Mood?"
[771] Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 400, 401; Idem, "When a Sultan Planned." The original document is at *İstanbul Bāb Mahkemesi* no. 124, fol. 204a; the document dates 26 *Şevvāl* 1132 (31 August, 1720).

In the document, the expected contribution of this group was in the form of textiles. Contrary to this situation, however, as will be discussed below, often the contributions of the guilds were monetary. Thus, some guilds were making their contributions in kind or else they were supposed to cover the cost of certain items.

Another issue seems to have occurred with guild of green grocers (*yaş yemişciler*) on their contribution for the 1720 festival. According to the court records, the head of this guild was the official (who was) in charge of purchasing foodstuff for the palace kitchen (*pazarbāşı*). The representative of this official had to cover the whole contribution of the green grocers, which was 800 *ġurūş*.[772] After the end of the festival, he wanted to be reimbursed by the guild's members, but he was unable to collect the money, which was the reason the case went to the court.

The payment of the obligatory contribution was also a problem for sherbet makers/sellers (*şerbetçiyān*). Sherbet makers/sellers were a subsidiary of the guild of grocers (*baḳḳālān*) and a disagreement broke out between these guilds after the end of the festival.[773] As one understands from an archival document, the disagreement between the guilds could not have been solved, so, the grocers, went to the *qadı* court. To put it briefly, the conflict arouse because sherbet makers/sellers refused to pay their contribution fee for the 1720 festival. Their claim was that they had prepared four tents for the imperial campaign of the year 1128 (1716). Thus, they wanted their exemption from the contribution for the 1720 festival.

From notes that were inserted on the margins of the document, one understands that the previous registers were consulted to resolve the issue. Accordingly, on 2 *Cemāẕiy'el-āḫir* 1133 (31 March, 1721), almost six months after

[772] The document is formerly discussed by Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 399, 400; Idem, "When a Sultan Planned." The original document is at *Istanbul Bāb Mahkemesi* no. 124, fol 112b, the document dates *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1132/January 1720.
[773] BOA. AE.SAMD. III. 3/220, 1, 2. The final decision of the qadı of Istanbul was made on 1133 C 12 (10 April, 1721).

the end of the festival, a copy was made after the registers of the campaign of the year 1128 (1716). In the registers of this campaign, it was recorded that the guild of grocers had 22 subsidiary guilds including halva sellers, sherbet sellers, fresh fruit sellers, dry fruit sellers, *saleb* (a hot drink made from powdered root of *salep*) sellers, vinegar and pickle sellers, grape juice sellers, the fishermen of Tobhane, and grocers of Tobhane, Galata, Kasımpaşa, Eyüb. For the campaign of 1716 most of these guilds, including also sherbet makers/sellers, were supposed to make monetary contributions. As one sees in the document, these contributions were different for each subsidiary guild. Accordingly, the guild of sherbet makers/sellers had paid 28,000 *akçe* for the 1716 military campaign, which was an amount that seems to have been higher than the average. Some subsidiary guilds, on the other hand, seem to have been exempted from the contribution as no fee was recorded beneath their names. These guilds such as green grocer sellers (*yāş yemiş ṣatıcılar* as opposed to *yāş yemişciler* that was mentioned as a separate guild), egg sellers (*'umurṭacılar*) and gardeners (*baġçevānlar*) might be itinerant salesmen who did not have established shops.[774]

After investigating these registers, the judge of Istanbul made his decision. Accordingly, as sherbet makers/sellers had prepared four tents for the military campaign of the year 1716, this time their contribution amount, would be covered by their master guild, the grocers.[775] Thus, although grocers brought this case to the court in the hope of collecting the contribution fee of sherbet makers/sellers, their demand was dismissed. This detailed case is illuminating in many respects. First of all, it indicates that some subsidiary guilds tried to find ways to be exempted from the payment of their contribution fees. Secondly, extracts from previous registers

[774] Faroqhi, "Supplying the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Istanbul," 288. For example, apart from those fruit sellers with established shops Evliya mentions the existence of itinerant salesmen.
[775] BOA. AE. SAMD. III. 3/220, 2.

show that the contribution fees changed from one subsidiary guild to another. As has been mentioned above, quite possibly these variable amounts were determined according to the financial condition of the guilds. Indeed, such a hierarchy must have also been observed among the members of the same guild.[776] Still, these instances indicate that for some guilds, making these contributions was a burden. Although archival documents seem to not have represented all of these conflicts, the aforementioned few examples point out a relatively unknown aspect behind the obligatory contributions of the guildsmen, who not only prepared gifts but also had to stage pompous shows and enact performances during the course of the festival.

4.5 Conclusion

While an imperial festival was a perfect occasion for the display and distribution of the benefaction of the sultan, gifting was one of the most explicit forms through which this benefaction was handed out. Throughout the 1720 festival, monetary grants were given, promotions were made, and luxury robes were bestowed upon dignitaries and some officials. Moreover, thousands of boys were fed, clothed and circumcised. So, under different forms and in varying degrees the benefaction of the sultan touched almost all participants of the festival.

Sometimes receiving these gifts simply meant financial support, sometimes they conferred prestige to the beneficiary and sometimes they enhanced or marked one's social status. Certainly, the semiotic aspect of gifting was most explicitly manifested in the form of garments. As has been discussed in this chapter, rank differences between dignitaries and officials were vividly enacted through the material and form of the robe of honor. Similarly, circumcised boys were

[776] In the aforementioned case of *yaş yemişciler*, the wealthy member had to pay 2.5 *ġurūş*, those of middling wealth 1.5 and poorer ones 1 *ġurūş*. Faroqhi, "The Ottoman Sultan and His Guests," 400.

differentiated among themselves through their clothing. While for the robes of honor, the most expensive and prestigious textiles were preferred, parallel to that for the more distinguished group of circumcised boys more luxurious textiles were chosen. This concern of the Ottomans towards re-marking and repetitively highlighting the social hierarchies was also evident in food-related rites and they were also attentively observed in other types of gifts that have been discussed in this chapter.

Besides the types of gifts, the identities of the beneficiaries were also discussed in the present chapter. It has been mentioned that the narratives of the festival provided information exclusively on the sultan, dignitaries and high-ranking officials of the court. Yet, when it comes to the lower-ranking officials and especially to the non-title holding beneficiaries of the festival such as the circumcised boys, one encounters little information. Despite this obvious lack of information in the narratives of the festival, archival documents provide very detailed information on this socially undifferentiated group of beneficiaries. On the basis of these documents, this chapter provided substantial information on the social composition of these thousands of young beneficiaries. In addition, the documents also enabled us to discuss the registration process of these boys into the books of the chief clerk of the festival.

The introduction of these sources into the literature and a brief discussion of their contents are important in two respects. First of all, a consideration of these young beneficiaries within the program and organization of the festival adds a fascinating social dimension to the study of an imperial festival. The previously unknown archival documents indicated that the registration of these boys and their provisioning of clothing were significant concern of the organizers. Indeed, the visibility of these boys within the festival space was also significant with regard to

the ideological motives that shaped festival. Even if the narratives underestimated the presence of the circumcised boys, this was a public circumcision festival, and these boys were its most obvious beneficiaries.

Secondly, the extent of these registers on the circumcised boys once again designates the eighteenth-century Ottoman scribal service's concern with documentation and registration of each detail. Indeed, these registers show that after an initial process of registration, clerks prepared more organized and systematic registers. The daily organization of the names of the circumcised boys and their division according to the districts of the city exemplify this point.

While the sultan donated various gifts to a large group of beneficiaries, these people also had to present gifts to the sultan. This chapter also addressed this non-spontaneous and reciprocal aspect of the gifting by discussing the gifts of dignitaries and the guildsmen to the sultan. It has been discussed that for determining these "customary" gifts, the previous registers and books of the protocol were consulted. Yet, a comparison with these former gift registers showed that occasionally changes might be observed in the types of these gifts that officials and guildsmen presented to the sultan. In this respect, following the custom did not mean inalterability.

As far as the gifts of dignitaries are concerned, presenting splendid gifts to the sultan was considered to be a manifestation of one's loyalty and commitment to him. In addition, these gifts manifested the status and power of the presenter. As has been discussed, one can certainly deduce a hierarchy (in variety of gifts and their worth) in the gifts of higher-ranking officials and middle-ranking ones. Yet, among the gifts of the officials with the same rank, one does not see dramatic differences. This is to say, gift packages of the provincial governors or of viziers were often composed of similar items, with similar quantities. Nevertheless, there was an

obvious exception to this situation. A case in point were the gifts of the grand vizier, which were, according to the official narrative of the festival, not only superior to gifts of other viziers but also to all previous grand viziers from the Ottoman past. The extraordinary luxury, abundance and quality of the grand vizier's gifts must have symbolized his more distinguished position among the other dignitaries of the court and further highlighted his great commitment to the sultan. Thus, even if what these gifts symbolized was the same as the gifts of the other officials, their marked luxury served for the reinforcement of these messages.

When it comes to the gifts of the guildsmen, on the other hand, it appears that their gifts displayed a great discrepancy in terms of their types and values. While some guilds presented modest gifts to the sultan composed either of some metal objects or made of simple objects related to their crafts, some others gave real luxuries. These material differences between the gifts of the guildsmen must have been related to the differences between the financial conditions of the guilds. However, it is worth noting that, at least from the perspective of the organizers of the festival and the clerks (who kept the archival registers), these gifts of the guildsmen comprised a single category. In this respect, I argue that whether a precious piece of jewelry or a simple candlestick, within the system of signification embodied and engendered by the festival, these gifts basically symbolized the gratitude of the guildsmen in return for the sultan's benefaction.

This chapter also evaluated a few cases, which indicated that, for some of the guilds participating in the sultan's festival might have meant a burden. While some of the guilds seem to have struggled to reduce their contribution fees or even to be exempted, some others had to cover the remaining amounts to prepare their gifts and parade shows. Indeed, unlike in previous imperial festivals, this time guilds did not

seem to have received substantial amounts of monetary grants from the sultan, which would have compensated for some of their expenses. One expects to find more of such cases that articulate tensions among the guilds and the court. Nevertheless, despite my extensive research on archival documents on the subject, a few cases, some of which indeed have already been introduced into the literature, are found. Taking into consideration the possibility of the loss of some of the relevant documents, this surprising lack might have denoted that perhaps the tensions were generally solved inside the guilds. Thus, they might not have been documented.

In conclusion, this chapter has argued that, unlike many of the participants and beneficiaries of the festival, the guildsmen of the city were in a disadvantaged position. They were obliged to make a number of contributions to the sultan's festival, but certainly the participation of the guildsmen in the imperial festivals did not mean simply material gain for the Ottoman court. Perhaps more than that, their presence in the festivals was significant for representing the vibrant culture of the city through the display of their material culture and through their oral and theatrical performances, a point that introduced the topic and questions of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC PERFORMANCES DURING THE 1720 IMPERIAL FESTIVAL

The enactment of sportive, musical and theatrical games, contests, races, displays and dancing are indispensible aspects of all festive occasions across cultures. In his seminal work on the morphology of festivals, Alessandro Falassi explains the functional and semiotic aspects behind such enactments.[777] As he puts it, besides their entertainment and spectacle function, such events provided invaluable opportunities for performers to display their skills and to be rewarded in return. From a semiotic aspect on the other hand, such "festival competitions may be seen as a metaphor for the emergence and establishment of power,"[778] as only the winner or the most talented one takes the reward. By singling out the winners or by labeling some shows or displays as outstanding and giving them prizes creates a hierarchical order among that group of previously undifferentiated performers. Thus, while creating a pompous spectacle to the audience, festival contests, displays and games indirectly reflect upon the hierarchical nature of the social structure of a community or group.

Can one approach all these festive games, combats, displays and spectacles under one category? One of the pioneers of performance studies Richard Schechner comes up with a broad definition of the concept of the performance.[779] As he puts it, in business, sports, everyday life, and in the arts there are performances. In business and sports, to perform means to achieve, in the arts it means to put on a show, to play

[777] Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology."
[778] Ibid, 6.
[779] Richard Schechner first introduced this inclusive definition of the performance in his article that was published in 1966. Schechner, "Approaches to Theory/Criticism"; Idem, *Performance Studies*. For an overview of the literature and its implications in Ottoman studies see Öztürkmen, "Performance in the Ottoman World."

and in everyday life it means to show off. This is to say, "just about anything can be studied "as" a performance."[780] Thus, it may include plays, games, sports, rituals, music and dance as well as roles in everyday life. But to understand what is deemed performance in a particular society, Schehchner adds that "something is a performance when historical and social context, convention, usage and tradition say it "is."

Having this wide definition in mind, one should ask what could be deemed performance in Ottoman celebrations and festivals? When one looks at the contemporary festival books of the time, it is seen that a specific terminology was used to define some act and events such as musical and dance shows, firework displays, theatrical, martial and sportive enactments, processions, combats, races and games. These were defined as a game, play, spectacle, or thing to be seen and watched, and joyful display through the words *oyun*, *temāşā*, *şenlik*, *seyir*, *seyrān*, *iẓhār-ı meserret.* These acts, plays, spectacles, games or displays that were seen and watched, can be conceived under the concept of the performance. In addition to these, one might also include sumptuous guild parades and the oral chanting that were enacted during celebratory events and festivals to this category. Although these events were not defined with a similar terminology, by following the definition of Schechner, they can also be seen "as" a performance. In this chapter, I will approach all of these games, displays, plays and oral enactments under the general and inclusive category of a performance and refer those who enacted them as performers.

Throughout the course of the sixteenth century and more visibly in the last decades of the century, the imperial capital was a place of urban spectacle. As early as the first decades of the sixteenth century, some Ottoman writers and foreign

[780] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 30.

visitors to the city mentioned the presence of public performances in the daily life of the city. For example, in the sixteenth century, Latifi in his *Risāle-i Evṣāf-ı Istānbūl* (c. 1518) (*Treatise on the Qualities of Istanbul*) and German visitors Lewenklaw and Lubenau in their travelogues point to a particular site in the city, Tahtakale, where various kinds of performers came together and displayed their talents to spectators.[781] Especially, the detailed narrative of Latifi on the players of Tahtakale (*luʿbet-bāzān-ı Tahtü'l kal'a*) is particularly striking as it mentions the names of various performers including acrobats, jugglers, dancers, musicians, wrestlers which later one sees in the imperial festivals.[782] Thus, these performers and their shows were already a part of the culture of the imperial city in the early sixteenth century.

In the early reign of Süleyman and more markedly in the last decades of the sixteenth century, however the imperial capital witnessed an increasing pace of courtly spectacles including not only imperial celebrations but also processions to Friday prayers, boat processions along the Golden Horn and the Bosporus, and excursions to royal gardens, in which the sultan was accompanied by hierarchically arranged and elaborately costumed court officials, pages, dignitaries.[783] While these displays temporarily turned the imperial capital city into a forum of celebration, as Gülru Necipoğlu has put it, they can also be perceived as "extensions of royal ceremonial into the larger urban fabric of Istanbul."[784] This growing visibility of the

[781] Latifi, *Evsaf-ı İstanbul*; the accounts of the sixteenth century German visitors Lewenklaw and Lubenau are cited in And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 48.
[782] Latifi, *Evsaf-ı İstanbul,* 51-54.
[783] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu draws attention to Ottoman court painters' response to this increasing pace of urban ceremonial and to the increasing visibility of urbanites through depiction of some of these spectacles such as royal processions in their illustrated official histories. Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın, Şehirlilerin Resmi."
[784] Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 30.

royal ceremonial must have also brought about a relatively closer dialogue between the courtly and urban ceremonial forms.[785]

As mentioned in the Introduction, the reign of Ahmed III was also noted for the conspicuous use of ceremonial forms "to engender fresh images of dynastic power and permanence."[786] As far as the grandly conceived circumcision festival is concerned, the pictorial and textual narratives show how these spectacles extended outside the city walls, as there were two ceremonial spaces for the festival—one at land and one near the sea. While the sultan, courtiers and some performers were occasionally moving along the shores of the Golden Horn, festivities continued at Okmeydanı during day and night, which means that a larger group of spectators was able to enjoy these shows.

As has been discussed before, the move along the shores of the city reflects a broader cultural trend related to the novel forms of dynastic visibility, reconfigurations in urban space, and the changing patterns of sociability.[787] Parallel to the emergence of new types of leisurely activities in the city, sightseeing in Istanbul had also become a more noticeable motif in the topographical accounts of the city by such writers as Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan during the

[785] Here, it should be stated that I do not perceive the Ottoman court culture of the elite and the dynasty, and urban culture as inherently differentiated categories. First of all, there were various people moving in between these realms and neither of these was socially or even economically homogenous. Yet, still I find the term Ottoman court culture meaningful as it denotes a linguistically and intellectually shared culture and that it also refers to common patterns in social life and material culture of these people. For the revisionist literature on the conventional binary between the "elite" and "popular" culture see Burke, *Varieties of cultural history*, 183-211; idem, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 23-64; Mukerji and Schudson eds. *Rethinking Popular Culture*. For the Ottoman historiography see the seminal essay of Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own," 7-25; Necipoğlu, "A Canon for Arts."

[786] Artan, "Royal Weddings and Grand Vizierate," 355.

[787] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life"; Idem, "Forms and Forums of Expression"; Idem,"Istanbul in the 18th century"; Idem, "Arts and Architecture"; Idem, "Eyüp'ün Bir Diğer Çehresi"; Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*; Idem, "Public Spaces and the Garden Culture," 277-312; Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night".

seventeenth century.[788] Seen from this perspective, in addition to various shows of performers and the visual-material display of wealth, the beauty of the city was also something to be seen during the occasion of urban and imperial celebrations.

In the secondary literature on Ottoman court celebrations and festivals; public performances are often studied on the basis of the *sūrnāmes*, testimonies of European observers, and more rarely, paintings.[789] As has been mentioned before, one of the most significant obstacles related to these sources is that *sūrnāme* texts often do not explain the material aspect of these shows or the identity of their performers; rather they focus on their impact over the spectators. The foreign observers, on the other hand, tended to approach the public performances with a good deal of prejudice and to mix their comments with a heavy dose of moral criticisms.[790]

Due to the limitations of these sources, until now, the identity of performers of the Ottoman festivals and the material aspect behind their enactments has remained unknown. This leaves us with some basic but important questions that must be answered: Who were these performers? What kind of shows did they enact? How did the performers come to the festival and partake in the festival's program, what did they receive in return for their participation in the event? What kinds of gadgets or items were used in their shows? This chapter will answer these questions on the basis of the heretofore unknown archival documents on the subject. Accordingly, the

[788] Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night"; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I; Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi.*

[789] Although the European observers to the city, the mid-seventeenth century author Evliya Çelebi and authors of short *sūrnāmes* of the early eighteenth century occasionally mention shows of performers of the city during the time of royal processions and other royal celebrations, they do not provide much information on their morphological details. Yet, sometimes drawings made by the contemporary European observers and some album paintings that were made by local painters, which were intended chiefly for the foreign customers, include scenes of urban entertainment. For a comprehensive survey of these textual and visual sources on Ottoman courtly as well as urban ceremonial forms see And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*.

[790] Metin And in his studies provides an extensive record of such European observers' written accounts on the Ottoman festivals and court ceremonies. The most comprehensive among his various publications is the latest publication of his famous book entitled *40 Gün 40 Gece* (*40 Days 40 Nights*).

present chapter will focus on three main issues related to the social composition of the performers of the festival, the material culture behind the enactment of their shows and the staging of sumptuous guild parades in the 1720 festival respectively.

The first part will start with the performers of the festival. Through a discussion of their numbers, skills, identities as well as their selection and integration into the festival's program this section aims at shedding light on these unknown group of contributors of the festival. Their differentiation in archival documents through the amount of benefits or wages they received also helps us to gain an insight on their diversified patterns of organization.

The second part will explore the court's provisioning of materials for the enactment of some festival games. Archival sources indicate that in many cases the court provisioned these objects only after receiving petitions from the performers, which in turn signify the active role of the performers in the festival's program. The joint consideration of empirical data and pictorial representations will further help us to reconstruct some of the games that were staged during the 1720 festival.

The last part will examine the extensive guild parades of the festival from a semiotic and comparative perspective. This section will mainly be concerned with understanding how these parades were integrated into the 1720 festival's schedule. While the archival documents indicate that officials of the festival initially intended to decide on the daily scheduling of the parades and the ordinance of partaking guilds, in the end it seems that this plan was not put in practice. This relatively autonomous aspect of the scheduling and choreography of guild parades is worth paying attention, which will be discussed in the last section.

5.1 Performers in Ottoman imperial festivals

An imperial festival was an extraordinary occasion that provided a great opportunity for socially marginal groups such as dancers, acrobats, jugglers, shadow and puppet players, wrestlers and musicians to benefit from the event. This occurred in the form of finding a future patron for the performer, being rewarded through the bestowal of gold coins and through acquiring some grants and benefits. For example, Vehbi wrote that on the seventh day of the festival during the daytime performances across the Golden Horn, a tightrope walker took this opportunity at its best for showing all his skills to the sultan. He climbed up the rope that was hitched to the Fener wharf on one side and to the Aynalıkavak wharf on the other side. While he was on the top of the rope, he walked masterfully with two swords in his hand and performed some acrobatic moves. This particular moment of the show was captured in one of the paintings of Levni (Fig. A43). As the textual narrative continues, without falling from the rope he walked from one side to the other side and at a certain point close to the Tersane palace, from where the sultan was watching the performances, he jumped to the sea. As this performance had greatly pleased the audience and the sultan, the performer was permitted make a wish that would be granted by the sultan. As Vehbi related in his narratice, the tightrope walker asked for a position from Gümülcine customs office with a daily income of six *aḳçe*, and his wish was granted through the benefaction of the sultan.[791] Indeed, in the imperial purse registers of the sultan for this month, it was recorded that on that day monetary grant of a certain amount was given to a number of men who jumped into the sea from the galleon.[792]

[791] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 581.
[792] TSMA.d. 2363/11, fol. 2a.

The aforementioned tightrope walker must have been among those beneficiaries who received a generous grant from the sultan for their shows on that day.[793]

Sometimes the actual distributor of the material or social benefaction was the grand vizier, Damad Ibrahim Pasha. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the text of Vehbi and its pictorial representations focused on the merits, generosity and power of the grand vizier, who was represented both in text and image almost as the virtual host of the imperial festival. On various occasions the grand vizier distributed benefaction to the festival's functionaries, performers and to the workmen. Vehbi in his narrative, highlighted this situation in various episodes, when the sultan was not physically present at the festival space. As Vehbi mentioned, occasionally the sultan came late to the festival space at Ok Meydanı or sometimes he did not participate in afternoon or night games. On these occasions, the grand vizier acted as his deputy and he distributed material or social benefaction to various people. Sometimes the beneficiaries were the festival's functionaries, such as 22 janissaries, who were assigned to the festival space on the eleventh day of the festival. Hafiz Mehmed mentions that after the heavy rain of the day, seeing how janissaries got wet the grand vizier gave one gold coin and one silver coin to each.[794] And sometimes the beneficiaries were performers such as Hacı Şahin and Hacı Mehmed, whose illusion show, which was enacted by large baskets on the tenth day of the festival, was so much appreciated that the grand vizier gave them gold coins in return for their service.[795]

A particular event that was mentioned in the festival narratives related to this is worth discussing. On the sixth day of the festival, a silver ewer, filled with gold

[793] The document does not mention the number of beneficiaries but it recorded that in totality they received 23 *zolaṭa* (the Ottoman Turkish name given to the Polish silver coin named *ziloti*), which was equivalent to 2,070 *akçe*. See TSMA.d. 2363/11, fol. 2a.
[794] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 218.
[795] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 218; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 636.

coins, was supposed to be hoisted to the top of a tall pole erected on the festival ground at Okmeydanı.[796] Nevertheless, the pole was so high that the workers had to construct scaffolding, which took three days to complete. Just when the work began, a slave working for the imperial dockyard approached the officials and said if the grand vizier would grant him freedom, he could do this task without any scaffolding. When the grand vizier agreed, the slave climbed up to the pole and hoisted the ewer to the top. As the slave kept his promise, the grand vizier freed him and gave him some gold coins. Seeing the generosity of the grand vizier, the slave suddenly uttered the Islamic testimony of faith and converted to Islam. This greatly pleased the grand vizier and as a sign of his benevolence he conferred on him the position of a galleon chieftainship with a daily income of ninety *akçe* and some new clothing.[797] In his textual narrative Vehbi gave almost two pages just for this episode. Indeed, following the textual narrative, in both illustrated copies, is a double-page painting, represented the most dramatic moment of this event, which was the hoisting the ewer to the top of the pole (Fig. A44, A45). Certainly, the insertion of this episode into the text and image in such a detailed fashion served to emphasize certain qualities of the grand vizier, such as mercifulness, generosity and benefaction. Whether this episode took place or not, the author of the *sūrnāme* and the painters urge us to believe that, in the 1720 festival, the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha joined the sultan in the distribution of the benefaction.

As has been mentioned before, in Ottoman imperial festivals there were performances of various kinds, enacted by a diverse group of performers who had different skills. Metin And's studies are still the most comprehensive sources on

[796] This game was one of the indispensible games in Ottoman imperial festivals as one also sees in the 1530, 1582 and 1675 festivals. And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 142.
[797] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 565, 566. Hafız Mehmed however says that the sultan granted him his freedom. Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 202.

these performers—wrestlers, acrobats, jugglers, shadow players, fire work displayers, clowns, animal trainers, puppet players, musicians and dancers.[798] By drawing on a variety of narrative sources but especially on the accounts of the European observers of Ottoman festivals, Metin And draws an outline of the most essential and common types of public performances that were enacted in Ottoman festivals. Hoisting an ewer to the top of a pole, horse races and *cirit* races (a game played on horseback with a stick used as a dart), shows of domesticated and wild animals, musical and dance performances, acrobatic games such as tightrope walking and shows displaying the physical strength of the performers, puppet shows and shadow theatre plays and sumptuous fire work displays were among the most well known and frequent performances.

It has been assumed that some performers who participated in these shows had always been organized in a *ḳol* (literally meaning "the branch," refers to the organization of a group of performers with different skills under the lead of a master).[799] Yet, among the lists of performers who made shows during the 1582 festival, such an organization is not seen.[800] Only the musicians were organized in the form of smaller groups called an assembly (*cemā'at*) or a group/body of men (*bölük).*[801]

By the mid-seventeenth century, however, this organization seems to have become well established. Evliya Çelebi mentions twelve such *ḳol* in Istanbul that made performances during the imperial festivals and celebrations of conquests.[802] These were made up of 200 or 300 men of different skills including musicians, singers, dancers, gesture-voice imitators and players. While some *ḳol* were

[798] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*.
[799] Nutku, *1675 Edirne Şenliği*, 131, n. 8
[800] TSMA.d. 10022.
[801] TSMA.d. 10022, fol. 8a, 7b.
[802] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* I, 307, 308.

exclusively made up of Jewish or Armenian members, or alternatively of gypsies, most were composed of mixed religious and social groups. Often, a *ḳol* was named after its founder such as Ahmed *ḳolu*, Kapucuoğlu Osman *ḳolu*, and Baba Nazlı *ḳolu*. But some continued to function even after the death of its founder since one encounters the name of some of these *ḳols* in sources from different centuries.

Based on the *sūrnāmes* of the 1675 and 1720 imperial festivals, Metin And says that there was a tradition that the three most famous *ḳols* were performed in the imperial festivals.[803] According to the *sūrnāme* of Abdi in the imperial circumcision 1675 festival, three *ḳols* performed, namely, the Ahmed, Cevahir and Edirne *ḳolu*. Similarly, for the 1720 imperial festival, Vehbi and Hafız Mehmed also mentioned names of three *ḳol*, the Bahçevanoğlu, Halil and Edirne *ḳolu*. The archival documents on the 1720 festival reveal that these three *ḳols* comprised only a small part of the hundreds of other performers who came from across the empire. As will be discussed in detail later, in addition to another *ḳol*, which was headed by a certain Hayalbaz İsmail, there were various smaller scale groups that were made up of five, ten or twelve performers but which were not organized as a *ḳol*.[804] Indeed, these performers seem to have received less payment than their fellows in a *ḳol*. Then, perhaps *ḳol* referred to the association of a larger group of performers in a guild-like organization, with certain rules of entrance, membership and mastership. This might have been the reason why all *ḳols* received exactly the same amount of payment during the 1720 festival, which was indeed higher than those smaller scale performer groups.

[803] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 197.
[804] BOA. MAD. 4720, 20.

5.2 The selection, organization and social composition of performers

Hafız Mehmed, in his *sūrnāme,* mentions that 312 performers, including musicians, dancers, shadow players, acrobats, wrestlers, jugglers, were registered in the book of the imperial festival. As he states, upon an imperial order, from the first day of the festival, some of these were given daily food, and starting from the same day, some were given daily wages. Moreover, five aghas from the chamber of the grand vizier were assigned as the ushers of these performers.[805] While the information that was mentioned in Hafız Mehmed's narrative was true in some respects, it was limited and misleading in others. Most significantly, it does not tell about the origins of these people, how they were brought together, where they stayed or what kind of benefits they received.

Among the archival documents, the most comprehensive list of performers of the 1720 festival mentions 526 performers in total, which were divided in nine main groups.[806] It is significant to stress that this number does not include 120 *ṭulūmcı*[807] (clownish attendants responsible for controlling the public, who were holding greasy bags made of goat leather), and 85 musicians and singers from Istanbul.[808] For this group of musicians and singers Vehbi's *sūrnāme* mentions that before the start of the festival a group approximately of 80 men, which were headed

[805] Hafız Mehmed, *Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 190.
[806] We find this information in both account books of the festival. While in MAD.d. 1284, 20, 21 the payments that were made for performers was mentioned among various other expenses (including wages, purchases of items), in MAD.d. 4729, 20 these were separated from the rest and their payments were noted in a different page. Thus, the information recorded in MAD.d. 4729 seem to be more easily recognizable.
[807] These men had a dual duty of policing, and also entertaining the spectators through clownery during imperial festivals. Bagpipes in their hands, they were walking around, beating back the audience when they became too close to the performers and to the dignitaries. They were wearing a conical hat and a robe made of leather, and holding a bagpipe that was filled with oil.
[808] These musicians and singers are mentioned in two archival documents that recorded the exact numbers of dishes that would be served to various people participating in the imperial banquets during the festival. Under the term "asitāne ḫānende ve sāẕendegānları" this group of musicians and singers were conceived as among the officials of the outer palace. See BOA. D.BŞM.SRH. 5/47; MAD. d. 1284, 49.

by Hanendebaşı Burnaz[809] Hasan Çelebi, started to hold rehearsals at the gardens of the Imperial Palace, at an assigned place in front of Yalı Köşkü.[810] This group of musicians and singers seem to have held a prestigious position among all other performers because, in the archival documents they were clearly differentiated from the rest. Indeed, during the course of the festival this group attended the imperial banquets with the members of the outer palace personnel[811] rather than sharing tables of other performers. Apart from this group, 65 musicians from the Imperial Band also performed in the festival.[812] Similar to the aforementioned singers and musicians this group was also mentioned separately in all related documents. Altogether all of these performing groups comprised 796 people. So, Hafız Mehmed seems to have omitted more than a half of these performers.

If we turn to the account book's mention of 526 performers, one sees that their daily wages were calculated on a group basis system for the duration of their work.[813] The first four groups were organized in a *ḳol*. As will be discussed below, each one of these *ḳol* participated in the festival with a number of performers ranging between 40 and 27. When one remembers the mention of Evliya Çelebi saying that such *ḳols* were often made up of 200 or 300 members, then quite possibly only some selected members of the organization performed in the 1720 festival. Other groups that one encounter in the list were classified according to the skills of the performers.

[809] The head of the group of musicians and singers Burnaz Hasan Çelebi's nickname comes from his notable physical characteristic, from his large nose. Ersu Pekin in his forthcoming article indicates that he was also referred to as Enfi in some other sources, another nickname that referred to his opium addiction. Parallel to his nickname, both Ibrahim and Levni depicted him with a notably large, hooked nose. I am thankful to Ersu Pekin for sharing this forthcoming article with me. See Pekin, "Surname'nin Müziği," 478.
[810] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 470. Gülru Necipoğlu mentions the ceremonial uses of Yalı köşkü in her seminal book on Topkapı Palace. This kiosk at the shoreline of the imperial palace was initially constructed in the reign of Bayezid II as a site for seeing the sailing of the Ottoman navy. Besides this function, the kiosk was used for the acclamation rituals that were held during the first days of two religious festivals and for reception ceremonies. See Necipoğlu, *15 ve 16. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı*, 296, 297.
[811] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/47.
[812] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/9.
[813] BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20; MAD.d. 1284, 20, 21.

For example, while poets and *maṭrāḳ* players (refers to kind of combat game, which was played with a mace and shield) were mentioned altogether in one group, the musicians, singers and jugglers comprised another group in the list.

Interestingly, all performers seem to have received wages for a different number of days. As seen in Table 21, the longest duration was for members of the Bağçevan *ḳolu* with 27 days and the shortest was for a group referred to as *tiryākiyān* (literally means addicts), with one day. Quite interestingly, with the exception of the Bağçevan *ḳolu*, the payment started on the third day of the festival and continued for one more week after the official end of the festival on 15 *Zi'l-ḥicce* 1132 (18 October, 1720). One may surmise that highly possibly those performers stayed at the imperial city one week after the end of the festival so they continued to receive payments. Yet, the reason why they did not receive payment for the first and second day of the festival remains unknown to us.

The daily wages of these groups ranged between one and a half *ġurūş,* and four and a half *ġurūş.* For most of these, the payments were made on a group-based system, so this amount must have been distributed among the members of the group. As seen in Table 21, there are two exceptions to this payment system. One is the group of dancers, musicians and jugglers that comprised 205 performers in total. Their payment was made per person; accordingly each performer in this group received a three-*aḳçe* daily wage, lower than any other performers mentioned in the list. This group must have comprised performers who were organized in smaller scale workshops made up of two, five or a dozen members. The second exception is the group of *tiryākiyān* (literally meaning addicts, refers both to opium, tobacco, coffee addicts as well as voice/mimic imitators pretending to be an addict).

Table 21. Name, Number, Daily Wage of Performers[814]

Name of the group	Number of performers	Duration of work	Number of days	Amount of daily wage	Total payment for the group
Bāġçevān Ḳolı	40	18 *Żi'l-ḳa'de-* 15 *Żi'l-hicce*	27	3 *ġurūş*	81 *ġurūş*
Ḥāyālbaẕān İsmaʿīl	40	20 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 15 *Żi'l-hicce*	25	3 *ġurūş*	75 *ġurūş*
Çengiyān Ḫalīl Ḳolı	40	20 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 15 *Żi'l-hicce*	25	3 *ġurūş*	75 *ġurūş*
Çengiyān Edirne Ḳolı	27	20 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 15 *Żi'l-hicce*	25	3 *ġurūş*	50.5[815] *gurus*
Poets[816] (*Şāʿirān*)	40	22 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 29 *Żi'l-ḳa'de*	8	4.5 *ġurūş*	39[817] *gurus*
Mace and shield game players (*Maṭrakcıyān*)	25				
Boy dancers[818] (*Köçekciler*)	10	22 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 29 *Żi'l-ḳa'de*	8	1.5 *ġurūş*	12.5 *ġurūş*
Violin players (*Kemānīler*)	10				
Dancers, musicians and jugglers (*Çengiyān ve sazende ve hoḳḳabāz*)	205	27 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 28 *Żi'l-ḳa'de*	2	3 *aḳçe* (per one person)[819]	1,230 *aḳçe*
Singers (*Ḫānandegān*)	40	24 *Żi'l-ḳa'de* - 29 *Żi'lḳa'de*	6	3 *ġurūş*	18.5 *ġurūş*
Addicts[820] (*Tiryākiyān*)	49	24 *Żi'l-ḳa'de*	1	1 *ġurūş* per person [821]	49 *ġurūş*

Addicts were also part of the social life and due to their foolishness and clownery they were often called into festive occasions. Universally, in festive occasions and carnivals, the fool theme symbolized a form of gay festive wisdom free from all norms, social restrictions, and seriousness.[822] As these men were enacting abnormal

[814] In this Table I have followed the ordinance that was recorded in BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20 where a spate page was dedicated solely for wages of the performers. The same information with slight differences was also recorded in the other account book yet, there the wages of performers were mentioned altogether with all other groups. In addition, in this book the wages were recorded in *aḳçe.* See also MAD.d. 1284, 20-21.
[815] Normally it should be 51 *ġurūş*, but was written 50.5 in the account book. BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20.
[816] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20 these two groups were recorded altogether yet, in MAD.d. 1284, 20 they were mentioned separately.
[817] It should have been 36 *ġurūş*, but was written 39 in BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20.
[818] In BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20 these two groups were recorded together yet in MAD.d. 1284, 20 they were mentioned separately.
[819] It reads "beher nefere 3 aḳçe." BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20.
[820] Although this group did not receive a daily wage rather was given a royal donation of one *ġurūş* per person after their shows, in MAD.d. 4729, 20 this group was mentioned in the wage list of the performers. For this reason I have also included addicts to the Table.
[821] It reads "beher nefere 1 ġurūş" BOA. MAD.d. 4729, 20.
[822] Bakhtin in his seminal book on carnivals draws attention to the universality and permanence of this theme in the festive occasions. For instance, Rabellais for the sixteenth century France and Goethe for the nineteenth century Italian carnivals noted the existence of the foolishness and clownery in carnivalesque spirit. See Bakthin, *Rabelais and His World*, 260.

behaviors while they were under the influence of drugs such as opium, they "permitted the people to see the world with foolish eyes."[823] Thus, even if they did not enact a musical, theatrical, sportive and dance performance, their behaviors were just like a performance in themselves and thus, their acts were also described in the contemporary sources as things to be seen.

In the 1582, 1675 and 1720 imperial circumcision festival one sees the presence of a group of addicts, which were described in detail by the *sūrnāme* authors. Some of these men who were referred to in the archival and narrative sources as addicts might have been imitators pretending to be addicts. For example, Evliya Çelebi mentions that in the mid-seventeenth century Istanbul, there was a certain mimic/voice imitator named Surna Ahmed Çelebi who was specialized in making a parody of an addict in his shows. This indicates that this "fool theme" appealed particularly to the seventeenth-century city dwellers. In addition to that, in the seventeenth century the addict had also become one of the stock characters in the shadow theatre.[824] Parallel to that, as will be mentioned below, among the members of Edirne *ḳolu* who participated in the 1720 festival, there was a certain performer that was referred to as the addict. Thus, he must have been one of those mimic/voice imitators specialized in enacting behaviors of an addict.

Signifying the great appeal of their performance in the 1720 festival, on the fifth and fourteenth days of the festival, there were shows of addicts. The coexistence of the choreographic and spontaneous aspects in these shows once again raises the possibility that among this group some might have been performers. Their show on the fifth day of the festival began with a kind of theatrical play enacting a scene set in the coffeehouses of Süleymaniye. Then, it continued with one member's recitation

[823] Bakthin, *Rabelais and His World*, 260.
[824] Nutku, "Clowns at Ottoman Festivities."

of a passage from the *Şahnāme* (The Book of the Kings). Thereafter, as some were under the influence of drugs a snake trainer approached and threw snakes over them, which greatly scared addicts and instantly they started to scream, jump and run. Vehbi devoted two pages for narrating this almost brutal show. From his narrative, it emerges that the addicts' abnormal behavior when talking, drinking coffee and moving or running was a source of ridicule and laughter for the audience.[825] Besides the textual narrative, Levni also represented pictorially the most dramatic moment of their show, the snake show (Fig. A46). On the fourteenth day of the festival, addicts were placed into a giant galleon that moved on land with sumptuous firework shows. Addicts were screaming and running with the explosions of fireworks, and this scene was a source of joy (*keyfiyyet*) for the audience.[826] Either after the first long show or after their second performance, addicts received a generous donation from the sultan, more than any of the other performers. According to the account book of the festival for a one-day performance, they received one *ġurūş in'am* (a gift, a donation) per person, which was equivalent to 120 *akçe*.[827]

The account books note that the total amount of payments that were made to all performers was 500,367 *akçe*.[828] These registers also include information on skills of those performers. A petition to the sultan by the superintendent of the festival that asked for permission for the distribution of the daily food to the performers provides more information on that matter. In this document, the performers were divided into 13 groups according to their skills including musicians and singers, dancers, shadow

[825] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 546, 547.
[826] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 672.
[827] In BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 20, the payment that was made for this group was referred to as *in'am*, literally meaning a royal gift or donation. Yet, in MAD.d. 4729, 20 this term was not used.
[828] The total amount that was paid for performers was mentioned also in last part of the complete account book of the festival (MAD.d. 1284), in a summary format without differentiating each particular group. Moreover, in a separate document, possibly an excerpt from a draft register, one sees the same summary expense list. See BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 77-78 and D.BŞM. SRH. 8/9.

players, puppet players, jugglers, performers displaying their strength and fire performers, poets, violin and tambourine players, boy dancers, animal trainers (including bear, snake, long tailed monkey and monkey trainers), wrestlers, *ṭāsbāz* (a kind of a juggler who was performing with bowls) and water dispensers.[829] This list represents the most detailed skill-based classification of performers who participated in the 1720 festival. Yet, understanding their identities from this list is not very easy. As will be discussed in detail below, some of these performers' places of origin were mentioned in some other documents.

5.2.1 Identifying the performers at the festival

Although archival documents often pursue a skill-based categorization of the performers of the festival, in a few documents, the names and nicknames of some of the performers were also mentioned. Most interestingly, these documents provide very detailed information on members of Edirne *ḳolu*.[830] While a master performer whose name was Mehmed headed this *ḳol*, other members seem to have been composed of men from various religious affiliations, including Jews and Muslims. Here, one speculates whether these were gypsies or not. Gypsies' involvement in performing arts,[831] especially in music and dancing is well known in the literature.[832] This is also seen in the official documents as early as the first decades of the sixteenth century. For example, in a lengthy tax register dating from 1522–23 that recorded the taxation principles of gypsies who were living at Rumeli province of the

[829] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/6. The document dates 16 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1132.
[830] The names of the members of Edirne *ḳolu* were mentioned in a number of documents. BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138; 1/145; 1/151; MAD.d. 6889, 7.
[831] By saying performing arts I follow the general definition of Richard Schechner that designates music, dance and theatre but it is worth mentioning that Schechner also highlights that this may vary culturally and historically. Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 25.
[832] Marushiakova and Popov, *Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire*, 34-42; Idem, "Gypsy Musicians and Performances in the Ottoman Lands," 327-341; Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis," 139; also see Koçu, *Eski İstanbul'da Meyhaneler*, 61-74.

empire, most of them were referred to as musicians.[833] Apart from that, until the late eighteenth century, gypsies were used in the Ottoman army as units that compried the military band. In return, this service provided them status and certain tax privileges.[834] Some contemporary sources indicate that there were also non-gypsy groups, both Muslims and non-Muslims, who were active in music and dance. For example, when describing 12 *ḳol* from mid-seventeenth century Istanbul, Evliya Çelebi noted that some groups were composed predominantly of gypsies, while others did not have any gypsy members.[835] In the archival documents on the 1720 festival, none of the performers was identified as gypsy (*ḳıbtī* or *çingene*).[836] This stands in contrast to what is seen in a document that mentions the performers of the 1582 imperial festival, where a group of 33 performers were referred to as gypsies (*ḳıbtīyān*).[837] Recent research on the legal and social status of gypsies in the Ottoman lands has shown that the Ottoman official terminology often tended to differentiate gypsies (both Muslim and non–Muslim gypsies) from other groups. In court records, their ethnic identity was always specified.[838] Perceived against this background, the absence of a mention of gypsies in the related archival documents on the 1720 imperial festival is interesting. Indeed, the clerks who were keeping these archival records clearly differentiated the Jews and the Christians from the Muslims. Perhaps

[833] Cited in Marushiakova and Popov, "Gypsy Musicians and Performances," 332, n. 15.
[834] Marushiakova and Popov, *Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire,* 34, 35; Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis," 139, n. 31, 32.
[835] Evliya Çelebi*, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* I, 307, 308.
[836] These were the terms that were typically used in the Ottoman official language referring to the gypsies. Actually, both terms originated from the Greek terminology *yiftos* and *atsingani*, respectively. The first term, *ḳıbtī* actually means the Egyptian and it refers to the common belief in the Europe on the gypsies' Egyptian origin. Eyal Ginio in his article on the legal status of gypsies in Ottoman lands draws attention to the fact that interestingly Ottomans did not adopt the Islamic terms that was used for gypsies rather, they appropriated the Byzantine terminology. See Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis," 131.
[837] TMSA.d. 10022, fol. 8a.
[838] Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis".

the clerks of the festival omitted this information, but it is also possible that the performers in this festival simply did not have such an ethnic affiliation.

When we return to the Edirne *ḳolu*, it is seen that this *ḳol* was made up of men of different skills, including musicians, dancers, mimic-gesture imitators, reciters and clowns. In this respect, the composition of a *ḳol* seems to have been similar to what Evliya Çelebi had described in the mid-seventeenth century. Although in the pictorial representations of the festival the Edirne *ḳolu* is not seen, two other *ḳol* that participated in the festival are depicted. According to the narrative of Vehbi, in the nighttime shows of the sixth day, Bağçevan *ḳolu* and Halil *ḳolu* gave performances. While members of Bağçevan *ḳolu* enacted dancing and musical performances, some members displayed acrobatic skills on a tightrope and others gave shows on a ferris wheel, a swing or a carousel. Halil *ḳolu*, on the other hand, gave a musical and dance performance named the Persian play/dance (‘*Acem oyunu*).[839] In the paintings of Ibrahim (Fig. A47) and Levni (Fig. A48) on a floating raft that was depicted on upper side of the recto page one sees this theatrical play put on display by the members of Halil *ḳolu*. In both paintings one sees musicians and different players in the same raft. As the textual narrative relates, players were dressed in outfits of Shiraz (*Şīrāzī kıyāfet*), and the head of the *ḳol* was holding a Persian style napkin (*mendīl-i ‘Acemāne*) in his hand.[840] In Ibrahim’s painting one sees this exact moment, as he depicted a player who was wearing clogs and holding a napkin in his hand. Thus, the pictorial representation further substantiates the claim that these groups were composed of men of different skills. As seen in Table 22, from the forenames of the members of Edirne *ḳolu*, one can also grasp their actual skills. Twelve members were musicians specialized in different instruments, most

[839] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 574-576.
[840] Ibid. 576.

commonly tambourine, and also violin, lute and *nefīr* (a kid of a tube).[841] Six members were dancers and one member was a male dancer dressed as a women. Two members were mimic-gesture imitators, one member was mentioned as an addict possibly referring to a voice/mimic imitator making a parody of an addict and three members were referred to as clowns who performed with a slapstick or sword.

Table 22. Names and Skills of Edirne *Ḳolu* Members[842]

Name / Nickname	Skill
Mehmed	The head of the *ḳol* (*Ḳol bāşı*)
Ahmed	Sweet/darling (?) (*Şeker* [?])
Üveys	*Nefir* player (*Nefrī*)
Samed	*Kemanī* (Violin player)
Yasef	*Ṭanburī* (Lute player)
Matalon[843]	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Yakov	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
(The fat) Şişman	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Şahin	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Ali	Mimic or voice imitator (*Muḳallid*)
Other (Diger) Yakov	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Kemal	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Ahmed	Addict (*Tiryāki*)
Mehmed	*Nefir* player (*Nefreẕān*)
Şahin	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Gümüş	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Young (Küçük) Mehmed	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Old (Büyük) Mehmed	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Elmas	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Musa	Male dancer (*Rakkaş*)
Atiyas	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Other (Diger) Yakov	Tambourine Player (*Dā'ireẕān*)
Mehmed	Clown with a slapstick or sword (*Puşatcı*)
Musa	Clown with a slapstick or sword (*Puşatcı*)
Adem	Clown with a slapstick or sword (*Puşatcı*)
Veli	Male player acting a female part (*Zenne*)
İshak	Mimic or voice imitator (*Muḳallid*)

Archival documents also reveal the identities of nine puppet players and ten wrestlers who came from Salonika. Actually, the number of puppet players was ten, but a

[841] *Nefīr* was a kind of tube that denoted a musical instrument that was used until two centuries ago. Redhouse, *Redhouse Sözlüğü*, 875. Evliya Çelebi mentions that in the mid-seventeenth century in Istanbul there were 15 *nefīr* players. Yet, he mentions that it was played with a clarinet made of reed (*kamış sipsi*). See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* I, 305. On *nefir* also see Göçek, "Nefir," 525.

[842] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138; 1/145; 1/151; MAD.d. 6889, 7.

[843] In the document it was written as Matalom, but this does not seem as a meaningful name or surname. Yet, there is a Spanish-Jewish name as Matalon, so I assume that the original name might have ended with the letter n and thus I have preferred this version. I am thankful for the invaluable helps of my friend, Hadar Feldman Samet who is a Ph.D. Candidate at University of Jerusalem in deciphering the Jewish names and family names, which were frequently mentioned in the archival documents.

margin note in a document indicates that a Jewish player named Şahin died on his way to Istanbul.[844] Although nine players were mentioned specifically as puppet players, their forenames reveal that they had different skills. Interestingly, there were tambourine players, a violin player, a puppet player, and a voice/mimic imitator among that group of puppet players. This composition implies that these puppet players from Salonika could have been a small workshop that included men of different skills. Seven members of this small workshop were Jewish, as it was noted underneath their names.[845]

As far as the wrestlers from Salonika are concerned among this group of performers, who bear exclusively Muslim names, there were two acrobats, one juggler, and the rest were mentioned simply as the wrestler.[846] Understanding the skill of this group of wrestlers is not very easy because the term *pehlivān*, the wrestler, seems to have been used widely as a forename to identify a large group of performers including acrobats, all kinds of illusionists and jugglers, performers displaying their strength and some other types of performers. In the archival documents on the performers of the 1582 festival, for example, except for the musicians, most of the other performers were referred to as the wrestler. Thanks to the detailed categorization of the scribes, we can understand that some of these wrestlers were acrobats, some were men displaying strength, some were jugglers, and some were shadow players.[847] Similarly, Evliya Çelebi defined a large group of performers, mostly acrobats and various jugglers as wrestlers.[848] Although in the

[844] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/172 (bottom right): "Selānikden gelen yigirmi neferiñ ṭoḳuz neferi ḳayd olunub taʿyīnatı verilmişdir bir nefer yahudi mord olub bālāda taḥrīr olunān on nefer daḫi ḳayd olunmaġla iḳtiżā iden taʿyīnatı verilmesi bābında fermān devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir fi 27 Şevvāl 1132."
[845] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/162; 1/166; MAD.d. 6889, 15.
[846] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/162; 1/172; MAD.d. 6889, 8.
[847] TSMA.d. 10022, fol. 7a, 7b, 8a.
[848] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* I, 299, 308.

archival documents on the 1720 festival the term wrestler was not as extensively used as the aforementioned examples, the composition of this group of wrestlers from Salonika indicates that the generic usage of the term was still evident in the early eighteenth century. Apart from the puppet players and wrestlers, more performers had arrived from Salonika. A document mentions nine tightrope walkers and ten singers from Salonika.[849] Unfortunately, however, their names and skills were not mentioned in any of the remaining documents, in the same way as other performers who came from other cities or towns.

In addition to the performers of Istanbul, Edirne and Salonika, various others came to the imperial city to partake in the imperial circumcision festival. This seems to have happened in two different ways. After the arrival of the imperial order announcing the sultan's staging of an imperial festival, the governors of some cities or towns sent performers to the imperial city, and more interestingly some others arrived by themselves. As has been mentioned above, *sūrnāmes* mention the participation of the Egyptian performers who had been sent by the previous governor general of Egypt for the imperial festival.[850] There were others who were incorporated in the festival's program by a similar process.

A petition written by an acrobat whose name was Mahmud of Vidin exemplifies the process of the governors' sending forth the performers to the imperial capital city. As it was mentioned in the petition of Mahmud, when the sultan's imperial order arrived in Vidin, announcing the sultan's imperial circumcision festival that would began in September, the governor of Vidin Mehmed Pasha immediately sent Mahmud's workshop to the imperial capital city. Mahmud

[849] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/28.
[850] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 485.

and his workshop (*kārḫāne*), which was made up of 12 performers arrived at first in Edirne and then they were directly sent by Bostancıbaşı Agha to the capital city.[851]

In the latter case, that is to say, arriving in the capital city voluntarily seems to have been much more pronounced, at least among the surviving group of archival documents. There are a number of petitions of performers who came voluntarily from distant provinces to participate in the festival. Obviously, staging a show during the festival of the sultan was something extremely beneficial. These men were given daily allowances in kind, received a certain wage, partook in the imperial banquets and a lucky few could also obtain grants from the sultan or from higher ranking dignitaries. This must also have been a great opportunity to show their skills and talents, through which the performer could also find patronage. This voluntary incorporation of performers also signifies their active involvement in the festival's program. The planners of the festival seem to have been flexible on that matter so that various performers could find a place in the daily schedule of the festival. Then, perhaps the Ottoman officials were not very strict in their attitude towards programming a courtly planned and sponsored imperial festival.

If we return to the petitions, acrobats Abdi and Mehmed from Rusçuk stated in their petition that, as they had heard about the imperial order of the sultan, they arrived to the imperial city to pay their respects and to prostrate themselves humbly before the sultan. They asked to be registered in the book of the festival with their colleagues and to receive their daily allowances.[852] The petitions of six acrobats from

[851] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/155: "Devletlü merḥametlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Bu ḳulları Vidin'de sākin ip cānbāzlarından olub Vidin vālisi Mehemmed Pāşā ḥażretleri şevketlü pādişāhımızıñ sūr-ı hümāyūnı vardır deyü 'icāleten bu ḳulları bir ḥakīr kendim mecmu' on iki nefer cānbāz tekmīl kārḫānem Edirne'ye gelüb ve Edirne'de bostāncıbāşı aġa daḫi 'icāleten bu ṭarafa irsāl idüb, sā'ir ḳullarına iḥsān buyurduḳları ta'yināt üzere üzerlerimize ta'yin aġa bāşı defterine ilḥaḳ ve ta'yinlerimiz ṣadaḳa ve iḥsān buyurulmaḳ bābında fermān devletlü saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende cānbāz Mahmud."

[852] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/183: "Devletlü merḥametlü sulṭānım ḥażretleri saġ olsun. Bu ḳulları ipte oynar cānbāz fuḳarālarından olmaġla sūr-ı hümāyūn içün sādır olan fermān-ı 'alī mucibince Rusçuḳ

Iznikmid, three acrobats from Vize, two fire players from İsmail Geçidi and an unnamed acrobat's petition also indicate that they came to the imperial city with a similar process.[853] As some of these performers were registered with their exact place of origin, it is possible to come up with a city/town-based classification for at least some of them.

Table 23. City-Based Classification of Performers[854]

Name of the city or town	Total number of performers and their skills
Edirne	27 performers from Edirne *ḳolı*, 7 wrestlers, shadow players, 29 singers
Sofia (today in Bulgaria)	Shadow players,[855] acrobats, 5 *zorbāz* (performers who were exerting their strength during shows)
Salonica (today in Greece)	9 puppet players, 10 wrestlers, 10 singers, 9 tightrope walkers
İsmail Geçidi[856] (today in Bulgaria)	4 acrobats, 2 fire players (*ateşbaz*)
Niğbolu (today in Bulgaria)	Acrobats
Vidin (today in Bulgaria)	25 acrobats
Vize[857] (a town near to Kırklareli)	4 acrobats
Rusçuk (today in Romania)	12 acrobats
Iznikmid (today in Turkey)	6 *zorbāz*
Serez (today in Romania)	A *zorbāz* [858]
Bender (today in Romania)	2 *zorbāz*
Plevne (today in Bulgaria)	2 acrobats
Bane[859] (today in Bulgaria)	1 acrobat
Cairo (*Mısır-ı kahire*)	12 players (*lu'betbaz*)

As seen in Table 23, except for the Egyptian performers, interestingly, all others exclusively came from the western provinces of the empire. Contrary to this situation, in the 1582 and 1675 circumcision festivals many performers came from

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ṭarafından ḥākipāya ʿazimet ve yüz süre geldik merāḥim-i 'ālīlerinden mercūdır ki bu ḳullarınıñ ḫāline merḥameten sā'ire iḥsān buyurılan yevmiyātdan iḥsān ve sur-ı hümāyūn defterine ilḥaḳ ve ḳayd buyurulıb mürūr olunmak bābında fermān saʿādetlü sulṭānım ḥażretleriniñdir. Bende pehlivān ʿAbdi ustaları neferā 6, bende Mehmed (?) neferā 6."

[853] Respectively, these petitions can be seen in BOA. DBŞM. SRH. 9/58; 2/48; 1/144; 2/17.

[854] This list comprises a large part of the performers who came from distant provinces. Although for some groups the exact number is not known, others make up almost more than the half of the total, which is 236. For the preparation of this table, a number of petitions and lists are used including BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138; 1/144; 1/151; 2/47; 2/48; 2/155; 3/53; 3/183; 7/100; 9/28; 9/58.

[855] In two lists that were possibly kept by clerks of the superintendent of the festival, six shadow players from Edirne and Sofia, and ten acrobats from Sofia, İsmail Geçidi and Niğbolu were mentioned all together. So, it is not possible to understand the exact number of those performers for each city except four acrobats who were from İsmail Geçidi. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138; 1/145; for İsmail Geçidi acrobat's mention see D.BŞM. SRH. 7/100.

[856] A stationary place (*menzil*) at Silistre province of the empire.

[857] Vize was a sub-province (*sancaḳ*) at the western part of the empire including districts (*każā ʿ*) Vize, Hayrabolu, Birgoz (Lüleburgaz), Baba-Eski, Çorlu, Kırkkilise, Ereğli, Silivri, Terkos, İnceğüz under its territory.

[858] The number is not specified D.BŞM. SRH. 4/5.

[859] Bane was a small town under the territory of Vidin sub-province at the western part of the empire. See Bilge "Macaristanda Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin Kurulması," 34.

the Arab provinces. For instance, in a book of registers on the 1582 festival a group of 50 sub-Saharan Africans (*cemaʿat-i siyāh ʿarablar*) were recorded.[860] In another document of the same festival, it was additionally recorded that 16 performers came from Damascus.[861] For the 1675 festival on the other hand, Abdi and Hazerfen Hüseyin mention the participation of various performers including players, jugglers, firework masters who were sent from Egypt.[862] Indeed, Hazerfen Hüseyin Efendi refers to these as Mısır *ḳolu*, which implies an organization of a large group of performers of different skills.[863] Nevertheless, in the 1720 festival there were only 12 performers coming from Arab provinces, indeed exclusively from Cairo. Although the documents do not explain the reason behind this difference, still one may surmise that this must have been related to the strict timeline of the festival. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the imperial order for the announcement of the imperial festival was issued in late July 1720 and the inauguration of the festival was on the eigteenth of September. Thus, there was only a one and half month period in-between. In contrast, the announcement of the 1675 festival for instance, was made six months before.[864] Thus, contrary to the previous examples in the 1720 festival, the decision seem to have been rather abruptly made, which left a very limited time for provisioning, preparations and programming Even if one assumes that the sultan's decree for the 1720 festival could have arrived in the Arab provinces by the second week of August, this still gives a relatively short time for its public announcement and for the departure of performers for Istanbul. Indeed, archival documents show that even those 12 Egyptian performers who were sent directly by

[860] TSMA.d. 10022, fol. 8a.
[861] TSMA.d. 10104.
[862] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri,* v. 4-5, 488, 489.
[863] The last part of the text, which is on the 1675 festival, is transcribed by Mehmet Arslan. See Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*, v. 4-5, 575, 600.
[864] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*, v. 4-5, 483.

Ali Pasha, the previous governor general of Egypt, arrived to the imperial city just three days before the start of the festival. Accordingly, the distribution of their daily allowances began on 12 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (15 September, 1720).[865] Thus, perhaps logistical difficulties arising from the strict schedule of the festival was one of the reasons for which performers of the 1720 festival came almost exclusively from the western provinces of the empire.

5.2.2 Daily allowances of the performers, their registration in the book of the festival and their participation to the imperial banquets

Besides receiving wages, performers were also given a certain amount of daily food before and during the course of the festival. Various documents show that, until the start of the festival these people were residing at the Elçi Hanı (literally, the Inn of Ambassadors).[866] Their allowances consisted of mutton, plain butter, rice and two loaves of breads per day. As one document indicates, the ratio for performers' allowances was based on the amount of the allowances, which were distributed to the *levend*, the irregular military forces that were recruited for the military campaigns.[867] As the account books of the festival show, the daily amount of these foodstuffs per performers was 100 *dirhem*[868] rice (320.7 gr), 100 *dirhem* mutton (320.7 gr), 25 *dirhem* clarified butter (80 gr) and two loaves of breads. As Table 24 shows, the account books of the festival mention that in totality 236 performers received daily

[865] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 3/53.
[866] The khan was built as a part of Atik Ali Pasha complex at Çemberlitaş in the early sixteenth century, which could not reach today. The khan was used as the resident place of many ambassadors during their stay at Istanbul. Various ambassadors mentioned this khan in their travel accounts. See Eyice, "Elçi Hanı," 15-18. For archival documents including this information BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138; 1/180; 2/48.
[867] BOA. D.BŞM.SRH. 1/151: "…… sefer-i hümāyūnda taḥrīr olunān levendāna verilen ta'yināta muḳābīl her neferāta …."
[868] One *dirhem* in Ottoman standard was equivalent to 3.207 gr. See Inalcık, "Weights and Measures," 988.

allowances.[869] Given the fact that the total number of all performers was 526, and then the remaining 290 performers must have been the residents of the imperial city, as they did not receive daily allowances.

Table 24. Distribution of Daily Allowances to Performers

Starting Date of the Distribution of Daily Allowances	Number of Men and Their Place of Origin or Skill	Total Number
19 *Şevvāl*	27 members from Edirne *ḳolu*, 7 wrestlers from Edirne, 6 shadow theatre players from Edirne and Sofya, 10 acrobats from İsmail Geçidi, Sofya, and Niğbolu.	50
22 *Şevvāl*	2 *zorbāz* from Bender, 4 acrobats from İsmail Geçidi, 4 acrobats from Iznikmid, *zorbāz* Ahmed and his apprentice	12
25 *Şevvāl*	9 puppet players from Salonika, and wrestler Hasan	10
27 *Şevvāl*	10 wrestlers, 2 fire players, 2 poets	14
28 *Şevvāl*	5 dancers	5
4 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Acrobat Ahmed Beşe and his colleague	2
11 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Acrobat Hasan and his colleague	2
12 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Wrestler Hasan and his colleagues	4
13 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Acrobats from İsmail Geçidi	12
13 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Acrobats and singers	12
15 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	The Egyptian performers	12
20 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de*	Dancers, acrobats, jugglers	35
1 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce*	Acrobats, dancers, fire players	66

As seen in Table 24, the distribution of daily food to the performers who came from distant provinces seems to have started in the last week of August, on 19 *Şevvāl* 1132 (24 August, 1720).[870] The first arriving group of performers to the capital city was composed of 50 men that included the members of Edirne *ḳolu* (27 performers), seven wrestlers from Edirne, six shadow theater players from Edirne, Sofya, İsmail Geçidi and ten acrobats from İsmail Geçidi, Sofya, Niğbolu.[871] After that date newcomers seem to have been added to the superintendent's lists and their allowances were given accordingly. As Table 24 shows, additions to the book continued even after the start of the festival, as some performers began to receive daily allowances after the official end of public celebrations at Okmeydanı, as late on

[869] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 26, 27; MAD.d. 4728, 16-18.
[870] BOA. D.BŞM SRH. 1/138; MAD.d. 4729, 16-18; MAD.d. 1284, 27-28.
[871] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/138.

1 *Zi'l-ḥicce* (4 October, 1720).[872] These performers must have enacted their shows at the Imperial Palace given that between 1 and 6 *Zi'l-ḥicce* (4-9 October, 1720) the ritual of the circumcision of the city boys and the performances of dancers and musicians continued there.[873]

As has been mentioned above, most of these men were voluntary participants who came to the capital city by themselves. Thus, after their arrival, they wrote petitions to the sultan asking to be registered in the superintendent's list and the distribution of their daily allowances. Interestingly, it is possible to trace from the daily allowances lists of the superintendent of the festival the names of some performers who sent petitions to the sultan. For instance, a fire player Derviş Osman with his two colleagues, and a master wrestler/strength performer (*üstād zorbāz pehlüvān*) Ahmed from Iznikmid, with his five colleagues petitioned the sultan for their registration in the book of the imperial festival.[874] Two lists that must have been kept by the clerks of the superintendent of the festival show that these performers were registered in the book of the festival and started to receive their daily allowances by 1 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (4 October, 1720).[875]

Another such example is the aforementioned petition of the acrobat Mahmud and his twelve colleagues from Vidin, who wanted to be registered in the book of festival and receive daily allowances. A note that was inserted into his petition mentions that on 13 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* (16 September, 1720), he and his colleagues started to receive their allowances.[876] We encounter the name of Mahmud of Vidin also in an undated list including the names of 103 performers and five officials that were

[872] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 28; D.BŞM. SRH. 7/100; 7/111.
[873] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 680.
[874] BOA. D.BŞM.SRH. 1/144; 9/58 respectively.
[875] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/100; 7/111.
[876] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 2/155.

assigned by the court.[877] As Mahmud and his colleagues had started to receive allowances by 13 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (16 September, 1720), this list must have been prepared afterwards as an updated document to include the names of the newly added performers to the book of the festival.

As the imperial festival started on 15 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* 1132 (18 September, 1720), as did the imperial banquets that were held in honor of the guests. Archival documents show that each day the performers of the festival, both those who came from distant provinces and the residents of Istanbul, attended these imperial banquets. A petition written by the superintendent of the festival is particularly interesting for that matter. In the petition, the superintendent asked the royal permission for performers to attend to the imperial banquets. Accordingly, when the festival began 449 performers (including musicians, dancers, singers, jugglers, animal trainers, fire players) that were in the chamber of the head of the imperial guards (*bostāncıbāşı*) would be served food at 44 dining spreads. Each dining spread was composed of 10 people and two of these were reserved for 20 officials who acted as the ushers of the performers.[878] The same information is also found in one of the account books of the festival, in the section that recorded the number of dining spreads that were reserved for various guests and officials when they attended the imperial banquets.[879]

In both documents, the number of performers attracts attention. As has been mentioned before, the total number of performers was 526, so the question is why only 449 men attended the imperial banquets. Although archival documents, or *sūrnāmes* of the festival are silent on this matter, one may think that this might have been related to the fact that some groups took the stage just one time during the

[877] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/28.
[878] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 6/2.
[879] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 42.

course of the festival. For example, 49 addicts who were counted among those 526 performers in the account books of the festival held a show solely on the fifth and fourteenth day of the festival.[880] Thus, it is possible to think that these performers did not attend the imperial banquets.

In the detailed menu of the imperial banquets, which was divided into five categories according to the hierarchical organization of the guests and attendants, the performers of the festival were mentioned among the group of the lower-ranking festival functionaries. As has been discussed before, firework masters, torchbearers, the group of policemen, water dispensers, *ṭulūmcı*, musicians and other such groups[881] tasted the same menu throughout the festival. Their menu was composed of five different dishes that included boiled rice prepared with butter or meat fat, and a dish of sweetened rice colored with saffron, soup, stews meat and stewed marrow.

The musicians and singers of Istanbul (*asitāne ḫānande ve sāẕendegānları*), composed of 85 people, on the other hand, were attending the banquets with another group, which was made up of the officials working in the outer palace.[882] We learn this from another document that listed the amount of tables and dishes that would be served to the inner and outer palace personnel during the imperial banquets.[883] The document also mentions that, in dining spreads of musicians and singers, a group of ten men would share four dishes. This group's menu was more extensive, as it was composed of nine dishes. In addition to the five dishes that are mentioned above, this group also tasted kebab, stuffed vegetable with meat, starch pudding and sweet grape juice boiled to a sugary solid. This group of musicians and singers seems to have been socially more prestigious than the rest of the performers, which was also

[880] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114.
[881] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 8/114: "ḳaraḳolluḳcı ve fişekçiyān ve sāzendegān ve ṭulūmcıyān ve meş'aleciyān ve sāḳayān ve sā'ire."
[882] Ibid: "müstaḥiḳ ve ḥükemā der oṭāġ-ı bīrūn."
[883] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 5/47.

articulated through the diversified types of food that they were given during the banquets. Yet, when it came to drinks, both groups seem to have drunk the same type of sherbet, which was served in stout leather bags and was sweetened by honey rather than the more luxurious sugar.[884]

5.3 The provisioning of materials for the enactment of some games

Throughout the festival hundreds of performers enacted various shows. Nevertheless, except for a few episodes, the narratives of the festival often do not tell us about their choreography or material details. The pictorial representations are more helpful than the textual narratives on this matter. While the textual narratives focused on the emotive reactions that various shows created among the audience, in the pictorial narratives, the material aspect or some particular phases of shows are highlighted. The paintings of Levni and Ibrahim generally represent the most dramatic moment of a show. In addition, when depicting a show, they pay particular attention to material details. For instance, we see the depiction of a variety of objects such as gadgets, tools, puppets, machines, and portable models in the pictorial representations of the festival. In this section we shall discuss the material dimension of some of the shows by using visual representations, narrative accounts, books of registers and a number of petitions by performers, making material requests from the Ottoman court. These petitions also shed light on the relationship between those socially marginal groups and the Ottoman court during the imperial festival of the sultan.

The shows of various performers including acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers and *ṭulūmcıs* necessitated the provisioning of some materials such as clothing or some specific gadgets. The court provisioned some of these items in advance and some

[884] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/142; 9/4.

others were later provided in response to the petitions of some of the performers. According to the *sūrnāme* texts, brocaded robes were prepared for dancers, and the clothing was provided for one hundred twenty *ṭulūmcı*.[885] This specific group of men, with a dual function of entertaining and controlling the audience received conical hats, robes made of leather, baggy trousers and belts.[886]

From the archival documents, we learn that, besides clothing, some other necessary items had also been provisioned for *ṭulūmcıs*. For this specific group that was headed by *ser ṭulūmcı* El-Hac Mehmed Agha[887] in totality, the court spent 51,314 *akçe*.[888] Among the items that were provisioned for these men 120 bagpipes, 4 drums, 20 torches, 20 boxes, Frankish rope, 10 *vuḳiyye* (12.8 kg) sulfur, 6 *vuḳiyye* (7.6 kg) naphtha oil (*revġan-ı neft*) [889] and 185 *vuḳiyye* (237.3 kg) olive oil are particularly interesting. These indicate that, in addition to enacting physical performances by behaving in a weird and comical manner, these clownish guards were performing some kind of shows using those objects. Olive oil, which they often splashed over the audience, is mentioned on the list. The oil must have been put inside their bagpipes. Sulfur, on the other hand, which is an explosive material, implies that the performances of *ṭulūmcıs* also included some sort of explosive, perhaps firework-like, shows.

Although *sūrnāme* texts only mention dancers for the court's preparation of clothing, a two-page document, quite possibly excerpted from a book belonging to the imperial treasury, designates a larger group beneficiaries. The document is dated 29 *Şevvāl* 1132 (3 September, 1720), and at the beginning a caption indicates that

[885] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 471; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 182.
[886] Ibid.
[887] In a short book of registers, the names of 120 *ṭulūmcıs* were recorded. See BOA. MAD.d. 6889, 23.
[888] BOA. MAD.d. 1284, 10; D.BŞM. SRH. 8/9.
[889] *Neft yağı* in modern Turkish is a resinous substance extracted from pine or mastic tree. It is often used to dilute paints. See Arseven, *Sanat Ansiklopedisi*, v. 3, 1501.

upon an imperial order, these items that were necessary for some games were provisioned from the imperial treasury and from outside, and they were delivered to the steward Kilerli Hasan Çavuş.[890] At the end of the document, it was recorded that for the total cost of 105 items, 51.5 *ġurūş* and 30 *aḳçe* were given to Hasan Çavuş. The majority of items on the list are clothing items such as loose robes (*entārī*), caftans, textiles for upper coats, shirts, skirts, baggy trousers, robes with long sleeves and skirts (*cübbe*), caps with fur, and skullcaps for wearing under a turban. Moreover, a number of copper belts for male dancers acting as women, two boots, and a few veils are also mentioned. Interestingly, these garments were prepared in small numbers. For each item, one or two pieces, more rarely a few were made or were purchased. The only exception to this was 24 white dervish skirts (formed like petticoat) and woolen jackets to be worn inside.[891] In addition to this, most of these garments seem to have been made of expensive brocaded silk textiles or of velvets. For instance, in the list tooted designed brocaded textiles and water silk textiles for skirts, brocaded *ḫaṭā'ī* textiles, brocaded patterned and brocaded Iranian velvets and silks, and Turkish velvet textiles were mentioned.[892] These indicate that such garments were provisioned not for all but for a select group of performers. To further substantiate this claim, we see that in the list there was a mention of a certain performer nicknamed Bosnavi (meaning from Bosna) for whom tightly fitting trousers made of red broadcloth, belt, and fur cap were prepared.

[890] TSMA.d. 3330: "bā fermān-ı hümāyūn mevcūd-ı ḫazineden ve iştirādan bażı oyun levāzımātı yapdırılub kilerli Ḥasan Çāvuş ḳullarına ber mūceb-i defter teslīm olunān eşyādır." Esin Atıl formerly mentioned this document at the introduction of her book *Levni and Sürnâme*. Yet, Atıl did not comment on the content of the document or provided its analysis.
[891] TSMA.d. 3330: "beyāż ḳavrāḳ (?) tennure miʿ iç ḫırḳası ve dīzlik 24 aded."
[892] TSMA.d. 3330: "Ṭarāḳlı tellī murassaʿ eteklik, ḥāre eteklik, tellī ḫaṭā'ī entārī, tellī ḥaleb putedārisi, tellī ʿacem ḥarīrī entārī, ẕemini tellī muṣavver ʿacem ḳaṭīfesi, tellī ʿacem ṭabāri (?) püser ḳaftānı, tellī ʿacem ḳaṭīfesi püser ḳalpāġı, türkī ḳaṭīfe…"

While most of the provisioned items were garments, there were also specific objects that were obviously provisioned for the enactment of games: firearms, daggers, maces, lances and axes could have been used in war games that took place in every day's shows. [893] In addition, in pictorial representations of such war games, one often sees that flags were hung from the walls of the castles or from galleons that were passing in front of the audience. The mention of *dārāyī* (a kind of silk stuff) flags, a plain napkin of Mardin for making flags and a pennant in the aforementioned list indicates that at least the imperial treasury provisioned some of these items.[894]

Some objects that were mentioned in the list imply that the court might have provisioned some items for the guild parades as well. As the text and images of the festival show, in these parades, the products or crafts of the guilds were represented in smaller scale portable workshops. Parallel to that, some objects in the treasury list interestingly, make reference to the guild' s parade. In the list one encounters a mirror, a hanging water reservoir with a tap, a bowl that was mentioned to be used by barbers, a butcher's knife for cutting meat, and a bow and mallet used by cotton/wool fluffers,[895] all of which must have been provisioned for the parade of barbers, butchers and cotton/wool fluffers, respectively.

5.3.1 Shows of some performers and their material needs

The court's provisions for various games were certainly not limited to these items. Indeed, there are other documents that refer to the provisioning of materials for a specific type of show or for use by a certain group of performers. These provisions

[893] TSMA.d. 3330: "tüfenk 5 (biri çarḫlı biri kuman[da]lı), mızrāk 1 ʿaded, bālıḳ dişi ḳabżalı çerkezī sīm ḥancer 1ʿaded, ḳabżası ve ḳını boyalı zer-füşān ḥancer 1ʿaded, temmūr teber, sūretli ṭopuz 2 ʿaded, balṭa 2ʿaded, (...) kargı 8 ʿaded…"
[894] TSMA.d. 3330: "bayrāḳ içün sāde mardīn peşkīri 1 ʿaded, dārāyī bayrāḳ 1 ʿaded, filāndıra 1ʿaded, defaʿ darayi bayrāḳ 2 ʿaded."
[895] TSMA.d. 3330: "berber ayīnesi, berber siṭiligi, berber legeni, ḥallac yayı miʿ ṭoḳmaḳ, ḳaṣṣāb ṣāṭurı."

were made upon the petition of the performers who needed money or, more frequently, those who needed specific items or tools for enacting their shows. Indeed, a petition jointly written by a wrestler and a certain Jewish *ṭāsbāẕ* (a kind of a juggler performing with bowls) illustrates this point. From the petition we understand that this was a mixed group of performers that included jugglers (*hoḳḳabāz*), *ateşbāz* (players of fire), *tiġbāz* (players of sword) and *çenberbāz* (players of metal strip) that were headed by the *ṭāsbāz* Karakaş Yahudi. Stating that previously they had accompanied Elçi Ibrahim Pasha on his way to Austria, and that during this journey all of their tools had been lost, they asked for the provisioning of the necessary materials by the start of the festival. In response to that petition, it was ordered to the superintendent of the festival Halil Agha that whatever was needed for this group should be provisioned.[896]

Although this petition did not specify the names and amounts of these necessary materials, some other documents provide interesting insights on that matter. For instance, a document interestingly tells us about the objects that were used during the show of a group of *ṭāsbāz*. This specific group of performers was notable for their long sleeved and extra large upper clothes under which they were hiding bowls and other items for performing an illusionist show. There are a number of contemporary visual evidences to envision what a *ṭāsbāz* show looked like. For instance, in the illustrated *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival, in a double-page composition one sees the performance of two *ṭāsbāz* (Fig. A49). While one of them wore a light orange, long-sleeved big dress, the other one was depicted taking off his red colored outer garment. In the pictorial representation, the painter/s also captured a number of bowls that were distributed over the street. This late sixteenth century

[896] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/14.

depiction of a *ṭāsbāz* show draws striking visual parallels to how it was represented in the late seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. In one of the paintings of Taeschner, in an album dating from the second half of the seventeenth century (Fig. A50),[897] in two illustrated copies of Vehbi's *sūrnāme* (Fig. A51, A52) and in two of the illustrated copies of *Hamse-i Ata ʿi*[898] dated 1738/9 (Fig. A53) and dated 1728 (Fig. A54), one encounters a very similar depiction of a *ṭāsbāz* show. Both compositions include these performers' easily recognizable long-sleeved and extra large outfits and with a number of bowls around that was scattered around. This visual evidence indicated the lasting popularity of the *ṭāsbāz* show in the urban life of the city and its relatively unchanging material aspect.

In Vehbi's *sūrnāme,* it is mentioned that on the fifth day of the festival a *ṭāsbāz* gave a performance. Vehbi related that *ṭāsbāz* boy was wearing a large petticoat like that of a dervish during the performance. [899] In the pictorial representations of Ibrahim and Levni, one sees that this was a long, white and large-sized garment (Fig. A51, A52). This brings to mind the mention of such types of

[897] This album dates to the second half of the seventeenth century. The album mostly shows urban scenes of the commerce, entertainment, and leisure, and also includes three sultan portraits. Its content and the pictorial style indicates that this album was originally designed as a pendant to another album which is today at Venice, Correr Museum and is known as Cicogna Album. Metin And was the first Turkish scholar to make this contention yet, recently both albums were analyzed in a more detailed manner by Nathalie Rothman. Before its destruction the Taechner album was reproduced in black and white in a publication.. For the discussion on the content and style of these albums see And, "17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları,"153-162; Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter," 39-80. For the facsimiles see Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben; ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert; İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul görünümleri.*

[898] Written by Ataullah bin Yahya (1583-1635/6), who was a seventeenth-century poet known as Nevizade Atayi. His *hamse* consists of the following five *mesnevis*: *Alemnüma or Sakiname* (The Cup-Bearer Book), *Nefhatü'l Ezhar* (The Breath of Flowers), *Sohbetü'l Ebkar* (The Converse of Virgins), *Heft Han* (Seven Courses), *Hilyetü'l Efkar* (Ornament of Thoughts). There are five illustrated copies of Atai's *Hamse* that were produced in the early eighteenth century. The first one is dated 1691 (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 1969), the second example is dated 1728 (Topkapı Saray Library, R. 816), the third *Hamse* is dated 1721 (Baltimore, Walters Art Galley W. 666), the fourth copy dated 1738/9 (British Library, Or. 13882) and the fifth in an undated eighteenth-century version (Free Library of Philadelphia T. 97). See Renda, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Minyatüründe Yeni Konular," 481-496; Idem, "An Illustrated 18th Century Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," 15-32; Artan, "Mahremiyet: Mahrumiyet'in Resmi," 91-115; Bağcı et al. *Ottoman Painting*, 274-76.

[899] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 545: "tennure-i dervişāne."

garments in the aforementioned list of the imperial treasury, as it recorded the provisioning of 24 white skirts (formed like petticoat) and woolen jackets worn inside. In addition to these, in the short list of objects that were provisioned specifically for this group of performers, 40 white woolen jackets worn inside were also mentioned.

As seen in Table 25, apart from the clothing items, 22 different types of objects were also mentioned, each in different numbers and amounts. Various copper utensils such as cooking pots, coffee ewers, large deep copper dishes, trays, and other types of kitchen utensils, including tea pots and roller pins are seen in this list of provisions. These kitchenware items must have been hidden inside the garments of these performers during their shows. Parallel to that, in his *sūrnāme,* Vehbi related that *ṭāsbāz* hid copper dishes and bowls inside their garments.[900] In the pictorial representation of this show, one shall also see some of these copper items that the *ṭāsbāz* was using. In the list, one also sees beeswax and oil wax, a pulley and different types of textiles. These might have been used for the preparation of some specific gadgets through which they made illusion shows. Apart from these, the mention of a replica of sherbet seller's workshop and a structure that looks like a castle indicate that the *ṭāsbāz* show also included some sort of theatrical enactments and perhaps also story telling parts. In addition, a cypress like structure that could carry 20 oil lamps and papers used for fireworks as seen in the list implies that these performers might have also enacted shows using lighting.

[900] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 545.

Table 25. Provisions for Performances of *Ṭāsbāzān*[901]

Name of the Item	Amount
Cooking pot (*Tencere*)	5
Large deep copper dish (*Nüḥās lengeri*)	80
Large glass plate (*Ṣırça lengeri*)	20
Large deep dish made of *zay* (?) (*Żay [?] lengeri*)	20
White woolen jacket (*Ḥırka beyāż*)	40
Copper rolling pin (*Nüḥās mardane*)	2 big size (*kebir*), 1 medium-sized (*saġir*)
Pulley (*Maḳara*)	A pair (1 *çift*)
Large forty ply bath towel (*Ḳırḳ ḳalem peştamāl*)	2
Metal hoop (*Dā'ire*)	4
Twilled cotton made of red Diyarbakır linen (*Diyārbakır bezi ḳırmızı boġaṣı*)	2 whole pieces of cloth from the loom (*ṭob*)
Tire linen (*Tire bezi*)	1 whole piece of cloth from the loom (*ṭob*)
Glass (*Bardaḳ*)	5 *vukiyye*
Poor quality paper for fireworks (*Fişeklik kāġıd-ı ḥaşī*)	5 dozen (*desde*)
Beeswax (*Bāl mūmı*)	5 *vuḳiyye*
Oil wax (*Yāġ mūmı*)	10 *vukiyye*
An iron/steel cypress like structure that can carry twenty oil lamps (*Temmūr yigirmi ḳandilli selvi-ḳonar*)	1
Large saddle-bag (*Heybe-i kebir*)	1
Çarḳmān (?)	20
Coffee ewer and tray (*Ḳahve ibriġi ma' tebsi*)	1
Coffee or tea cup (*Fincān*)	20
A structure imitating the workshop of sherbet seller (*Şerbetci dükkanı taḳlidi*)	1
A structure imitating a castle (*Ḳal'a taḳlidi*)	1

As archival evidence indicates, a similar list of provisions of certain items was drawn up for the shows of four acrobats who came to the imperial capital from İsmail Geçidi.[902] As seen in Table 26, in totality 14 different items were provisioned for this small group's shows. As we understand from the list of items, three-tightrope stages would be made with the use of a number of pillars, a bridge and the trestles and rope used by ropedancers. Some items, on the other hand, must have been used during their performance, such as a pair of clogs, stout leather, a sickle and an acrobat's balancing pole.

[901] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/12.
[902] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/62.

Table 26. Provisions for Acrobats from İsmail Geçidi[903]

Type of the Item	Quantity
A system of, three ropes on which tightrope walkers can perform (*Üç ipiñ üzerine oynanacaḳ*)	3
A hidden rope (*Bir ṣaḳlı ip*)	1
A bridge (*Ḳanṭara*)	3
Acrobats' balancing pole (*Terāzi*)	4
The hook of a lion (?) (*Ṣīr-i küllāb*)	1
Persian (style [?]) sickle (*'Oraḳ-ı 'acem*)	1
Stout leather (*Meşīn*)	8
Clock (*'Akreb*)[904]	1
Clogs (*Na'lın*)	1 pair
The trestles and rope used by rope dancers (*Çārmūḳ*)	100
Pillar (*Sütūn*)	3
Slab of stone stone (*Ayāḳ ṭāşı*)	1
Large slab of stone (*Kebir ayāḳ ṭāşı*)	1
Pronged pillar (*Çatāl sütūn*)	1

In the paintings of Levni and Ibrahim one occasionally sees tightrope walkers, yet, the representation of one particular show that took place on the third day of the festival implies that the aforementioned acrobats of İsmail Geçidi might have presented this show. Two painters seem to have depicted the tightrope walkers' show in a very similar manner. In both paintings one sees that ropes were tied to a number of columns for the show of a tightrope walker, who was depicted as holding a balancing pole in his hand (Fig. A55, A56). Moreover, another acrobat was walking in the ground with long clogs in his feet. As the aforementioned list of provisions mention a balancing pole and a pair of clogs, then it is highly probable that our painters depicted those İsmail Geçidi performers in their composition for the third day of the festival.

Some requests of the performers, however, seem to have been minor such as that of *zorbāzān* (performers who were exerting their strength during shows) from Iznikmid. As has been mentioned before, this group of performers from Iznikmid was composed of six people headed by a certain wrestler Ahmed, and they were

[903] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 9/62.
[904] This must have referred to the clock, to substantiate this claim among the estate inventories of Bostancıbaşı Hasan Agha, who passed in 1069 (1659) one sees one *'akreb sa'at*. See Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı," 414.

added to the book of the festival on 1 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* (4 September, 1720).[905] As we learn from a short document, only four types of items were provisioned including four stout ropes (*urġān*), 1.2 kg nails (1 *vuḳiyye mismār*), four poles (*direk*), and 10 wooden boards (*taḥta*).[906] These indicate that perhaps they prepared a tightrope walkers-like stage to display their shows, which was based on a display of strength and acrobatic moves. Interestingly, these provisions were given to them on 19 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* (22 September, 1720), four days after the inauguration of the festival. Thinking that they were added to the book of the festival on 1 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* then, either they must have delivered their provisioning demands to the court at a later date or this late supply was related to their shows' scheduling. This situation also indicates that, even after the start of the festival the court officials were still supplying the necessary materials for the performers.

It is possible to find similar but smaller amount of provisions for a number of other performers. For instance, in a short document dated 16 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* (19 September, 1720), Halil Efendi was ordered to make a payment equivalent to the price of 10 stone knives that would be given to another group of *zorbāzān*.[907] In another document, dated 20 *Zi'l-ḳa'de* (23 September, 1720), this time Halil Efendi was asked to give 12 wooden boards to the Egyptian performers.[908] As has been mentioned before, shows of the Egyptian performers held a very central place in the textual and pictorial narratives of the festival. In various episodes, the reader and beholder encounter different shows by Egyptians through which they displayed their strength. In these, one sees a great variety of objects that were used. For instance, Vehbi writes that on the fourth day of the festival, Egyptians gave various shows

[905] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 7/100; 9/58.
[906] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/209.
[907] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 4/18.
[908] BOA. D.BŞM: SRH. 5/6.

with the use of different types of objects such as metal strips, drums, spears, a long pole and a large earthenware water jug.[909] These successive shows were pictorially represented on the same page, as if different figures had enacted them (Fig. A57, A58). Although the narrative of the festival point to the use of a variety of objects, none of them were mentioned in the archival documents that recorded the provisions for the Egyptians. Thus, either the Egyptians had brought their necessary equipment all the way from Cairo to Istanbul or more possibly these materials were also provisioned by the court, but their related archival documents did not survive.

For the provisions of *zorbāzān* of Serez on the other hand, simply 15 *ġuruş* were paid, which shows that in some cases the court gave money to the performers rather than direct provisioning. This could have been related to the difficulty of preparing some necessary gadgets in a short period of time or of obtaining some tools. If this was the case, then we may assume that in some cases the officials preferred to give the necessary amount of money to the performers perhaps not to further busy their personnel.

As these petitions show, for some of those performers, especially for those who came from distant provinces, the transportation of their objects through which they were enacting their shows might have been a logistical difficulty. Thus, instead of carrying these items all the way, they seem to have requested their provisioning from the court. Additionally, the performers might also have used the periodicity of an imperial festival, when the benefaction of the sultan was distributed hyperbolically, as a pretext for the material renewal.

Those existing lists and petitions indicate that the court always responded positively to the performers' requests for the provisioning of materials and tools.

[909] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 530, 531.

Obviously, one reason behind the court's acceptance of these provisioning requests might have been related to the fact that this was an imperial festival. Thinking about the poor condition of the items, tools, gadgets or clothes of the performers, the court officials might have indeed encouraged their renewal for the performances of the festival. Nevertheless, when the total number of all performers is considered, certainly there must have been even more such petitions of performers making monetary or material demands. For example, in the documents, the lack of any mention of provisions for shadow theatre players and for puppet players is striking.

Similarly, provisions for the nighttime shows at Ok Meydanı and Haliç, especially the preparations for various kinds of sumptuous fireworks, are not mentioned in any of the surviving documents. As narratives of the festival mention these nocturnal shows were prepared by court institutions including the corps of the imperial dockyard, the corps of the imperial artillery, corps of the imperial armory and by some officials such as the superintendent of the customs office. The main focus of these shows was the firework displays; indeed Vehbi notes the names of a dozen different fireworks that were put on display in each night's show. Even if one assumes that these institutions prepared those fireworks, their shows must still have required other provisions. For example, daytime and nighttime shows that took place at Haliç were staged on floating rafts that passed in front of Tersane palatial complex. Unfortunately, documents do not mention who made the mechanism of the floating rafts that were possibly tied underneath and certainly included some pulley systems so that they could be moved easily from one direction to another. Indeed, materials that were used for this purpose were not mentioned either. In addition, as narratives of the festival indicate, these shows also incorporated music, dance and a kind of theatrical enactment. From an organizational logic, the superintendent of the

festival and his subsidiaries must have been concerned with assigning some performers to some specific floating rafts that made firework shows so that they could easily manage the program. Nevertheless, the backstage of this organizational phase seem to not have been documented.

Although some aspects of the enactment of public performances during the festival cannot be recuperated, a joint consideration of the empirical, narrative and pictorial sources still provided a strikingly detailed frame. As has been elucidated above, the performers of the festival, who came from the western provinces of the empire and from the capital city, were composed of men of different skills. They not only received food and daily income, but they also got extra rewards in return for their service in the festival. Indeed, occasionally they ensured material renewal by making the excuse of the temporality of the imperial festival. In this respect, the most beneficiary group of contributors to the festival seems to have been performers. Indeed, their contribution was often voluntary as opposed to the workers, the inhabitants of the city, the functionaries and court officials and the guildsmen of the city.

5.4 The guild parades in the festival

In the 1582 imperial circumcision festival for the first time in Ottoman history, extensive guild parades were held as a part of the festival morphology. Derin Terzioğlu, in her seminal study on this festival, puts that this novelty was "probably reflecting the gradual strengthening of the guilds as an institution between the artisans and the state.[910] In addition, as Suraiya Faroqhi contends this can also be "viewed as a means of integrating guildsmen into the structure of the Ottoman

[910] Terzioğlu, "1582 Imperial Festival," 90.

polity."[911] During the 1582 festival various guilds paraded in front of the sultan and the audience with three-dimensional models of their workshops. According to the most extensive version of Intizami's *sūrnāme* on the 1582 festival, 173 guilds participated in the festival[912] yet Mustafa Ali, who also left an account on this festival, mentioned 250 guilds.[913]

After this grand scale event, the guild parades seem to have become an integral part of the imperial public celebrations. For example, in 1638, before Sultan Murad IV marched for the military campaign, public festivities were held in the capital city. Extensive guild parades were one of the most significant components of this celebratory event, as it was related in detail by Evliya Çelebi. Evliya mentioned that, 1109 guilds that were divided into 57 crafts took part in this event.[914] In 1657, according to the authority of Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, the victorious advances of the Ottomans in Crete were celebrated in the city, and guild parades were again a part of the spectacle.[915] The testimonies of some other contemporary observers indicate that such parades were also held in other urban centers.[916] For instance, French traveler Thévenot, in his eyewitness account from the seventeenth century,

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[911] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Faroqhi for kindly sharing her recent article with me before its publication. See Faroqhi, "The parades of Ottoman guildsmen: Self-assertion and submission to the sultan's command," forthcoming article.

[912] Gisela Proczaska says that the number of guilds mentioned in four different copies of the text are not same, the highest number is 173 as mentioned in the Vienna copy. See Prochazka, "Guild Parades in Ottoman Literature, 76.

[913] Öztekin ed. *Camiu'l-buhur der mecalis-i sur*.

[914] Each group (comprising 57 in total) consisted of subsidiary guilds, whose members were engaged in closely related crafts/tasks. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I, 220-258.

[915] Suraiya Faroqhi provides an invaluable evaluation of the early modern Ottoman victory celebrations and compares them with the contemporary Venetian celebratory forms. I would like to express my special thanks to Prof. Faroqhi for sharing this article with me before its publication. See Idem, "Victory Celebrations in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," n. 70. On the 1657 celebrations also see Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, 291-294.

[916] Suraiya Faroqhi in two recent articles provides a detailed record of the testimonies of the European observers and Ottoman witnesses on guild parades that were held in Ottoman urban centers other than the imperial capital city. Prof. Faroqhi draws attention to the fact that while some of these testimonies that were recorded by the foreigners provide interesting observations, others were blended with a certain degree of prejudice. See Faroqhi, "The parades of Ottoman guildsmen," and idem, "Victory Celebrations in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire."

mentioned that in 1664, while he was in Aleppo, he witnessed a guild parade as a part of the celebrations that were held for the birth of Şehzade Mustafa, who was the son of the reigning sultan Mehmed IV.[917] In late 1671–early 1672, the Venetian traveller Ambrosio Bembo (1652-1705) visited Aleppo, and there he saw the celebrations that were held after the Ottomans' conquest of Kamaniçe (a fortified town in Poland-Lithuania, in today's Ukraine).[918] As he said, guild parades were part of these celebrations where guilds paraded with their small-scale workshops while displaying their skills.

Similarly, Silahdar Mehmed mentioned that in 1090 Muharram (February, 1679) the reigning sultan Mehmed IV's return from the Polish campaign was celebrated in Istanbul for three days and nights. As he put it, during these celebrations, the guildsmen of the city paraded in front of the Tersane palatial complex at Haliç (Golden Horn). For this seaside show, the guildsmen had rented floating rafts, over which they put models of their workshops.[919]

These examples further indicate the integration of guild parades in the overall morphology of the imperial celebratory events. Parallel to that, in the 1675 imperial circumcision festival that was held in Edirne and likewise in the 1720 festival, guild parades were staged as part of the festival. Although the *sūrnāme* of Abdi on the 1675 festival mentions only 14 guilds, other narrative and archival sources show that during this festival, 60 guilds participated in the parade.[920] In the 1720 festival on the other hand, *sūrnāmes* and archival documents mention 47 guilds.

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[917] Cited in And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, for the original reference see Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant.*

[918] Cited in Faroqhi, "Victory Celebrations in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire." For the original reference see Bembo, *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo.* 77-78.

[919] Silahdar Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*.

[920] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v. 4- 5. For the list of guildsmen who participated in the parade also see the gift register TSMA.d. 10022, fol. 1b-6b. For the registers of the imperial treasury see TSMA.d. 154. This book of registers that was kept by the imperial treasury is transcribed by Şaduman Tuncer. See Tuncer, "The Ottoman Imperial Festival of 1675."

Although it is quite clear that the parading guilds represented only a small portion of all guilds that were active in the cities, why a particular group participated is not known. Maybe this was related to the strict programming of these festivals, as public celebration of both festivals lasted for 15 days as opposed to the 52 day-long circumcision festival of the 1582. As the public celebrations of the 1675 and 1720 festivals were scheduled in two weeks, perhaps for this reason the organizers might have called for a limited number of guilds.

Whether a particular guild or one of its subsidiary guilds participated in the parade or not, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter the obligatory contribution amount for the preparation of their customary gifts and shows seem to have been jointly paid. In this respect, even though some guilds did not attend the parade, the economic burden still seems to have been shared.[921] Alternatively, this limited participation of the guilds might also be related to the fact that some guilds were subsidized by other guilds whose crafts were closely related.[922] Then, perhaps the authors of *sūrnāmes* mentioned only the names of the master guilds and a few of their subsidiary guilds, omitting a large number of others.

Gisela Prochazka, in her insightful study on the textual representations of the guild parades in the *sūrnāme* genre, questions whether one can deduce a general pattern for the ordinance of guilds during the aforementioned three imperial circumcision festivals. As she puts it, in the guild parades of the 1582 circumcision festival for example, some guilds that were traditionally been despised such as

[921] Yet, a document on the 1720 festival shows that subsidiary guilds could be exempted from contribution on the basis that they had made a contribution to the former military campaign. Nevertheless, according to the imperial order on that matter, the members of the master guild then would compensate the subsidiary guild's contribution amount. For a detailed discussion of this matter see Chapter 4.

[922] For example, according to an archival document the guild of grocers were subsidized by a number of guilds including fruit vendors, sorbet sellers, halva sellers, candy sellers, *boza* sellers, starch sellers, drier meat sellers. See BOA. AE. SAMD. III. 3/220. For a detailed discussion of the document see Chapter 4.

blacksmiths, tanners, and butchers paraded in the last order.[923] However this ordinance was not observed in the successive circumcision festivals of the 1675 and 1720.

Although it is not possible to understand the ordinance logic of the court officials of these guild parades, some other general patterns can be discerned. For example, in the 1582 festival, various non-artisanal groups such as imams, superintendents of weights and measures (*muhtesib*), religious students, town criers as well as non-Muslims of the city were also incorporated into the parading of guilds. However, in the 1675 and 1720 festivals, except for the tradesmen and in the 1720 festival except for the Jews of Istanbul,[924] all other participants were artisanal groups. As Terzioğlu says this had to do with the more elaborate institutional organization of guilds by the mid-seventeenth century.[925] Indeed, in the 1720 festival their stewards, who were marching at the front line of each guild, represented the guilds and they were in charge of presenting their customary gifts to the sultan. Thus, in the early eighteenth century, the internal organization of the guilds had become even more sophisticated.[926]

According to *sūrnāmes*, in the 1720 festival the parade of guilds began on the sixth day of the festival. *Sūrnāmes* of the festival and the complete gift register of the imperial treasury[927] follow a similar pattern on this matter.[928] However, there are a

[923] Prochazka, "Guild Parades."
[924] According to the gift register of the imperial treasury and Hafız Mehmed's *sūrnāme* the Jews of Istanbul presented their gifts to the sultan in the eighth day's parade. Vehbi in his narrative refers this group as "the Jewish merchants" who participated in the guilds parade with the chief merchants of the imperial court.
[925] Terzioğlu, "1582 Imperial Festival," 90.
[926] On the organization and social structure of guilds in Ottoman lands see Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*; Idem, "Keeping artisans in their places," 382-395; Yi, "Rich Artisans and Poor Merchants? 194-216; Idem, "Artisans' Networks and Revolt in Late Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 105-126. For a broader evaluation of the topic see Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire.*
[927] Apart from this book of the imperial treasury, there is another book BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/169, which is made up of twelve pages that solely recorded the customary gifts of the guildsmen. Although

few exceptions to the uniformity of these sources. First of all, in both *sūrnāmes* names of some subsidiary guilds were specified. Yet, in the gift register of the treasury, they were referred to only as "subsidiaries" with the exception of the mention of a few subsidiary guilds, such as bread sellers, who were subsidiary to the guild of bakers and millers, and baggy trouser makers, who were subsidiary to the guild of tailors. This might have been a practical choice. Rather than noting the names of each subsidiary guild, the clerks might have mentioned only the subsidiary guilds that presented a gift to the sultan by themselves.

A second difference between sources is that Vehbi's *sūrnāme* omitted the Jews of Istanbul, who also took part in the guild parade. Thanks to the account of Hafız Mehmed and the gift register of the treasury we learn that they took their parts during parades. Another difference is that the guild of mirror makers that was mentioned by Vehbi in the tenth day's parade does not appear in the gift register or in account of Hafız Mehmed. As all gift-presenting guilds were clearly mentioned in the treasury's register, perhaps mirror makers took part in the parades but did not present gifts to the sultan. This could have been the reason they were not mentioned in these sources. As Table 27 shows, guild parades started on the sixth day of the festival and continued on the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh day. Each day, approximately ten or eight guilds paraded in front of the audience with their workshops and customary gifts. On the last day of the guild parades, which happened on the eleventh day of the festival however, only seven guilds took their part in the ceremonial space at Ok Meydanı.

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this book did not follow the daily order of the guilds, their gifts were recorded in parallel to the treasury book.

[928] Hafız Mehmed's account follows the exact terminology and order of the gift register of the Imperial treasury. As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, since the superintendent of the festival commissioned Hafız Mehmed's narrative, this author must have had access to the archival documents that were kept by the clerks of the superintendent and clerks of the imperial treasury. Vehbi's text also adheres to the general format yet; in some days in the ordinance of guilds there are slight differences.

Table 27. Daily Organization of the Parading Guilds[929]

Sixth day	Eighth day	Ninth day	Tenth day	Eleventh day
Bread sellers of Istanbul (*Etmekciyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Tent makers of Istanbul (*Çadırcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Carpenters (*Neccārān*)	Beeswax dealers in Istanbul (*Balmumcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Silver or gold thread makers (*Sırmakeşḫān*)
Bakers and millers (*Ḥabbazān ve degirmenciyān*)	Shoe makers/sellers of Istanbul (*Ḥaffāfān-ı İstānbūl*)	Cloth merchants of Istanbul (*Bezzazān-ı İstānbūl*)	Paper makers of Istanbul (*Kāġıdcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Blacksmiths (*Naʿlbendān*)
Sheep butchers (*Ḳāṣṣabān-ı ġanem*)	Grocers of Istanbul (*Baḳḳālān-ı İstānbūl*)	Cooks of Istanbul (*Aşcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Herbalists/perfumers (*ʿAṭṭārān*)	Silk fabric woven with threads of gold and silver weavers (*Serāseciyān-ı İstānbūl*)
Ox butchers (*Ḳāṣṣabān-ı baḳar*)	Quilted turban makers of Istanbul (*Ḳavukcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Silk manufactures of Istanbul (*Ġazzazān-ı İstānbūl*)	Sword and knife makers of Istanbul (*Ḳılıccıyān ve bıçaḳcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Packsaddle makers (*Semerciyān-ı İstānbūl*)
Tanners of Istanbul (*Debbāġān-ı İstānbūl*)	(Soft felt cap makers of Istanbul (*ʿArakıyyeciyān-ı İstānbūl*)[930]	Iron tip of a shoe/boot makers of Istanbul (*Naʿlçacıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Tinsmiths of Istanbul (*Ḳalāycıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Hair rope makers of Istanbul (*Muytābān-ı İstānbūl*)
Candle makers (*Mumcıyān*)	Quilt makers of Istanbul (*Yorġāncıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Tailors of Istanbul (*Ḫayyāṭān-ı İstānbūl*)	Dealers in second hand wares (*Eskiciyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Barley sellers of Istanbul (*Arpacıyān-ı İstānbūl*)
Barbers of Istanbul (*Berberān-ı İstānbūl*)	The new bazaar merchants (*Bezistāniyān-ı cedīd-i İstānbūl*)	Baggy trouser makers of Istanbul (*Çaḳşırcıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	*Fur makers* (*Ḳürkciyān*)	A silk and satin cloth weavers (*Ṣandalcıyān*)
Saddlers of Istanbul (*Serrācān-ı İstānbūl*)	Wools/cotton fluffers of Istanbul (*Ḥallācān-ı İstānbūl*)	Copper smiths of Istanbul (*Ḳazġāncıyān-ı İstānbūl*)	Arrow and bow makers (*Oḳcıyān ve yaycıyān*)	
The old bazaar merchants (*Bezistāniyān-ı ʿatīk*)		The chief merchants of the imperial court, in charge of overall palace purchases (*Bazergānān-ı rikāb-ı hümāyūn*)	Goldsmiths (*Ḳūyımcıyān*)	
Dealers of sheep trotters (*Paçacıyān*)		Jews of Istanbul [931] (*Yahudiyān-ı İstānbūl*)		

[929] In this Table, I have followed the exact order of the guilds as they were noted in the gift register of the festival (TSMA.d. 9561). When compared with the accounts of Vehbi and Hafız Mehmed there are minor changes in the ordinance of the guilds. In the treasury register the clerks did not use the term *eṣnāf* (the guild) before the name of each group rather they simply noted the name of the craft of each group. Yet, in the archival documents related to the borrowed utensils for the festival the same group of guildsmen was referred to as *eṣnāf*. Vehbi on the other hand, in his textual narrative often referred the guildsmen as *taʿife* (literally means a sect or body of men) or as *hirfet* (trade, handicraft). The use of these different terms indicates that possibly they were used interchangeably.

[930] *ʿArakiyye* means a soft felt cap worn under a turban or a *fes*, so this group must have been producers of these felt caps.

[931] In Vehbi's narrative, this group is mentioned among the group of the merchants of the imperial court however in Hafız Mehmed's account as well as in the gift register of the treasury they were mentioned as a separate group.

Although one cannot deduce a craft or skill-based pattern in the guild's ordinance, a heretofore-unknown archival document shows that the officials of the festival had predetermined this pattern in advance. This document seems to have been extracted from a book, possibly from one of the books of registers that was kept by the men of the superintendent of the festival on the preparations of the festival. The title of the section related to the guild parades reads "This is the book of the arrangement of the guilds that is [compiled] to present the gifts of the guildsmen according to an order to the imperial presence [of the sultan] during the imperial festival."[932] Thus, as the title indicates, the officials of the festival wanted to make sure that the guilds would parade in a planned order. This order, however, differs from that of the gift register and *sūrnāmes* in two main aspects. First of all, in this preparatory document the guild parades were scheduled for seven days, beginning on the fifth day of the festival and lasting until the eleventh day. However, the treasury's gift register and *sūrnāmes* mention that parades began on the sixth day and continued on the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh day of the festival. Secondly, the daily ordinance of guilds is quite different in this document. Moreover, a few guilds such as saddlers and sheep's trotter dealers seem to have been omitted in this preparatory document. Although this document does not represent the final format and the ultimate order of the parading guilds, it is still very important to substantiate the claim that there was an organizational logic behind the parades, which, for some reason, changed afterwards. This is to say that even though a craft-based pattern cannot be deduced from the ordinance of the guilds, in the minds of the planners, this order must have had a certain meaning, which remains unknown to us. Maybe the ordinance of the guilds

[932] BOA. D.BŞM. SRH. 1/191, (recto side of the document): "Sūr-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫitānda ḥuzur-ı hümāyūna eṣnāf ṭarafından verilecek hedāyāyı tertib üzere verilmek içün eṣnāfıñ tertibi defteridir."

was made according to the content of their shows that were staged almost like theatrical performances. Or maybe a negotiation took place between the planners of the festival and the representatives of the guilds in determining their daily ordinance in the festival's parades. Considering the relative autonomy of the guilds while preparing their shows and the related equipment, perhaps they were equally autonomous in taking decisions related to when and in which order they would partake in parades. [933]

5.4.1 The guild parades as performance

The integration of the guild parades into the overall morphology of the imperial celebratory events was in one aspect related to the growing institutionalization of the guilds in the Ottoman socio-economic system. Yet these extensive parades' semiotic and performative aspect should also be considered. To explain one of the semiotic meanings of such guild parades, Suraiya Faroqhi puts that, "these festive portrayals by Ottoman artisans celebrated technical skills, either by displaying masterly pieces of work or by virtue of the simple fact that the young craftsmen produced usable goods…"[934] Parallel to that, in the 1720 imperial festival some guilds paraded with elaborately designed three dimensional architectural forms such as the two-storied, red silk covered kiosk of the guild of carpenters, which they made and presented to the sultan (Fig. A59).[935] Another example is the giant galleon of the guild of flax dealers, which was filled with valuable textiles and was carried on land by one hundred men (Fig. A60, A61). Some guilds such as grocers, green grocers, tailors,

[933] Evliya Çelebi, in his narrative on Istanbul, in the long section where he related guild parades during the reign of Murad IV (in 1638) mentions a number of episodes when different guilds went into a conflict for determining their ordinance during the enactment of the parade. See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, I, 239-240; 252-253.
[934] Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 170.
[935] Levni did not represent this elaborate kiosk of the tent makers in his composition of the ninth day's guild parade see TSM. A. 3593 fol. 123a.

shoemakers, cup makers, and textile dealers on the other hand, simply displayed their products in small-scale kiosks, which were reminiscent of their actual workshops.

Apart from celebrating the technical and artisanal skills of the guilds that were active in the empire, certainly guild parades added a fascinating social dimension to this imperial festival by putting the milieu of the urban marketplace and its oral and material culture on stage. At this point, it should be highlighted however that these parades were staged as a part of an imperial festival, so to a certain extent both materially and visually they needed to adjust to the grandeur of the event. This is to say that these guild parades rather displayed a relatively embellished view of the guildsmen and their material culture. Yet, without any doubt, they still provided a vivid vista of the social and economic life of the city. As the structure of the Ottoman imperial festival was somewhere in-between the official feast and urban celebration,[936] perhaps the guild parades were one of the most explicit representations of the unofficial and non-courtly aspect of such cultural forms.

As narratives of the 1720 festival related, especially the text of Vehbi, during these parades the guildsmen of the city not only displayed their crafts, products and workshops but they also enacted verbal[937] and musical/theatrical shows. In this respect, it would not be wrong to perceive these extensive guild parades "as" a performance.[938] These oral performances in guild parades were enacted in the form of reciting ironic and humorous chants (*zemzeme*), pieces of poetry in hemistiches, which have rhymes (*terāne*) and couplets (*beyit*) that were often related to the beauties or skills of some of the craftsmen of the guild. While, each guild was parading with their miniature scale workshops or by showing their products to the

[936] Terzioğlu,"The 1582 Imperial Festival."
[937] Baumann, *Verbal Act as Performance*; also see Stoelje and Baumann, "Semiotics of Folkloric Performance."
[938] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 30-32.

audience, some members were reciting these verbal compositions. Although these short poems that were mentioned by Vehbi seem to have been different from those of Hafız Mehmed, both authors used a simple, almost spoken-like language. This literary aspect is especially notable in Vehbi's text because in these parts of the text his heavy ornate style turns into a simple format.[939] In this respect, it would not be wrong to say that with this literary choice, Vehbi articulated the urban/street level aspect of the festival in his court-commissioned and official narrative of the festival.

Most of the couplets or chanting of the guildsmen seem to have eulogized beautiful young guildsmen, that is, the male beauties in the city, a frequent theme in Ottoman literature.[940] One of these *zemzeme*, the one that was noted by Vehbi for the guild of mirror makers,[941] is particularly interesting because in a painting that was made by Ibrahim, one sees a visual reference to this short verse. In the painting (Fig. A62) at the upper left side of the page, one sees the guild of mirror makers parading in the last order. The guild is notable with their workshop, which is full of different sizes and shapes of mirrors. A young member of the guild was depicted as sitting inside this workshop, while he was holding a mirror in his hand. Strikingly, half of his face was reflected in the mirror. Turning back to the textual narrative, Vehbi

[939] In the *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival İntizami also mentioned that the guildsmen were parading while reciting verses and he also recorded these poems, which were mentioned in his text as rhythmic couplets (*mesnevi*). See, Aslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v. 2. For an analysis of the imagery of the city, the audience, the guildsmen and the dignitaries in the 1582 *sūrnāme* from the point of "viewing" and "sight" see Kafescioğlu, "Sokağın, Meydanın, Şehirlilerin Resmi."

[940] Especially, *şehrengiz* (city thriller) comes to mind in this category. This genre was especially popular between the sixteenth and nineteenth century classical Ottoman poetry. These poems take their subject from the urban settings, aspects of its life and the city's male or female beauties. Most of these poems take as their subject the cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne as well as Skopje, Belgrade, Venice, Rize, Yenişehir, Sinop, Manisa. The genre is represented by about fifty works, of which less than forty are extant. See Levend, *Türk Edebiyatinda Şehrengizler*; Robinson, "A Neglected Poem," 201-221. Apart from *şehrengiz* genre, this theme was also represented in other literary forms. See Kuru, "Naming the Beloved in Ottoman Turkish Gazel."

[941] Interestingly, this guild was not mentioned in the treasury's gift register or in any other archival sources. Indeed, although Vehbi mentioned the guild, he did not note their gifts, which implies that either this was an addition of Vehbi or they participated but for some reason were not obliged to present gifts to the sultan.

noted this chanting: "Look at the mirror, o beloved one! See who you are, you are unmatched [in beauty] who strikes hundred Josephs with admiration."[942]

Apart from eulogies of the beauties of the city, Vehbi's narrative also includes some didactic couplets such as that of the cooks. While cooks paraded in front of the audience on the tenth day of the festival, they also distributed food and drinks to the audience (Fig. A63). As Vehbi relates, seeing some insolent spectators, they delightfully gave some advice by chanting: "do not bestow [your] hand on each beloved's table, do not [mistakenly] think that each spoon [you see] is your mouth's spoon."[943]

Besides these oral performances, the guild parades were staged almost like theatrical plays. While parading and chanting, the guildsmen also enacted scenes from their daily activities in small-scale workshops. The pictorial representations of the festival provide invaluable visual information to understand how these workshops and shows of the guildsmen might have looked. As the pictorial representations show, some of these workshops were carried by horses or by an ox, and a few that were like a palanquin were carried by hand. Most of these seem to have been designed like a baldachin that was supported by pillars (possibly wooden) and had triangular or hemispherical roofs. One guild member was sitting inside this baldachin like workshop that was richly decorated with the products of each guild. Ibrahim's pictorial representations provide hints to better understand the actual shape and design of these workshops. His almost three-dimensional depiction of the workshop of some guilds such as that of textile dealers from the guildsmen of the new bazaar, the cooks, the shoemakers, and the goldsmiths, are particularly striking

[942] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 634: "Mir ʾāta ḳıl bir kez naẓar, gör kendüñi cānā nesin, yüz Yūsuf'ı ḥayrān ider bir miṯli yoḳ cānānesin."
[943] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 620: "her bir güzeliñ mā'ide-i vaslına ṣunmañ, her gördügüñüz aġzıñızıñ kaşığı sanmañ."

on that matter. To give an example, in Ibrahim's depiction of the eighth day's guild parade one sees the workshop of textile dealers from the guildsmen of the new bazaar, carried by oxen (Fig. A64). In the painting, as opposed to many other workshops that were represented frontally, this workshop was depicted three dimensionally so that the observer can see all sides of this structure. The backside of the structure was designed like a cabinet, which had five shelves onto which bundles of different colored textiles were placed. Inside the workshop a young member was sitting and he was depicted measuring a piece of textile. This depiction shows that some of these workshops had highly elaborate designs, which must have further contributed to the visual impact of these shows.

A number of workshops, on the other had simpler designs. Except in a few cases,[944] Levni, in his pictorial representations often depicted those workshops in a similar manner as a baldachin like structure (Fig. A65, A66). Nevertheless, Ibrahim clearly differentiated more elaborate designs from the simpler ones. In these rather simple examples, the workshops do not have roofs and they look like wagons drawn by horses or by an ox. Inside these wagons, over a flat surface the products or artisanal objects of the guilds were simply placed. Examples of such workshops include that of the guild of fruit vendors (Fig. A67), tailors (Fig. A68), boot/shoe's iron tips makers (Fig. A68), shoe makers (Fig. A69) and silk fabric woven with threads of gold and silver weavers (Fig. A70). This visual differentiation in Ibrahim's pictorial of the representation of the guilds is worth mentioning. Certainly, one should not generalize the economic power of the guilds by simply looking at how they exhibited their workshops. Still this portrayal could be indicative of at least how much they might have spent for preparing their shows.

[944] These exceptions are seen in Levni's depiction of the guild of bakers, millers, farmers, kebab makers (TSM A. 3593 fol. 73a, 74a) and his depiction of the guild of silk fabric woven with threads of gold and silver weavers (TSM A. 3593 fol. 140a).

The guild parades of the 1720 festival were especially notable in their spectacle aspect. Puppet shows with giant and small-scale puppets, music and dancing performances, shows displaying the strength of the performers as well as enactments of some acrobats or amusing players were also incorporated to the parades, which differentiates the parades of the festival from that of the 1582 festival.

Both the textual and pictorial narratives of the festival indicate that the parade of almost each guild included some of these additional shows. Indeed, Vehbi's textual narrative apparently focused on some of these shows such as the one of the coppersmiths that happened in the ninth day of the festival. According to Vehbi's narrative, these guildsmen's parade included various performances. To start with, these guildsmen enacted a mock battle scene. A castle maquette that was made of copper was carried in land and a number of men who wore copper headgears surrounded this castle. At the same time a military band was performing and in a workshop of coppersmiths a guild member was performing his craft. Then, as Vehbi stated, a number of *zorbāz* took the stage. One of them put three swords on the ground, while their pointed cutting parts looked up. Then, he lay down on these swords and his colleagues put on his belly a copper ingot, which weighted about 1 *ḳanṭar* (56.449 kg). Then, 10 men started to beat the ingot with heavy hammers.[945] This copper ingot beating show seems to have been a typical performance of the guild of the coppersmiths because in the 1582 festival they enacted almost the same show as the pictorial representations of the 1582 festival illustrates in a painting (Fig. A71).

[945] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 622.

This composite show of the coppersmiths was represented also in the pictorial narratives of the 1720 festival. Ibrahim's painting is particularly interesting, as it depicts almost each material detail that was mentioned in the text (Fig. A72). In the upper left margin of the page, one sees the castle model surrounded by men, the grey color of their headgears must have referred to the text's mention that guild members were wearing headgear that was made of copper. In the second line, the workshop of the coppersmiths that is drawn by horses was represented. A young guildsmen was put inside the workshop and he was depicted as working on a copper shield. In the third line, that is, at the fore ground of the page, a *zorbāz* is seen; he lies above three swords, while their pointed cutting parts looked up just as Vehbi mentioned. And, following the text's narrative, exactly ten men beat a copper ingot that was put on his belly. In Levni's composition however, only the castle combat and copper beating scenes were depicted (Fig. A73). Some material details seem to have been changed in his composition. Neither the copper headgear wearing men are seen around the castle, nor do the sword's pointed cutting parts look up. Indeed, as opposed to Vehbi's declaration, in Levni's composition only six men were depicted as beating the copper ingot. Thus, once again Levni deviates from the textual narrative and presents his own interpretation of the same event.

The spectacle aspect of the guild parades was also accentuated by the incorporation of different puppets to the shows. Vehbi's textual narrative occasionally comments on the impact of these forms on the audience as he related how they terrified or astonished the spectators. For example, one of them, the form of a giant scale wild man (*ādem-i yabānī taṣvīri*), which had two faces, took part in the parade of cattle butchers on the sixth day of the festival. In one of Levni's paintings on the guild parade of the sixth day, one sees this two-faced puppet at the

foreground of the page (Fig. A74). Vehbi noted that the length of this puppet was as if like a pillar (*ḳāmeti gūyā bir sütūn idi*) and mentioned how this puppet had terrified the spectators (*tedhīş-i temāşāyiyān eylediler*).[946] Indeed, he noted that the face of the puppet portrayed a man and woman (*taşvīr-i māde vü mer*) symbolizing a husband and a wife (*timṣāl-i zen ü şehver*). This short comment on the meaning of this dual faced portrayal of a human implies the semiotic meanings that were attached to such representative forms. Indeed, the visual similarity of this two-faced puppet with the depiction of a very similar kind of two-faced puppet in the Taeschner album (ca. 1650s) indicates the frequent appearance of such giant puppets in urban celebratory occasions.[947]

In addition to their performance aspect, one should also consider the cost of these shows for the guildsmen who were in charge of paying for these enactments. Certainly, participating in the parade meant an extra economic burden for the guildsmen. In the archival documents, there are a few indications on the court's provisioning of some objects for the shows of the guildsmen. As has been mentioned before, in the long list of objects that were provisioned by the imperial treasury for some games, one encounters the mention of a butcher's knife for cutting meat, a hanging water reservoir with a tap, a mirror, and a bowl used by barbers, and the cotton/wool fluffer's bow and mallet. The pictorial representations of the festival provide some visual evidence to the use of these particular items by the aforementioned guildsmen in their parades. On the sixth day of the festival the butchers paraded with their workshops, in the pictorial representations of their parade, Levni and Ibrahim, depicted a young butcher as holding a large knife in his

[946] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 560.
[947] Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof-Und Volksleben: Ein Turkisches miniaturen album aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*, plate 11.

hand while he was cutting meat (Fig. A75, A76). This large knife might have been the one that was mentioned in the imperial treasury's list of provisions.

The barber's parade also happened in the same day; as the textual and pictorial representations of the festival show, they enacted an almost theatrical performance related to their craft. During the parade, a barber was shaving his client in their workshop (Fig. A77, A78). In the pictorial representation of Levni, one sees the barber's client, holding a large copper bowl in his hand, and standing under the hanging water reservoir with a tap (Fig. A77). The barber was washing the head of his client with the water streaming from the reservoir. Although the mirror seems not to have been represented in the composition, the bowl and the hanging water reservoir with a tap can be clearly identified in Levni's depiction of the event.

Finally, the cotton/wool fluffers's parade happened on the eighth day of the festival. Although Levni did not depict this guild in his composition of the eighth day's parade, in Ibrahim's painting one sees their workshop where a young member was posed in a sitting position. The guildsmen was holding a bow and mallet in his hand and practicing his craft (Fig. A79). The imperial treasury might have provisioned this bow and mallet, as the aforementioned document indicates.

These examples imply that for the guilds parade, the court might have provided certain items. Apart from these few examples however, the archival documents are totally silent on the background of this process of the guildsmen's provisioning of materials for their shows. This leads one to think that quite possibly the majority of the guilds supplied their own needs, which included the construction of their small scale workshops, providing some new clothing and necessary gadgets to parading members, and perhaps paying for the players, musicians and dancers who paraded with them. This might have been one of the reasons behind the lack of

information in the archival documents on the material aspect or preparatory phase of guild's parade. However, still considering the enormous amount of the archival documents that were kept for the festival, one expects to find some information on the details of at least the general choreography of these guild shows. This is to say, the officials must have had a prior knowledge on the shows of these guilds at least, in order to make sure that their performance would match to the expected grandeur. Nevertheless, either these documents did not survive or they were not kept.

For the guildsmen, participating in the festival meant a huge economic burden. They not only paid for their customary gifts to the sultan but they also prepared shows for their parades. In addition, most of them also had to lend their copper utensils for the festival's kitchen and banquets. Seen from this perspective, perhaps the group who benefited the least in the festival was that of the guildsmen. This must have been the reason why some of them resisted paying their obligatory contribution amounts for the festival.[948] Thus, while the city dwellers, guests, the court elites, officials as well as the performers mostly enjoyed the material and visual affluence and the temporal gaiety of the imperial festival, the guildsmen seem to have undertaken most of the burden of this huge event.

5.5 Conclusion

During the 1720 imperial festival in the richly decorated festival space under the lighting facilities and in the company of elaborately worn officials and dignitaries, performers enacted pompous spectacles for urban dwellers. Certainly, one of the most essential functions of these performances was creating such an atmosphere of gaiety in the locale during the timespan of the festive event.

[948] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of these examples on some guild's disputes over payment.

Despite the popularity of such games, plays, shows on Ottoman festive occasions, so far some basic questions related to their social and material aspects have remained unresolved. This chapter aimed at filling this gap by putting forth proper information on the organization, origins, and skills of these performers and their integration into the 1720 imperial festival. While sometimes, archival documents were as detailed as noting the name, skill, and city of particular performers, sometimes they referred only to the name of the groups. This inconsistency in archival documents implies that quite possibly more detailed and complete registers were also kept for other performers, but unfortunately, they did not survive. Still, the available sources provide the most comprehensive information on the social history and material culture of the performers who staged shows during an Ottoman imperial festival.

The chapter also explained that most of these performers were voluntary participants in the festival and they received a number of benefits including food, payment and extra grants in return for their service. Signifying their socially deprived position in the society, their daily wages were the lowest of all contributors who provided work or service to the festival. Indeed, it is seen that some groups received even less payment than their colleagues.

Some performers also ensured material renewals, as they demanded from the court the provisioning of some specific objects or clothing. A joint consideration of these objects and their narrative as well as their textual and pictorial representations have provided substantial information to reconstruct some of the games that were enacted during the festival. Additionally, these petitions were evaluated to understand the relationship between the Ottoman officials and the performers. As has been discussed in this chapter, the Ottoman court officials seem to have been very

receptive to the demands of the performers. Accordingly, all petitions that either demanded registration in the book of the festival or the provisioning of some objects were answered positively. This situation shows that Ottoman officials were relatively flexible in their programming of the festival and performers could actively integrate themselves to a court-commissioned event.

The continuity of some shows through different imperial festivals such as the hoisting of a silver ewer to the top of a pole, the shows of *ṭāsbāzan* or giant puppets is worth mentioning. This situation indicates that at least from the late sixteenth century onwards, some shows and displays had an established morphology and they were repetitively enacted on different occasions. Many of these shows were not exclusive to the imperial celebrations; a number of pictorial and narrative sources refer to their visibility in the urban milieu. Although this subject needs further research, the available information implies that some of the courtly and urban entertainment forms might have been based on a shared vocabulary.

Finally, the chapter has focused on the extensive guild parades of the festival to understand their performance aspect and their organization on the basis of archival, textual and pictorial sources. As guild parades in Ottoman festivals celebrated the Ottoman crafts, merchandise activities and advances in the technology, at the same time they brought the marketplace and its oral and material culture to the stage. This relatively refined enactment of the urban milieu added a fascinatingly vibrant social dimension to Ottoman celebratory events. The chapter also aimed at approaching the staging of guild parades in Ottoman festivals from the perspective of the officials and also guildsmen. Although the organizational logic behind the ordinance of guilds in parades cannot be retrieved, an unknown archival document showed that Ottoman officials at least intended to plan these spectacles.

However, the ordinance of guilds seems to have altered at some point, indicating that either some revisions were made or a negotiation process took place between the guilds and officials on that matter.

For the guildsmen, on the other hand, participating in the parades must have required time-consuming preparations. They not only displayed their crafts and skills in their small-scale workshops but they also enacted various performances, which must have highlighted the spectacle aspect of their shows. While these shows were one of the most significant components of the festival's morphology, they brought an extra economic burden to the guildsmen. Because of this, the guildsmen of the city might have been the least to benefit from the imperial festival.

CHAPTER 6

PLANNING THE TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FESTIVAL IN THE ILLUSTRATED *SŪRNĀMES*

The pictorial narratives of the festival include a double-page painting that at first glance like looks a greeting ceremony of the dignitaries to the sultan (Fig. A80, A81). The two painter/designers of court commissioned illustrated copies of Vehbi's festival book, Levni and Ibrahim, depicted this scene almost uniformly. On the verso page one sees the grand vizier standing in front of a tent, attired in a white colored[949] and black fur lined caftan and a turban of many plaited folds (*mücevveze*). Three highest-ranking viziers stand on his left and a number of attendants on his right. The former steward Hacı Mehmed Pasha is seen in his front in a slighting bending posture, implying the show of his respect to the grand vizier. On the recto page one sees other members of the Imperial Council and the high-ranking officials from the military. According to the textual narratives, however, this painting was not a greeting to the sultan. Rather, it represented the greeting of the retired steward of the sultan's mother Hacı Mehmed Pasha to the grand vizier Damat Ibrahim Pasha.[950]

In his textual narrative Vehbi does not seem to have placed any particular significance to this event, as he mentioned the greeting of this retired steward to the grand vizier in a very cursory fashion.[951] This makes this painting even more interesting and one wonders why this painting might have been inserted into the imagery of the festival. When one considers that the previous painting was the serial procession of the court elites and the sultan towards the festival space at Ok Meydanı (Fig. A82), and the next painting was the actual greeting ceremony of the dignitaries

[949] According to Vehbi this caftan was made of green satin textile. Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 482.
[950] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 483; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 187.
[951] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 482, 483.

to the sultan (Fig. A83, A84), the possible significance of this painting that focused on the grand vizier becomes clearer. Very possibly, this painting aimed at reminding the beholders from the beginning of the manuscript that the grand vizier had a distinguished position among the hierarchal structure of the court elite. Indeed, the visual resemblance of these two greeting ceremonies further implies the prestige and power of the grand vizier, who was acting as the deputy of the sultan. In addition, the placement of this greeting image of the grand vizier just before that of the sultan, who was in theory the patron of the whole event, might have intended to articulate indirectly that the grand vizier was the actual host of the event and very possibly the patron of its illustrated books.

As has been mentioned in the Introduction, Ottoman court's commissioning of *sūrnāme* for the representation of imperial festivals dated back to the late sixteenth century. The extensively illustrated *sūrnāme* of Intizami in the 1582 festival and non-illustrated *sūrnāmes* of the later festivals were commissioned after the end of the imperial festivals. However, the patronage pattern of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* of the 1720 festival differed from the former examples as they were planned in conjunction with the festival. This aspect of the patronage pattern of the 1720 illustrated *sūrnāmes* indicates that these festival narratives were an integral part of the planning of the festival from the beginning. Thus, addressing the ideological dimension of these illustrated festival narratives helps us to uncover possible motives of the patrons behind staging a public circumcision festival and how they intended to project a self-imagery on such an occasion. While the textual representation foregrounded certain themes, people and events, pictorial representations followed a similar format albeit with the use of different narrative tools. In addition, paintings of two illustrated copies displayed slightly diversified stylistic and compositional

aspects. Thus, the pictorial representations of the festival were not identical. In this respect, to understand the ideological dimension and representational strategies of these illustrated festival books, it is necessary to provide an examination of their commissioning process, codicological and narratological aspects, and representational strategies in the present and next chapter.

The illustrated *sūrnāmes*[952] of the 1720 imperial festival are preserved today at the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library with inventory numbers A. 3593 and A. 3594. Although these manuscripts do not have colophons, one of these copies is likely to have been prepared for the sultan and the other one, which is slightly smaller, for the grand vizier.[953] As has been mentioned above, in Ottoman history, there are only two illustrated examples of this genre, the *sūrnāme* of 1582 festival[954] and that of the 1720 festival.

Seyyid Vehbi (d. 1736), who was a poet and bureaucrat of the time, wrote the text of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* of the 1720 festival. At the introduction of his festival narrative, he told us how he was involved in the project. As he said, before the start of the festival, a competition was held among the poets, and he and the chronicler Raşid Efendi won the challenge.[955] Whether such a competition took place or not, Vehbi was assigned to the project of writing the official narrative of the 1720 festival. Vehbi seems to have been close to the newly appointed grand vizier of the

[952] The *sūrnāme*, a genre peculiar to Ottoman literary tradition, could have prose or verse format and was written to record the occasion of an imperial circumcision, imperial marriages and rarely imperial births. The primary example of this genre was Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's *Cami ül- Buhur der Mecalis-i Sur* (TSM. B. 203) on the 1582 circumcision festival. Although more than fifty imperial festivals are mentioned in contemporary Ottoman sources, only eleven had related *sūrnāmes*. For more see Arslan *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri,* v.1, 22-55.

[953] Esin Atıl is the first scholar to argue that one of these illustrated books (the one that measures one centimeter smaller than the other) might have been made for the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha. Atıl, "The Story of An Eighteenth Century Ottoman Festival."

[954] A poet with a pen name Intizami wrote the book of the 1582 imperial festival with the encouragement of a judge, and after its completion he presented the text to sultan Murad III (1574-1595). Three years later the sultan ordered the preparation of an edited copy and painters of the royal atailer headed by the master Osman illustrated each part.

[955] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 459.

time. After the defeat by the Habsburgs, upon the request of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha, Vehbi is known to have written an account on the necessities and significance of peace, just prior to the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz.[956] Hence, the assignment of this project to him might not have been coincidental.

The connection between Vehbi and the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha is explicitly articulated throughout the official narrative of the festival. Vehbi eulogized the grand vizier's skills, his merits, and qualities. In various parts of his text, he explicitly highlighted the loyalty and commitment of the grand vizier to the sultan and his extraordinarily distinguished position among other dignitaries. Overall, he depicted an image of a powerful, generous, merciful and truly committed grand vizier.

Vehbi also recounted how the grand vizier intervened in his textual composition by ordering him to include certain events or to highlight some others. Indeed, according to Vehbi, on the seventh day of the festival the grand vizier asked him whether he recorded each single detail related to the festival, even including an unpleasing event that happened to Vehbi one night before. Accordingly, after the shows of the sixth night, Vehbi's horse escaped and he was left desperate in the darkness of the night. Seeing that the grand vizier was already informed about this event, Vehbi was embarrassed and also surprised. Afterwards, the grand vizier gave him a horse and he told him that even this event should be mentioned in the narrative of the festival. [957] Whether such a conversation took place between the grand vizier and Vehbi or not, the long section that was devoted by Vehbi on this event implies that the grand vizier was highly concerned with the content of the narrative.

[956] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sulhiyye-i Vehbi*, Süleymaniye Ktp. Esad Efendi no. 3655. Cited in Karahasanoğlu, "A Tulip Age Legend," 2, n.3.
[957] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 582-583.

Vehbi seems to have received grants from the grand vizier throughout the festival. At the end of the festival, he mentioned that besides various other grants, he was also given a robe of honor by the grand vizier for his services. Indeed, throughout the festival Vehbi was physically close to the grand vizier as well since he was sitting behind his tent during the course of the festival, having a perfect view of the events. Moreover, Vehbi was present in even small gatherings that were held during rainy days in the tent of the grand vizier. This privileged position of Vehbi stands in stark contrast to the position of Hafız Mehmed Efendi, who was the preacher of the superintendent of the festival Halil Agha and was also given the task of writing a book on the imperial festival.[958] In his short and simple narrative, Hafız Mehmed very briefly mentioned festive events. Acknowledging his limitations from the beginning, at the end of the introductory section of his *sūrnāme*, he said that when the festival began, he was supposed to record all events related to it, but he was unable to accomplish this task because there was a huge crowd at the festival space and he was not able to see the shows properly. Thus, he was helped by a certain chronicler Selman Efendi, whose tent was pitched just next to that of the superintendent of the festival.[959] Thus, the patronage pattern of these two *sūrnāmes* was highly instrumental in determining the content, form and function of their festival narratives.

This chapter will focus on the patronage of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* on the 1720 festival, their commissioning and production process, their artists and calligraphers, and on their codicological aspect. The first part will start with a discussion of the commissioning process and patronage of these illustrated festival

[958] The text of this *sūrnāme* is transcribed by SeyitAli Kahraman and Mehmet Arslan. In this study I have used Seyit Ali Kahraman's version. Kahraman, ed. *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*; Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v.4.
[959] Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü.*

books. The second part will discuss the identities of the calligraphers and painters who were involved in the project. On the basis of new archival sources, this section will illuminate the identity of the painter/designer Ibrahim and his long career at the Ottoman imperial palace. The third part will provide an analysis of the codicology of the *sūrnāmes* on the 1720 festival with a special attention towards the so far neglected copy of Ibrahim. On the basis of the reconstruction of the pages of the manuscript, this section will bring to light the present condition of the manuscript and compare this manuscript with Levni's copy.

6.1 Patronage of the manuscripts

As has been mentioned elsewhere in this study a close reading of the *sūrnāme* of Vehbi suggests that the grand vizier might have been the actual patron of these books.[960] In addition to the aforementioned focus of the textual narrative on the grand vizier and the eulogies of Vehbi, the central imagery of the grand vizier throughout the pictorial narratives is also striking. Furthermore, at the beginning of his text Vehbi also explicitly mentioned that the grand vizier ordered him to record the festival in prose.[961] From the late sixteenth century there are other such examples, when the grand vizier or the chief eunuchs commissioned illustrated books for the Ottoman house and commissioned one other illustrated copy for themselves.[962]

[960] Esin Atıl at the end of her article on the 1720 imperial festival also says that the grand vizier might have been the actual patron of both copies. Yet, in her later published book she mentions that the sultan was the patron of Levni's copy. In addition to that, in *Ottoman Painting*, the authors contend that the sultan was the patron of both copies and the second copy was prepared as a gift to the grand vizier. Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth Century Festival," 200; Idem, *Levni and The Surname*, 34; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 228.

[961] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 463. As a comparison, the non-illustrated *sūrnāme* of the 1675 festival written by the clerk of the chief black eunuch, namely Abdi, and *sūrnāmes* of 1708, 1709, 1710 imperial wedding festivals were written with the order of the chief black eunuch. Similarly, the chief black eunuch was involved in the preparation of the illustrated copy for the *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival written by Intizami. See Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v. 5, v. 7.

[962] Although from the late sixteenth century there are various examples that designate the patronage of the grand viziers and chief black eunuchs of the illustrated history books, only in some cases a number

It is also worth mentioning here the multi dimensional implications of the term patron. As it has convincingly been argued in studies on Ottoman book painting, this term not only refers to a person who ordered or paid for an artwork. Rather, it also comprises the agency of multiple actors such as viziers, chief eunuchs, members of ulema, court officials, calligraphers, and painters where Ottoman court projects are concerned.[963]

The illustrated *sūrnāme* of the 1582 festival was also produced through such an intricate patronage process. The author of the text, İntizami of Foça, noted in the margin of two of the copies of his textual narrative that he began writing the book of the imperial festival with the encouragement of a certain judge named Süleyman Efendi and through the agency of palace official named Hasan Agha he presented a section of his text to the sultan. As the sultan was pleased, he ordered Intizami to finish his text and in return granted him a permanent scribal position at the imperial palace. After three years, with the initiatives of the chief black eunuch, Mehmed Agha and another eunuch Zeyrek Agha, this time Intizami was ordered to edit his text which would also be extensively illustrated upon the imperial order.[964] Thus, while the final version of the text of İntizami seems to have been shaped through the interventions of Mehmed Agha and Zeyrek Agha, initially there were other agents who were involved in the production of the book.

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of illustrated copies were prepared. One such example is *Zübdetü't Tevarih*, which has three illustrated copies one for the sultan, one for the grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha and one for the chief black eunuch Mehmed Agha. Another example is *Şemailnāme*, a project that was initiated through the initiative of the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha. Besides the illustrated copies that were prepared for Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, Sinan Pasha, Ahmed Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha, there are at least a dozen of illustrated copies from the last two decades of the sixteenth century. A further example is *Şehname-i Medhi*, which has two illustrated set of volumes one for the sultan and one for the chief black eunuch Mustafa Agha, who was the actual patron of the project. See Necipoğlu, "Word and Image"; Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar*.

[963] For a detailed discussion on the relations between patron/s, agents, producers, readers see Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 91-138.

[964] Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 107.

Between the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, when the illustrated history book production at the Ottoman court was in its heyday, these books were used as powerful tools of image making for the sultan, his dignitaries and courtiers.[965] At the same time, these books intended to legitimize and solidify established hierarchies among the ruling elite and the high-ranking dignitaries of the court. This study argues that the commissioning of illustrated *sūrnāmes* for the 1720 festival might also have had to a similar intention. Reviving this prestigious cultural form must have been a deliberate choice of the grand vizier, whose centrality in the text and image signifies that one of the main objectives of these books was to highlight the privileged and central position of the sultan's esteemed deputy in the overall state apparatus.

6.2 The calligraphers and painters of the festival books

Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necip Efendi (d.1758), who was a calligrapher and chronicler, in his book on the calligraphers of the time devoted a section to Şakir Hüseyin Beyefendi (d.1743).[966] Suyolcuzade said that, he and Şakir Hüseyin worked on the copying of the imperial festival book of the time of Sultan Ahmed III. Şakir Hüseyin wrote in *taʿlīḳ* script and himself in *nesiḫ* script. He also added that they started copying the text in year the 1132 (1720) and that Şakir Hüseyin finished his work in five years. Indeed, painters/designers (*muṣavvirler*) named Levni Çelebi and Ibrahim were also appointed to the project. According to Suyolcuzade, everyone who worked

[965] For the studies that address the semiotic aspect of the illustrated histories of the Ottoman court see Necipoğlu, "Word and Image"; Bağcı, "Visualizing Power"; Fetvacı, Sarayın İmgeleri; Idem, " From Print to Trace"; Idem, " The Production of Şehname-i Selim Han"; Çağman, "Portrait Series of Nakkaş Osman"; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar;* Tanındı, "Transformation of Words into Image."

[966] On life and career of these calligraphers see Derman, "Surnamenin Resimlendirilmesine Dair," 1526.

on the project was filled with pleasure, yet only he was left desperate.[967] This brief section includes significant information on the calligraphers, painters/designers and on the production process of the illustrated copies of Vehbi's *sūrnāme*. Besides giving us the names of artists who were involved in the project, this section also indicates that the copying process of Vehbi's text started very promptly, very possibly as soon as the festival ended (in 7 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1132/10 October, 1720). Parallel to that, at the concluding section of his text Vehbi said that from now on he would start working on preparing edited versions of his notes.[968] Indeed, at end of the chronogram that he wrote as a memorandum for finishing his festival book, he also gave the date 1132 (1720).[969]

As Suyolcuzade said, he copied the text in *nesiḫ* script, and then he refers to the slightly smaller illustrated copy of Vehbi's *sūrnāme* that must have been made for the grand vizier. The other copy was written by Şakir Hüseyin Beyefendi, and two paintings of this copy bear the signature of Levni. Thus, we have a different calligrapher and a different painter/designer, each working independently on different copies of the same festival book.

Archival evidence further substantiates this claim. A hitherto unknown document that carries the date 28 *Ẕi'l-ḳa'de* 1133 (20 September, 1721) certifies the bestowal of royal grant (*inʿām*) to calligrapher (*muḥarrir*) Necip Efendi and painter/designer (*muṣavvir*) Ibrahim Çelebi for recording and painting the 1720 imperial circumcision festival. Besides indicating that Necip Efendi and Ibrahim Çelebi were working together in one of the illustrated copies of the 1720 *sūrnāme*,

[967] Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necip Efendi, *Devhatü'l Küttab*, 70.
[968] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 680.
[969] Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri*, v.8, 457. Esin Atıl and Uğur Derman mistakenly give the date 1140 (1728) for the compilation of Vehbi's *sūrnāme*, which however does also not match with the information given by Suyolcuzade because he said that Hüsayin Şakir finished the copying of the text in 1725. Derman, "Surnamenin Resimlendirilmesine Dair," 1527; Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, 34.

this document also shows that in the span of one year after the end of the festival the illustration process was well underway. Hence, the illustrated copy for the grand vizier and the sultan's copy seem to have been prepared simultaneously.[970]

Another document dated 1134 (1722), on the other hand, indicates that the author of the *sūrnāme*, Seyyid Vehbi, might also have acted as the supervisor when the illustrated copies were prepared.[971] The document lists the names of some paints and other materials that were provisioned for the project, which were given to Vehbi to be handed over to a certain '*Acem* (Persian) painter/designer. This painter might have been one of the enrolled painter/designers working in the corps of painters/designers (*naḳḳāşān*) at the imperial palace, who might have also been involved in the project as a subsidiary painter/designer to Levni or Ibrahim.

What about the identities of painters/designers who were in charge of illustrating the festival books? Identifying the painter/designer of the sultan's copy is relatively easy given that he (Levni) had signed two of festival paintings.[972] In addition, as will be mentioned below there are a number of contemporary sources that provide information about his life. The painter/designer of the other illustrated festival book, whose name was Ibrahim, however did not sing his paintings. Until now, only information related his identity came from a brief mention in the aforementioned contemporary account of Suyolcuzade on calligraphers and painters of the time.[973] It is worth mentioning here that, these two painter/designers might

[970] Esin Atıl also mentions this possibility. But at the same time she says that Levni must have supervised paintings of Ibrahim's copy. Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, 36.
[971] Uğur Derman introduced this document to the literature. Derman, "Surnamenin Resimlendirilmesine Dair."
[972] TSM. A.3593, fol. 20b, 173a. In addition, there are a number of other works that bear his signature. See İrepoğlu, *Levni, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*.
[973] This information introduced to the literature first by Derman, "Surnamenin Resimlendirilmesine Dair"; Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necip Efendi, *Devhatü'l Küttab*, 70.

have also been accompanied by a group of artists.[974] This is to say that very possibly Levni and Ibrahim worked as the head painter/designer of their own team of artists.

According to eighteenth-century author, Hüseyin Ayvansarayi Abdülcelil Levni Çelebi came from Edirne. In Istanbul, first he worked as an apprentice painter/designer and then he developed an interest towards painting/designing. As Ayvansarayi added, Levni also composed poems. He died in 1145 (1732/33) and was buried at a lodge near the Otakçılar Mosque.[975] Apart from Ayvansarayi, another contemporary author, Dimitrius Cantemir, in his history on the Ottoman Empire mentions a certain Leon Çelebi, who was working as a head painter at the sultan's palace.[976] Although this man might have been Levni Çelebi, according to the registers of the *Ehl-i Ḥiref* (literally means the Society of the Talented but refers to the organization of a diverse group of craftsmen and artists who were organized in different corps at the Ottoman court),[977] which will be discussed later in detail, Levni never obtained an official post at the workshop of painter/designers since he was not enrolled in the court ateliers.

As it has previosuly been introduced to the literature, Levni's name appears in an archival document from 6 *Receb* 1118 (14 October, 1706) where after stating that he was suffering from an eye illness for three years, Levni asked the sultan for his royal benefaction. In return for his request, a daily income of 20 *akçe* from the

[974] Broadly speaking, festival paintings of Levni and those of Ibrahim display a compositional and stylistic unity. However, in details of some paintings (of both copies) one also sees traces of different hands, which signifies the involvement of other painter/designers in the project.
[975] Ayvansarayi, *Mecmu'a-ı Tevārīh*, 175.
[976] Cited in İrepoğlu, *Levni, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*, 39, n. 3,4.
[977] On *Ehl-i Hiref* see Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları,* Idem, *Türk Cilt Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*; Çağman, "Mimar Sinan Döneminde," 73-77; Idem, "Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri Üzerine"; Atıl, "The Nakkaşhane," 29-111; Idem, "The Art of the Book"; Bağcı and Tanındı, "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III," 262-468; Tanındı, "13-14. Yüzyılda Yapılmış Kur'anların Kanuni Döneminde Yenilenmesi," 67-98; Necipoğlu,"A Kanun for the State,"195-217; Kazan, "Ehl-i Hiref Defterlerinde Katipler."

Edirne customs was assigned to him.[978] Additionally, in the registers of the imperial purse of the sultan (*ceyb-i hümāyūn*) that date 20 *Ẕi'l-ḥicce* 1119 (22 March, 1708) once again his name is seen. Accordingly, he was granted 20 *ġuruş*.[979] Since between these two documents there is a period of one and half years, then very possibly after his recovery from the illness Levni came to the imperial city and either presented one of his works to the sultan or was given a specific commission by the court. Besides these documents certifying Levni's obtaining of certain monetary grants from the sultan, in a number of anthologies of poetry that are preserved at the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library, there are poems that belong to him written in different genres.[980] In addition, there is an album of paintings, which includes his figural paintings and also his signed sultanic portraits.

Without any doubt, Levni was an artist and poet close to the court of Sultan Ahmed III. From time to time he seems to have presented his works to the sultan and was involved in some collaborative projects such as the illustrated *sūrnāme* project of the 1720 festival. On Ibrahim Çelebi, however, except for his name, it is only known that he was registered in the corps of painters/designers (*naḳḳāşān*) in the year 1136 (1724) upon the death of a certain Ahmed Konya. A short note in this year's book of registers that recorded three monthly salaries (*mevācib*) of the personnel working at the *Ehl-i Ḥiref* indicates that Ibrahim's father's name was Halil and he was transferred to the corps of painters/designers from the corps of *müteferriḳagān* (an elite corps of mounted personal escorts of the sultan who were often recruited from sons of viziers, pashas and courtiers).[981] When one looks at the *Ehl-i Ḥiref* wage registers for successive years, it is seen that Ibrahim was referred to

[978] Cited in İrepoğlu, *Levni, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*, 40, 41.
[979] TSMA.d. 2352/0327.
[980] İrepoğlu, *Levni, Nakış, Şiir, Renk*, 44-47; 49-72
[981] Rıfkı Melül Meriç published this register. See Meriç, *Türk Nakış San'atı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 35, document no. XLII.

as the head painter/designer (*sernaḳḳāş*) in 1145 (1733/34), one of the head painter/designers (*eş-sernaḳḳāş*) in 1147 (1734/35) and the previous head painter/designer (*ser-naḳḳāş-ı sābıḳ*) in 1149 (1736/37) respectively.[982] His name was recorded until the year 1155 (1742/1743) in these wage registers but the next extant register is from year the 1164 (1751), so, it is not possible to determine exactly when he died. Still, one can safely assume that he must have died during these years.

Apart from these wage registers, his name also appears in an unknown document certifying his renewal of the title of privilege/deed in return for his service as *müteferriḳa* (*resm-i tecdīd-i gedik-i müteferriḳalık*) upon the accession of Sultan Ahmed III in 1703. As the document mentions, Ibrahim son of Halil possessed the revenue of a fief (*gedikli*) [983] at a village named Vaslık, which was in Salonika.[984] Moreover, in the document Ibrahim was mentioned as the inhabitant of Salonika (*sākin-i Selānīk*). Since he was working and living at the imperial palace, possibly this phrase meant that he was originally from his city.

In a book of registers from the year 1717 (1729) that recorded the names of the fief holding sergeants and *müteferriḳas* of the court, and also the revenues of these fiefs, on a certain page once again one sees the name of Ibrahim. There, Ibrahim the son of Halil from the *müteferriḳa* corps was recorded as possessing a fief in a village named Vaslık at Salonika, which further corroborates the aforementioned information.[985] In another document from a much later date, from 1145 (1733), a date after which Ibrahim transferred to the corps of painter/designers, one sees that

[982] BOA, MAD.d. 3728; BOA, MAD.d. 204; BOA MAD. d. 3735; BOA. MAD.d. 7479; BOA. YB.04 d. 106; BOA, MAD.d. 688, BOA. YB. 04. d. 107.
[983] *Müteferriḳa* corps members were divided into two as those salaried and those with a title of deed. See Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı,* 428-431.
[984] BOA. IE.ML. 80/7477.
[985] BOA. A.DFE.d. 255, fol. 62b.

now he was referred to as painter/designer (*naḳḳāş*). Indeed, in this document his father Halil was also referred to as *müteferriḳa*, which means that Ibrahim must have inherited this title and deed of privilege from his father.[986]

When all these are evaluated together, the career of Ibrahim at the imperial palace becomes clearer. Ibrahim Çelebi was a *gedikli müteferriḳa* when Sultan Ahmed III acceded to the throne in 1703, inheriting this title of privilege/deed from his father. He had a long career at the palace, as his earliest documented presence at the palace dates from 1703 and the latest seems to have been 1742/1743. The archival evidence further indicates that he must have died sometime between 1743 and 1751. When he officially transferred to the corps of painter/designers in the year 1734, he was already working for the *sūrnāme* project since three years before he had received a generous grant from the sultan for his service on the project. Although we do not have information on his training, he must have specialized in painting/design.[987] For some reason, rather than the members of the corps of painter/designers he was chosen for one of the illustrated copies of the *sūrnāme* of the 1720 festival. Perhaps just like Levni, Ibrahim's works were also appreciated by the sultan or by the grand vizier, which might have brought him the assignment to the *sūrnāme* project.

6.3 The codicology of the manuscripts

Two illustrated manuscripts on the 1720 festival are today preserved in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library with inventory numbers TSM. A. 3593 and TSM. A. 3594. Levni painted the former copy, which measures 37.5×23.5 cm

[986] BOA. C.TZ. 20/993.
[987] In one of the illustrated *Hamse-i Atai* copies that is today preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum (TSM. R. 816) one also sees the stylistic features of Ibrahim's paintings. See Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, 38-40; idem, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Minyatüründe," 481-496.

and it has 175 folios and 68 double-page and one single-page paintings.[988] The second one was painted by Ibrahim Çelebi, which measures 36×23 cm, has 221 folios and 68 double-page and four-single page paintings,[989] yet many of its pages are missing and it was bound out of sequence. Thus, this copy is slightly smaller than the first copy, and it was more extensively illustrated. This minor difference in the dimensions of these manuscripts must have signify that one was intended for the sultan and one for the grand vizier, whose copy was slightly smaller than the sultan's copy.

Both of these manuscripts are incomplete copies; the headings of the sections and their gilded frames are lacking in many pages. This implies that the project might have abruptly ended without the final refinements. This might also have been the reason behind why the manuscripts do not have a colophon.

The manuscripts also have some missing pages. In Levni's copy (TSM. A. 3593) there are only three missing pages.[990] Interestingly, these pages were left empty in the manuscript implying that either they were prepared but for some reason were not pasted or the text was not copied. In Ibrahim's copy (TSM. A. 3594) there are at least 24 missing folios. Of these missing folios, six double-pages and three single-pages correspond to paintings. This is to say that originally Ibrahim's copy must have had at least 245 folios and 77 double-page and one single-page paintings. Despite these missing pages, the end of the texts and the concluding images of both copies exist, which implies that originally, the copying process of the calligraphers

[988] In the literature the number of paintings of this copy (and the other copy) are counted on a single-page basis. However, for example in Levni's copy, only one painting is a single-page painting and others are double-page paintings.

[989] As will be mentioned below, only one of these was originally designed as a single-page painting. Other three were designed as double-page paintings, but their pairing image is missing.

[990] These missing pages are TSM. A. 3593 fol. 40a, 49a-48b. Mertol Tulum has reconstructed the text and paintings. Yet, in his re-ordinance of the folios he did not follow the exact folio numbers seen in the manuscript. Thus, numbers are different in his reconstruction and in the manuscript. Tulum, ed. *Sūrnāme,* for the facsimile of the text and images see Ertuğ ed. *Sūrnāme: An illustrated Account.*

and composition of the selected paintings must have been completed. Some pages in both manuscripts were bound out of sequence, but such disorder seems to have been more pronounced in Ibrahim's copy. In Levni's copy the disorder in page sequence is seen solely in the episodes of the first day and fourth day. As has been pointed out by Mertol Tulum, six pages from the episodes of the fourth day were mistakenly placed among the narrative of the first day.[991] In Ibrahim's copy, however, page disorder features throughout the manuscript. As it will be discussed in detail below, the manuscript mistakenly opens with the closing procession of the festival and then the text starts from the middle of the first day. Thereafter, in various pages either texts or images were put in wrong places.

Both manuscripts bear some traces of repair, which are especially visible in Ibrahim's copy.[992] Indeed, two of its paintings also indicate the later addition of background coloring.[993] This manuscript's binding was also renewed possibly during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.[994] Some archival documents show that from time to time such repairs were carried out at the imperial ateliers on some manuscripts that were in poor condition. For example, in the expenses of the *naḳḳāşān* corps for the year 1146 in the month of *Rebi'ü'l-āḫir* (September-October 1733), there is a register, which records the repair of a Quran, copied by Nakkaş Fazlullah bin Veli. Accordingly, the binding of this Quran was repaired and its binding was renewed.[995] Another such example is from an undated archival document possibly from the reign of Ahmed III. The document indicates that some books of the sultan would be sent to the workshop of a binder (which was near the

[991] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 13.
[992] Folios that apparently features traces of repair are TSM. A. 3594 fol. 15b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 71a, 94a, 95b, 143a-143b, 139a-138b -138a, 159a-159b; 161a-160b.
[993] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 27a-26b, 69a-68b.
[994] I am indebted to Zeynep Atbaş of the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library for sharing her observation on the manuscript with me during my research at the Library.
[995]See Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı* 65.

grand bazaar) whose name was Abdi. According to the document, the price of red binding with golden sides was two *ġurūş* and the price for plain binding was one *ẕolaṭa*. For each type, a sample would also be sent to the imperial palace to take the consent of the sultan. If the sultan were pleased, the books would be delivered to the workshop of the master binder. The imperial order of the sultan that is seen at the left margin of the document, which indicates that the sultan had chosen those plain bindings that cost one *ẕolaṭa*, and each time a dozen books, would be sent to the workshop of the binder. Whenever these ten were prepared, another dozen would be sent.[996] Thus, as these contemporary documents illustrate, such repairing or rebinding processes that were occasionally carried out at the imperial palace. One may surmise that very possibly such a renewal was also undertaken for the illustrated copies of Vehbi's festival book, possibly in the nineteenth century.

A detailed analysis reveals that pages in the manuscripts were prepared with a two-folded technique. One of these was that two pages (the recto and verso side of the same folio) were prepared separately and then pasted together.[997] These pasted pages are visibly thicker than the others. Moreover, the paste seems to have been removed in the margins of pages and they are slightly separated. The second technique was that both sides of a single folio were used. In this case, pages are very thin and almost transparent so that one side of the page is visible on the other side. Indeed, when one side of a particular folio had a painting and the other side the text, the paints were often reflected to the other page. When evaluated through a quantitative approach, these single folios are markedly more than the pasted ones in both copies.

[996] BOA. AE. SAHM. III. 232/22183.
[997] Esin Atıl has also noted this aspect of TSM. A. 3593 in her article "The Story of An Eighteenth Century," 182. For some examples, see TSM. A. 3594 fol. 83a, 83b; 54a, 54b; 57a, 57b.

Paintings in both illustrated copies follow the same compositional scheme. For events that took place at the main festival space, at Okmeydanı, the verso page was always reserved for the sultan, his crown princes, his retinues, his tent, the grand vizier and some other highest-ranking officials. The recto page, on the other hand, was given to the depiction of performances of the day and of the spectators. While this scheme was followed throughout the pictorial narrative in both copies, it is worth mentioning that the image of the sultan seems to have been mobile in these paintings. This is to say that, as opposed to what is seen in the paintings of the 1582 festival book, the imagery of the sultan is not fixed in these festival paintings.[998] Sometimes, he was depicted sitting in his tent, sometimes from on throne that was placed to the gate of his tent and sometimes watching the shows from his portable kiosk referred to as *ḳaṣr-ı temāşā* (the kiosk of watching) that was constructed before the start of the festival. Indeed, spatially he was not isolated from the audience or from the performers. As has been mentioned in the Introduction, this visible, mobile and approachable imagery of the sultan must have been related to the image making policies of the dynasty and the court in this period.[999]

As far as the Golden Horn scenes are concerned, the sultan was typically depicted on the recto page, while he was watching the shows from the Tersane Palatial Complex. In the foreground of this page, one uniformly sees the passage of floating rafts. On the verso page, one often sees the grand vizier watching the performances from the deck of the palace and in one example from a giant galleon that was anchored in front of the deck of the palace. I argue that this balanced imagery of the sultan and the grand vizier, one on the recto page and the other one on

[998] For the imagery of the sultan in the 1582 festival book see Tansuğ, *Şenlikname Düzeni*; Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun.*
[999] See Artan, "Arts and Architecture"; Idem, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," Idem, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizierate."

the verso page that were depicted almost in similar dimensions, symbolizes the power of the grand vizier, who was very possibly the actual patron of these illustrated books.

6.3.1 Ibrahim's illustrated festival book: TSM. A.3594

Levni's illustrated copy has been examined in a number of monographic studies in terms of the style of these paintings, their compositional features and the codicology of the manuscript.[1000] However, the second copy by Ibrahim has never been examined in a monograph or comparatively analyzed with Levni's copy. To this end, before moving into an analysis of the representative aspects of paintings of Levni and Ibrahim, a more detailed discussion on the codicological aspects of this neglected copy is needed.

As has been mentioned before this manuscript is composed of 221 folios and 68 double-page and four single-page paintings and a number of pages are missing. The majority of the missing pages are from the beginning of the manuscript since the narrative starts from the middle of the first day. When compared to Levni's copy, it emerges that 16 folios are missing from the beginning. In totality, however, 24 folios seem to be missing from this second copy, if one assumes that originally there was a not preface or foreword section and if one accepts that the manuscript had the same paintings as Levni's copy. I argue that at least for the paintings, this must have been the case because, except for this missing section, the subjects of the paintings are almost the same as in Levni's copy. In addition to this, where the text ended and images were placed are the same in the two copies. This uniformity must have been an outcome of Vehbi's role as the supervisor of both copies. The quantitative

[1000] Atıl, *Surname*; Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* Ertuğ ed. *Sūrnāme: An illustrated Account.*

difference in the number of paintings between two copies, on the other hand, was related to the fact that in Ibrahim's paintings of guild parades and a few others were extended to a number of folios as opposed to those of Levni. Even if many pages are missing and many others are out of order in this second illustrated copy, one sees that these two were illustrated copies of the same textual narrative.[1001]

As has been mentioned before, the text of this illustrated manuscript was copied by the calligrapher Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necip Efendi (d.1758), as he stated in his book on the calligraphers of the time.[1002] Although Suyolcuzade seems to have finished the copying of Vehbi's text, the final touches on the manuscript were apparently not made, since most of the section headings of the manuscript are incomplete and none of them have gilded frames. Indeed, in cases where the section heading was written with gold ink, the handwriting bears traces of another hand.

The manuscript has dark red leather binding, which seems to have been bound sometime in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century possibly during a process of a repair of the manuscript. Some pages of the manuscript might have been lost during this phase or, more probably, even earlier. During this process of rebinding and repair, the pages of the manuscript were bound out of sequence. The extremely confusing condition of the page sequences implies that perhaps, at that time, when the rebinding was carried out, the headband of the manuscript had already dissolved and most of the pages had been scattered. The present condition of the manuscript implies that the court atelier workers who were involved in this rebinding and repair process of the manuscript might have taken the other copy as

[1001] For the comparison of the textual narrative, I have used the edited and published text by Mertol Tulum and the original illustrated copy by Levni that is preserved at TSM. When reconstructing Ibrahim's manuscript, I have used the exact numbers of the folios as seen in the manuscript. This is because when the numbers are reordered, they do not match with the exact numbers in the original manuscript and this causes problems for researchers when they want to use or see a particular page from the manuscript.

[1002] Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necip, *Devhatü'l Küttab*, 70.

the model. For example, the first section of Levni's copy (after the introduction) opens with four double page paintings of the sultan's procession towards the festival space. However, these paintings are missing from Ibrahim's copy. To replace these procession images, during the rebinding process, the binders or painter/designers seem to have taken a section from the closing procession of the festival and placed it at the beginning of Ibrahim's manuscript.

A similar situation is also seen at a particular painting, which depicted the greeting ceremony of the highest-ranking officials to the sultan (Fig. A83, A84). On the verso page of this painting by Levni, one sees the sultan sitting in his throne and the marshal of the nobility standing in front of him in a slightly bending position. This page is missing from Ibrahim's copy. In its present condition, another image was placed in situ, which originally belonged to the fourth day of the festival that depicted the praying of the sheiks at the sultan's tent (Fig. A85). The placement of this image at this particular place might have been related to the fact that iconographical details of both scenes, the missing greeting scene and the praying scene, are quite similar. Thus, after consulting Levni's copy the binders or painter/designers might have found this painting appropriate for this place.

When Ibrahim's illustrated copy is examined in detail, it appears that some of the disorder in page sequences might have actually happened during the production process of the manuscript. In one example, the verso and recto pages seem to have been pasted yet they do not follow one another. Accordingly, in fol. 83a, one sees the depiction of the performance of the Egyptian acrobats during the fourth day of the festival. On the verso side fol. 83b, one sees the textual narrative. When the narrative is read, however, it emerges that the text relates to a much later phase of events of the same day. Thus, it appears that this verso page was mistakenly pasted at this

particular place during the production process.[1003] The second way that disorder in page sequences seems to have happened during the production process was when one side of a single folio was used for a painting and the other side for the text. There are more examples of such disorder in the manuscript.[1004] One may assume that the calligrapher, the painter or alternatively the supervisor of the project, Seyyid Vehbi, was responsible for this confusion. As in Levni's copy, one sees disorder in page sequences only once, so one may surmise that perhaps this second illustrated copy was prepared in a shorter span of time, which might have led to more mistakes.

Among the missing pages of the manuscript, six double pages and three single pages correspond to paintings. Six double pages are missing from the beginning of the manuscript. When compared with Levni's copy, it is seen that respectively these six paintings must have depicted the sultan's visit to the Old Palace to oversee the construction of *naḫıls*, the configuration of the festival space and the tents before the inauguration of the festival, and the sultan's serially conceived procession towards festival space.

As far as the missing single page paintings are concerned, two of these are from the pictorial sequences that depicted the parade of the guilds. Except for the parades of the sixth day, Ibrahim extended his guild parade paintings to three or four double pages, creating an almost frieze-like composition. In these compositions, the first page (verso page), was reserved for the sultan, his crown princes, his tent, his retinues and the dignitaries. In the recto pages, the parade began that extended to other pages. In Ibrahim's copy, in the guild parade painting of the sixth and tenth day, the verso page of the folios, which can also be referred to as the sultan's page, seem to be missing. To put it clearly, the verso pages of folio 121a and 18a are

[1003] Similarly in TSM. A.3594 fol. 54a, 54b; 57a, 57b one sees that pages were pasted however the verso pages narrate much later phases of the events, so they were mistakenly pasted together.
[1004] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 34a-33b, 43a-42b, 49a-49b, 128a-128b.

missing from Ibrahim's copy. The last missing single page painting is from the first day. The verso page of a double-page painting that originally depicted the dignitaries' greeting ceremony to the sultan seems to be missing (Fig. A84). As has been mentioned before, normally on the verso page of this composition one should have seen the marshal of the nobility standing in front of the sultan to display his greetings.[1005] In Ibrahim's copy instead of this, a painting that depicted the praying of the sheiks at the tent of the sultan was mistakenly put in this place (Fig. A85). Nevertheless, this painting belongs to the fourth day and the marshal of the nobility's greeting scene is missing.

In its present condition there are four single-page paintings in the manuscript.[1006] However, when the manuscript is examined carefully and the text is considered, it appears that only one of them (Fig. A86) was originally designed as a single-page painting. Indeed, this corresponds to the situation in the other illustrated copy, which also bears a single-page painting for the same episode (Fig. A87). Other single-page paintings of the manuscript have their pairs inside the text. They must have been mistakenly put at wrong places either during the production process or during the rebinding of the manuscript in the late nineteenth century.[1007]

As far as the subject matter of the paintings in this manuscript is concerned, as has been mentioned above, it emerges that the two copies followed an almost uniform pattern, except in four cases. The first of these exceptions is seen in the third

[1005] During the third quarter of the seventeenth century the protocol for imperial ceremonies seem to have acquired a prescribed format. This indeed, parallels to the bureaucratization of the office of chief protocol officer (*teşrīfātcıbāşı*) in the Ottoman court by the same time. Accordingly, the marshal of the nobility obtained the first ranking position during ceremonies of oath of allegiance that were held in accessions, two religious holidays (*bayram*), and imperial festivals. For a discussion on the diachronic analysis in Ottoman accession ceremonies see Erdoğan, "Imperial Biat Ceremonies," 113-129; 150-163. For the chief protocol office see Çalışkan, "Osmanlı Devletinde Teşrifatçılık." For the marshal of the nobility see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 161-172; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, vol. II, 647, 648; Sarıcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Nakibü'l Eşraflık.*
[1006] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 26a, 47a, 121a, 218a.
[1007] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 26a matches with 36b and fol. 218a with 13b. And, eventually the pairing image of fol. 121a seems to be missing.

day's paintings. According to the textual narrative at this day, the professors of Islamic law were given a banquet. While Ibrahim depicted this episode in one double-page composition (Fig. A90), Levni did not. Interestingly, in Levni's copy two pages that should have textually narrated this banquet of professors of law were also left empty. It is possible to surmise that originally in Levni's copy the textual narrative of this banquet might have been accompanied by a double-page painting just like Ibrahim's copy.

Another difference is seen on the fifth day, when as a part of the daytime festivities, addicts (*tiryākiyān*) held a performance.[1008] Levni depicted their show in a double-page painting (Fig. A46), yet Ibrahim did not. During the nighttime of the same day on the other hand, sumptuous firework shows were held across the Golden Horn, in front of Tersane Palatial Complex. This time Ibrahim depicted this nighttime firework display episode (Fig. A91) but Levni did not.

The third exception is seen on the eighth day. In Levni's copy following the textual narrative that recounted the some pashas' and aghas' gift presentation to the sultan, one sees one double-page painting (Fig. A36). This painting does not exist in Ibrahim's copy; rather another subject, a banquet scene, was preferred. According to the program of the festival, during that day a banquet was given to some of the officials from the outer palace (*bîrûn*) including the steward of the doorkeepers, aghas of doorkeepers, imperial physicians, imperial tasters, some scribes from the accounting bureau of the imperial chancery and members of the *müteferriḳa* corps. Ibrahim depicted this banquet instead of the gift-giving episode of pashas and aghas (Fig. A92). Indeed, this preference might not have been coincidental because as has already been mentioned before, Ibrahim was a member of *müteferriḳa* corps during

[1008] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 547.

the time of festival. Thus, the inclusion of this particular episode in his pictorial narrative was highly possibly a self-reference to his participation in this banquet. Moreover, Ibrahim's omission of this gift giving might have also been related to that fact that this copy was very possibly prepared for the grand vizier. To this end, Ibrahim or the grand vizier might have preferred not to have this image in this illustrated copy.

Eventually, the last exception to the uniformity of the pictorial program of the illustrations is seen on the ninth day. For the nighttime festivities of the day, Levni represented shows across the Golden Horn (Fig. A93). However, Ibrahim took Okmeydanı as the site for the nighttime festivities of that day (Fig. A94). When the textual narrative is examined, it emerges that the nighttime shows of that day were held at Okmeydanı. Thus, Ibrahim took the actual site as the location of his composition. However, for some reason, Levni seems to have changed the festival space and deviated from the textual narrative in his composition.

As part as the stylistic aspects of Ibrahim's paintings are concerned, it is seen that, in his Okmeydanı scenes, figures and material details were more focused, compared to Levni's paintings. For this reason, in Ibrahim' compositions often one sees fewer people and fewer material details as opposed to that of Levni, where one encounters a crowd of people and objects filling the composition. This stylistic difference is most strikingly evident in the guild parade images, which will be discussed later. Apart from that, in Ibrahim's paintings, colors seem to have been relatively darker. Especially the lack of light blue paint that was used for the coloring of sea and the lack of a bright red paint that is seen in details of some robes of the dignitaries in Levni's paintings take attention. For coloring the sea, rather than blue paint, silver was used, which was the traditional method of coloring the sea in book

paintings.[1009] Apart from that, most of the paintings (in Okmeydanı) lack landscape details that are often seen in the background of Levni's paintings. In addition, in two particular paintings by Ibrahim, certain parts seem to have been depicted but were not painted (Fig. A9, A88). Moreover, some of his double-page paintings, particularly those at Okmeydanı, display coloring differences, which is especially notable in the depiction of the sky. While on the recto pages of these examples, one sees the depiction of a cloudy sky with color gradations from white to light blue; on the verso pages one simply sees a grey like blue sky (Fig. A89, A58). This slight coloring difference in paintings indicates that, just like the text pages, some paintings might have been prepared separately and then brought together.

One may also note the issue of spatial and topical continuity between the individual pages of Ibrahim's double page paintings. While this question may be addressed with regard to both Levni's and Ibrahim's paintings, especially in the performance scenes of Ibrahim's copy, the sultan's and dignitaries' page on the right folio and the performance space on the left folio have been treated almost as self-contained images. Hence in a number of the double-page paintings the two pages appear to be somewhat loosely connected to each other; the textual narrative, and repetitions in the compositional schemes of such images throughout the volume lead the reader to locate the viewers and the performers on the separate pages in the same festival space. This may perhaps be another indicator of the time pressure against which Ibrahim (and possibly his team) had to work. All these imply that when compared with Levni's copy, the illustrated copy by Ibrahim might have been more hastily made.

[1009] Çağman, "18. Yüzyıl Yenileşme Dönemi."

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing information related to the commissioning process and codicological aspect of the illustrated manuscripts of the festival with a particular attention to Ibrahim's neglected copy. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this study these festival images, especially those by Levni, were very significant for the study of the festival. Nevertheless, although the court commissioned two illustrated copies, one of the copies of the same festival book has never been studied. This chapter aimed at filling this gap by illuminating the production process and the codicological aspect of this illustrated copy that was painted by Ibrahim.

A detailed archival research brought to the fore novel information related to the painter of this copy and his career path at the Ottoman court. While until now only the name of this painter was known, the chapter outlined different career stages of Ibrahim, who had been a courtier for more than two decades at the time he became involved in the festival book project. Having obtained his title of privilege from his father, Ibrahim seems to have had a long life at the palace during which time he transferred from one unit to another and performed various duties. The archival research on Ibrahim also brought to light information related to his involvement process in the festival book project. It has emerged that two different calligraphers and painter/designers, who seem to have been supervised by the same man, simultaneously prepared two illustrated copies of the same festival book. Apart from that, Ibrahim's life at the imperial palace also provides us hints about the structure of certain court units, such as the corps of the painter/designers and the career of courtiers in the early eighteenth-century Ottoman palace. This topic needs further research, but the case of Ibrahim indicates that there are available sources to elaborate on this subject.

A detailed examination of the codicology of the manuscripts, especially Ibrahim's neglected copy, provided information related to the repair and rebinding processes. Contrary to the copy that was painted by Levni, this illustrated manuscript seems to have been rebound at a later date, after which most of its pages were bound out of sequence. The great disorder in page sequences implies that perhaps when this rebinding was made the headband of the manuscript was already dissolved and the pages were already scattered.

Finally, a comparison of the codicological aspects of the two manuscripts has shown that these were almost uniform copies, including the same text and same paintings on the same subjects (with only four exceptions). The difference in their page numbers is related to a compositional difference between paintings of the two painters, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Similarly, how these paintings related to the text and how these painters represented the same event seem were different. So far, the representational and narratological aspects of these manuscripts have never been examined, so the next chapter aims at providing an in-depth analysis of these aspects of the festival images by Ibrahim and Levni.

CHAPTER 7

REPRESENTATIONAL STRATEGIES OF THE *SŪRNĀMES*

This chapter is concerned with addressing the narratological and representational aspects of the illustrated copies of Vehbi's *sūrnāme* that were commissioned by the court for the representation of the 1720 festival. Often in the studies of narratives, the pictorial narratives are subordinated to the text. As far as the 1720 festival paintings, especially those by Levni are concerned, however, one sees the opposite. Due to the frequent reproduction and wide circulation of Levni's colorful and motion full festival images, these paintings almost subordinated the textual narrative and they largely defined our perception of the festival. Notwithstanding the primacy of these images in conceptions of this event, until now neither are they examined in terms of their narratology and representation nor compared with paintings of the other copy that was illustrated by Ibrahim. This chapter aims at revisiting this issue by analyzing representational strategies of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* with a particular attention to Ibrahim's neglected festival images.

The first section of this chapter intends to focus on narrative aspects of Ibrahim and Levni's festival paintings. At first place, through a comparative analysis of a select number of paintings, the peculiar pictorial tools of these painters that helped them to construct a pictorial narrative will be outlined. Then, the discussion will continue with an examination of the serial aspect of the procession and parade images of these paintings that are unique in the Ottoman pictorial tradition.

The second part of this chapter will start by analyzing the pictorial vocabulary of the two painters. In this discussion, the pictorial vocabulary of Ibrahim, whose paintings have been neglected so far, will be given a particular

attention. In addition to that, through a comparison of some particular paintings, this section also aims at outlining the divergences between two painters' representation of the same subject matter.

Finally, after providing an examination of diverse aspects of these paintings, this chapter will address the conceptual framework through which the visual vocabulary of these festival paintings is approached. These paintings had some stylistic and compositional conversations with the contemporary visual idiom, yet at the same time some of the images seem to have had connections with earlier book paintings and with practices of album making. In this respect, this chapter will argue that the visual vocabulary of these books might be perceived between tradition and novelty.

7.1 Representing the pictorial narrative

Vehbi's festival book provides us a narrative representation of the festival. After a brief introductory section that related the preparations for the festival, the textual and pictorial narrative continued in a chronological order starting with the first day of the festival until the circumcision ritual of the crown princes, which officially ended the festival. For almost each day's narrative, just after the textual narrative of the events, a number of paintings were placed, which pictorially represented those episodes that were mentioned in the text. When the textual narrative was the most extensive and detailed, such as the first, second or the sixth day of the festival, more paintings were inserted. When the textual narrative was very cursory, such as the thirteenth and fourteenth days, when some of the games were cancelled due to harsh weather conditions, no paintings were placed at all. In the textual narrative of the first and the last day, on the other hand, one sees detailed descriptions of the procession of the

dignitaries that officially launched the festival and closed it. Serial images of processions, peculiar to these illustrated manuscripts, followed these lengthy textual narratives at the beginning and at the end of the manuscripts. These serial procession images seem to have represented each official and courtier that participated in the procession with almost identical material details that were mentioned in the text. This close dialogue between the textual and pictorial narrative of the 1720 festival is striking and continues throughout the manuscripts.

As far as the general structure of these illustrated *sūrnāmes* is concerned, it is seen that both the textual and pictorial narrative focused on certain themes such as processions and parades, banquets, and public performances that were enacted during the festival. When compared with the illustrated *sūrnāme* on the 1582 festival, the abundance of banquet images and depictions of public performances is especially striking in the paintings of the illustrated *sūrnāmes* of Vehbi.[1010] When narrating these themes, the role and participation of the sultan and more notably his esteemed grand vizier seem to have been highlighted both in textual and pictorial narrative. Parallel to that, except for the scenes at the Golden Horn, where one sees a balanced imagery of the sultan on the recto page and the grand vizier on the verso page, the verso pages of the paintings were reserved for these top-ranking protagonists of the festival and to their retinues. In paintings, the frequent depiction of the crown princes near by the sultan is also worth mentioning. In both copies almost in each painting where one sees the sultan, three or two crown princes,[1011] accompanied him while standing on his right or left. This imagery indeed stands in contrast with what one

[1010] The majority of the extensive paintings of the 1582 festival book have not been published. For these images see TSM. H. 1344.

[1011] As *sūrnāmes* mention, one of the crown princes, *şehzade* Bayezid, was an infant when the festival was held. In this respect, except the last painting of both copies where one sees four princes in their circumcision chambers, in the rest of the paintings he was not depicted. Thus, one often sees three of the crown princes in the compositions. In some paintings however, just two or one of them was depicted. See Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 690; Hafız Mehmed, *1720 Şehzadelerin Sünnet Düğünü*, 230.

sees in the paintings of the 1582 *sūrnāme*. Although the official narrative of the 1720 festival does not seem to have foregrounded the presence of the crown princes in the public dimension of the festival, their frequent appearance in the pictorial narratives implies that perhaps this iconography might be seen parallel to the increasing visibility of the Ottoman dynasty in urban loci in the early eighteenth century.[1012]

As has been mentioned above, in paintings the verso pages were reserved for the sultan and his distinguiashed officials. Indeed, the games, spectacles, processions-parades and all other displays that were typically depicted on the recto pages, always moved towards this direction, towards the right. As will be discussed later in detail, since the sultan and the grand vizier were depicted on the verso pages, then perhaps the painters might have represented the pictorial narrative of the festival from the perspective of these highest-ranking protagonists, for whom these illustrated festival books were prepared. Besides, the unusual directionality of these paintings towards the right, opposite of the reading direction of the manuscript, might have also signified the painters' affinity with the European painting albums and printed books.

Narratology, the study of narratives, is essential to the issue of representation. One of the most outspoken theorists of the narrative, Hayden White, defines the narrative as "a problem solution to general human concern of how to translate knowing into telling." [1013] While White was certainly concerned with textual narratives, more recently Mieke Bal has offered a wider and more integrative

[1012] This dynastic visibility comprised mostly female members of the dynasty (through their marriage ceremonies and their architectural projects in the city). But, on the occasion of their circumcision festival, which ritualistically marked the crown princes's rite of passage and celebrated the reproduction of the dynasty, crown princes also participated in this visibility. For the growing visibility of Ottoman royal women in the urban space and in image-making policies of the dynasty see Artan, " Architecture as Theatre of Life"; idem, "Istanbul in the 18th Century" 302-305; Idem, "Arts and Architecture," 465-467.

[1013] White, "The Value of Narrativity," 5.

conception of the narrative. Bal does not confine the study of narrative to texts, rather she argues that narratology, the study of narratives, should be applied to narrative texts, images, spectacles, events, and of all cultural artifacts that tell a story.[1014] Following this definition, narratology emerges as a "transcultural, trans historical and trans medial phenomenon"[1015] and it enters into various fields such as film analysis, anthropology, gender studies, literary criticism, art history, history, visual culture studies. The secondary studies pertaining to the narrative often mention that, in art historiography the narratology is not popular given that the visual representations tend to be evaluated only in relation to their textual or literary forms. This perception is especially persistent in the iconographical analysis, which is traditionally applied to the interpretation of western (particularly Italian) paintings. Ervin Panofsky identifies the iconographical analysis in three stages.[1016] According to Panofsky, the first level is the pre-iconographical description in which the expressional qualities of an object or event are to be identified. The second level is the iconographical analysis, which entails connecting the composition and content of an artwork with specific themes or concepts, more particularly with a specific literary or textual source. The third level is the iconological interpretation that aims at deciphering the intrinsic meaning attached to the works of art. While, on one hand, such an analysis dwells on the assumption of "automatic reading of the image,"[1017] on the other hand, it evaluates art works only in the light of their related texts. Thus, in iconographical analysis the viewer must read the image correctly in the sense that he/she should have prior knowledge of the visual and textual traditions to recognize

[1014] Bal, *Narratology*, 1.

[1015] I have borrowed the term from Kemp, "Narrative," 58.

[1016] Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology," 53-67. Also see Bialostocki, "Iconography," 524-541; Moxey, "Panofsky's concept of 'iconology'," 265-74; Grabar, "The Iconography of Islamic Architecture," 69-87. Burke, "Iconography and Ideology," 34-45; Damisch, "Semiotics and Iconography," 234-241.

[1017] Bal, *Reading Rembrandt*, 177.

those signs. This causal mode of reading the image acknowledges the hegemony of the literary version of narrative over the visual while almost ignoring the peculiar vocabulary of the latter. Nevertheless, as Irene Winter has put it, visual/pictorial narrative and literary narrative have their own languages with their own compositional and organizational techniques.[1018] Thus, rather than seeing them as truly identical forms it is more suitable to consider their dialogue.[1019]

As far as the festival paintings of Levni and Ibrahim are concerned, a significant question is how Levni and Ibrahim created the narrative of the festival in book paintings. What sort of methods and tools were employed to overcome the relatively limited medium of pictorial narrative as opposed to the advantages of the textual narrative? For example, one of the most significant challenges in the pictorial narratives is to depict the movement,[1020] the sequential images, emotions and ideas. In the textual narrative, the movement of people or a particular emotive reaction can be explained or exemplified in very detailed ways. Yet the frame of a picture or a single/double page of a manuscript does not have such a space. Moreover, they also lack the discursive and explanatory tools of literature.

As far as Vehbi's text is concerned, when carefully analyzed, it is seen that throughout the textual narrative, emotive reactions of the spectators such as their amazement, fear and curiosity and abstract concepts such as generosity, benefaction, forgiveness that were attributed to the sultan and grand vizier, were markedly emphasized. Since these emotions or concepts were difficult to represent in book paintings, the painters seem to have depicted the most dramatic moment of a particular event instead. Thus, they shifted the attention from the emotions displayed

[1018] Winter, "When the Battle is Over," 23; Bal, "Narratology," 747.
[1019] Mitchell, "Word and Image," 47; Kemp, "Narrative," 58; Bal, *Narratology;* Idem, "Narratology," 727-753; Burke "Visual Narratives,"140-156; Belting, "The New Role of Narrative," 151-68. Also see Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives."
[1020] Gottlieb, "Movement in Painting," 22-33; Öztürkmen, "Reading Dance Images."

or concepts that shaped the events to the most symbolic moment that heightened these emotions or concepts. Then, this dislocation, that is the depiction of this most dramatic act, moment or event stands for the whole narrative cycle.

Mieke Bal applies a rhetorical tool to elucidate this aspect of the pictorial narratives. For interpreting the narrative aspect of some Rembrandt paintings she uses the notion of synecdoche, which takes the detail stand for the whole.[1021] Her analysis of a pair of Rembrandt paintings on the rape and suicide of Lucretia is a case in point.[1022] Bal argues that although the theme of these paintings is the rape of Lucretia and her accompanying suicide after the event, since the moment of rape could not be represented visually, the painter used certain images within the painting (such as the depiction of dagger, or of blood) to stand for the whole event. I argue that, some particular paintings of the 1720 festival can also be interpreted through synecdoche tool.

In the paintings of Levni and Ibrahim one encounters many such examples, especially when they represented the public performances of wrestlers, acrobats, jugglers, tightrope walkers, the enactment of some games such as canon fire displays, mock battles and particular events related to their patrons. The silver ewer game provides a good example to substantiate this point. As mentioned in Chapter 5, this game was one of the indispensible spectacles of Ottoman imperial festivals. Quite interestingly, in the official narrative of the 1720 festival, Vehbi focused on the preparatory phase of this game rather than the actual game that took place in the last day of public celebrations. The textual narrative describes at length how a slave climbed up to the top of the pole and how he accomplished the task of hosting the

[1021] Mieke Bal's narratological analysis of Rembrandt paintings especially of the rape of Lucretia has been taken as a reference. See Bal, *Reading Rembrandt,* 60-93; Idem, *Looking In,* 99-100.
[1022] This story survives through the writings of Roman authors Pliny and Ovid. The story of the rape of Lucretia allegorizes the political tyranny since her rapist was the son of the tyrant of Rome and this rape initiated a revolution that led to the Roman Republic.

silver ewer to the top. The grand vizier then, freed this slave and he was granted new clothes and also an office at the imperial dockyard. The long narrative of this event focuses explicitly on the mercy and benefaction of the grand vizier and the astonishment of the freed slave and the spectators.[1023] However, in the pictorial representation of Ibrahim (Fig. A44) and Levni (Fig. A45), these abstract concepts seem to have been displaced by the most dramatic moment of the event, which was the moment when the slave reached to the top of the pole without any rope fastenings. In pictorial representations, on recto page, one sees this slave at the top of the pole with a silver ewer in his hand. Thus, here the image of the slave at the top of the pole while hoisting the ewer stands for the whole narrative cycle.[1024]

Another such example is from the fourth day's performance of the Egyptian acrobat Hacı Şahin. The textual narrative indicates that on that day Hacı Şahin, enacted a marvelous performance, which astonished all the spectators. He was put in an empty basket with his hands and his legs tied and then this basket was pitched to the top of a long pole. Suddenly, at the top of the pole, Hacı Şahin untied his ropes and started to drink two cups of coffee from a pot that he had somehow hidden in the basket. Vehbi says that, seeing these strange things (*ġarībe-i 'acāyib*), the people put their fingers in their mouths as a sign of their astonishment.[1025] In the pictorial narrative of this performance, both painters depicted the most astonishing moment of narrative cycle, the moment when Hacı Şahin drank coffee at the top of the pole (Fig. A115, A116). Thus, once again, painters seem to have shifted the attention from the emotive reactions to the most heightened moment that aroused these emotions. To do this, they selected a minor detail from the narrative, which was the coffee drinking image of the performer.

[1023] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 564-566.
[1024] For the introduction of this technique to the analysis of western painting see Bal, *Looking In.*
[1025] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 534-535.

Levni and Ibrahim also used other tools to construct their pictorial narrative. For instance, objects, landscape details or figures were repetitively represented on different pages of the manuscripts. These repetitive images, I argue, also served to create the pictorial continuity between non-sequential paintings. The frequent depiction of *ṭulūmcıyān*, often in the foreground of the pages, the Egyptian acrobats Hacı Şahin and Hacı Mehmed, the long greasy pole and a particular tree at Okmeydanı are examples of these repetitive images. Additionally, in Ibrahim's paintings some figures among the audience with noticeable physical characteristics seem to have been repetitively depicted as well. After the first appearance of a particular figure or object in the festival paintings, in their next appearance the beholder quickly recognizes these images. Thus, even if these figures or objects were not directly related to the events of the day, their inclusion into the compositions served to engender a visual connectivity between separate painting pages.

The image of the tall-greased pole, which was used during the silver ewer game, is a case in point. As has been mentioned before, there were two specific events related to this game. One took place on the sixth day of the festival when a slave hoisted the silver ewer to the top of the pole. The second one was on the fifteenth day of the festival, when the actual game was held. One might also add the moment when the pole was brought to the festival space before the inaugurations of the festival. Indeed, one can see this pole in Levni's depiction of the festival space during the phase of preparations (Fig. A117). Then, in the pictorial narratives of the festival, one might normally expect to see this pole three times if one was to strictly follow the textual narrative. However, in various paintings of both manuscripts this pole was repetitively depicted. In Levni's copy, one sees the pole in seven different

paintings and in Ibrahim's copy in twelve different paintings.[1026] Interestingly, in some paintings of the 1720 festival one also sees a man who was trying to climb up to the top of the pole but possibly he did not accomplish this task because he was depicted at the middle of the pole (Fig. A118, A33). In the textual narrative, however, Vehbi does not mention anyone trying to climb up to the top of the pole except on the sixth and fifteenth days. Then, perhaps this imagery of the climbing men functioned as a reminder of the difficulty of this task. Moreover, it might also have served to link these paintings to the upcoming events of the narrative, which were the hoisting of the silver ewer to the top and the game of reaching the silver ewer. This repetitive depiction of the pole might be interpreted as a tool of the pictorial narrative that created a visual link and conceptual unity among different, non-sequential book pages. Indeed, in paintings of the 1582 imperial festival, one sees that the columns at the Hippodrome were also repetitively depicted. Then, may be the image of the column/pole might have also been used as a place marker in these narrative paintings.

All these questions related to the narratological aspects of Ottoman book paintings in general have not yet been properly explored in the literature, except contributions of a few studies.[1027] Although, the narratological analysis of Ottoman narrative book paintings through the introduction of literary tools proposes an alternative conceptual framework to the subject, the implications of this analysis need to be further elaborated. In this respect, it is worth mentioning here that this chapter proposes only an introduction to this issue.

[1026] TSM. A. 3593 fol. 11a, 42a, 54a, 60a, 67a, 74a, 132a; TSM. A. 3594 fol. 37a, 55a, 72a, 83a, 87a, 90a, 107a, 129a, 132a, 150a, 168a, 172a.
[1027] Fetvacı, "Enriched Narratives, Empowered Images"; idem, *Sarayın İmgeleri*; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları*; Özden-Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman Miniature*.

7.1.1 Sequential images of the festival paintings

One of the major problems in a pictorial narrative is to represent sequential events such as the successive phases of a single sportive, theatrical or ritualistic performance and depicting the parades and processions. For the previous cases, both Levni and Ibrahim seem to have come up with a solution to represent different phases of a single performance or event in one double-page composition. The performances of the two Egyptians, Hacı Şahin and his apprentice Hacı Mehmed exemplify this point. According to the narratives of the festival, throughout the course of the festival almost each day these performers enacted a series of performances such as lifting a man above the head, carrying a number of big glasses over the head, holding a giant jug above the shoulders or above the head. In the 1720 festival paintings, these successive stages of a single show seem to have been depicted as if a number of men were performing different games at the same time. For example, according to Vehbi, during the second day of the festival, Hacı Şahin and his apprentice made a series of performances. In the pictorial representation of these events that were conceived in one double-page composition, one recognizes those Egyptian performers with their relatively dark skin color (Fig. A119, A120). While compositions of Levni and Ibrahim for this day's performance are very similar, when analyzed carefully it is seen that Levni's painting represents more stages from the shows of the Egyptians. In Levni's painting, the Egyptians were depicted four times in the same composition. On the verso page, these Egyptians are seen on a camel and one member is seen on the ground holding his feet. On the recto page, one Egyptian is seen on the shoulders of his fellow, who was also carrying a large jug above his head. Just next to them, this time another Egyptian is seen in a spinning movement, while two men were tied around his belly by their legs. All

these stages made up a single show and they were a enacted by the same group of Egyptians, but to overcome the constraints of the pictorial representation, the painters depicted different men performing different shows at the same time.

When the pictorial representation of parades and processions are concerned, as has been mentioned, these *sūrnāme* paintings have a peculiar aspect in the Ottoman book painting tradition. In two illustrated manuscripts of the *Sūrnāme-i Vehbi,* one sees serial images of processions (both by Levni and Ibrahim) and parades (only by Ibrahim) that extended to a number of manuscript pages without interruption by the text. Although images of parades and, more commonly, processions are seen in the Ottoman narrative book paintings, in none of the known examples do the images extend beyond a double-page composition. In this respect, as has already been mentioned in this dissertation, the sequential aspect of these paintings is unique in the Ottoman pictorial tradition and peculiar to these eighteenth-century illustrated *sūrnāmes*.

To first turn to the serial paintings of processions: at the beginning and at the end of the festival there were imperial processions that ritually inaugurated and closed the festive complex. The highest-ranking military/bureaucratic and religious dignitaries of the state, the inner and outer court members, and the corps of the military establishment partook in these processions with their elaborate ceremonial costumes in a hierarchical order. The textual narrative relates for several pages the ordinance of these people, the details of their costumes, headgear, and horses. After the textual narrative, multiple pages of paintings were placed sequentially, each depicting a particular group and their accessories. To explain the sequential aspect of these procession paintings Esin Atıl has formerly asserted that these procession paintings created a united movement as in a frieze that was later cut into single

images (Fig. A82).[1028] To elucidate her point, Atıl has noted that, "the last figures on the left margin of verso pages reappears as the first on the right margin of the recto page."[1029] Indeed, in her book she provides unframed cropped reproductions of the sultan's arrival's procession to the festival space that was made by Levni. However, when these images are carefully examined, it emerges that this kind of visual continuity is seen only once in the serial images of the opening procession. In one of the paintings from the opening procession, at the left margin of the verso page one sees the head of a black horse and the body of that horse appears on the recto page (Fig. A121). Apart from this single example the missing parts are not complemented in the following parts.[1030]

Rather, the sequentiality seems to have been achieved with a different method. Begüm Özden Fırat in her book has recently proposed that cinematic concepts, the still and the out of field, might be applied to examine these sequential images of the opening procession of the festival.[1031] In such an analysis, Fırat follows the perspective of the cinematographer Sergei M. Eisenstein, who highlighted the affinities between cinema and painting in terms of the problems of representation in both forms. More concretely, he argues that the former inherited the old problems of the latter. When Fırat applies this cinematographic conception to the procession images she argues that each single painting from the sequential image of the procession construe a shot from the whole, that is they "give us a still that corresponds to an instance of the procession."[1032] Nevertheless, between these stills there is not a visual continuity since missing segments were not complemented in the subsequent page. This means that between single paintings one observes a spatial

[1028] Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, 56.
[1029] Ibid, 55, 56, 57; idem, "The Story of An Eighteenth Century,"184.
[1030] Also formerly noticed by Kuban, "The Miniatures of Surname-i Vehbi," 15-22.
[1031] Özden-Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman Miniature*, 84-121.
[1032] Ibid. 104.

break that visually cannot be recuperated. The disassociation between images, as Fırat says, was instead completed imaginatively by the spectator.[1033]

In addition to that, Fırat draws attention to the viewing direction of these paintings. Interestingly, the procession images move toward the right, but the beholder has to look toward the left due to the orientation of the manuscript page. To explain this specific aspect of the procession paintings, Fırat suggests, "the viewpoint reproduced in the series reenacts the position of a bystander who… cannot comprehend the procession as a moment but rather must take it as an event in fragments."[1034] Thus, Fırat draws an analogy between the imagined bystander (or in other words the spectator), who was watching the procession at the vicinity and the position of the beholder when turning the pages of the manuscript. In both cases, as Fırat says, while the movement is towards the right direction the eye turns towards the left to see the successive phases of the procession or its imagery. However in this, Fırat seems to have assumed that the imagined bystander was standing on the right side of the procession because for the bystander standing on the opposite side of the procession, the viewing direction would have been towards the left. Apart from that, Fırat confines this argument solely to the opening procession images, where the sultan and his dignitaries are depicted as moving towards the festival space. Yet the whole pictorial narrative of the festival was arranged towards the right, as opposite to the viewing direction of the manuscript. Indeed, as has been mentioned before, except for this opening procession, in all other paintings the festive games and also parades move towards the sultan's and the dignitaries' page which was typically depicted on the verso pages.

[1033] Özden-Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman Minaiture*, 110.
[1034] Özden-Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman Minaiture*, 119.

In the serial images of the closing procession on the other hand, this time one sees the sultan's page in the middle of the procession, again on the verso page where he was depicted as watching the procession from the Arslānḫāne (literally the lion house or the royal menegerie). Thus, with the exception of the opening procession to which Fırat bases her argument on, in all other paintings the direction was towards the page where the sultan and dignitaries were represented, which implies that perhaps our painters might have pictured the festival from the perspective of the sultan and the dignitaries. Still however, one might ask why the painters have organized their pictorial compositions towards the opposite of the reading direction. This might have been related to the painters' acquaintance with European painting albums and books of engravings. Indeed, as will be discussed below in detail, some stylistic and compositional features of these festival paintings also display appropriations from the western pictorial vocabulary.

While Begüm Özden Fırat introduces a cinematographic model to the analysis of these successive procession images, I propose that the serial aspect of these painting may also be approached through a linguistic model, that is the syntagmatic model introduced to the analysis of images by Norman Byrson. As he put it, while individual words in the sentence exist as a sequence and together they construe a unified or central meaning, the same process might be involved in images.[1035] Bryson uses this model to elucidate the sequential window panels such as those at the Centerburg Cathedral and the serial allegorical paintings made by Charles Le Brun for the galleries of Versailles. As he argues, even if these images or paintings do not visually complement each other, when put together they create a unified meaning, just as the unified meaning of a sentence. I argue that the same

[1035] Bryson, *Word and Image, 20.*

process might be involved in the interpretation of the serial procession images of the 1720 festival paintings. If one assumes that each single image from the procession was like an element of the syntax, when all images come together, they make up of a unified meaning of a sentence, which is the procession. In this respect, their sequentiality emerges from their unified meaning, not from their visual continuity.

An Austrian album of prints that depicted the meeting of the Ottoman and Austrian delegations on the Habsburg-Ottoman border after the signing of the Peace of Passarowitz (in June 1719) might have been a possible source of artistic translation for these sequential procession images.[1036] In the album, which is commonly referred to as "the album of Conrad Weiss," one sees 18 printed pages representing the parade of the Austrian and Ottoman emissaries respectively. These parade images extend to a number of pages, in each page; a section from the parade was represented, which reminds one Levni and Ibrahim's sequential procession images in the 1720 festival book. This album was commissioned by Emperor Charles VI or by a person close to him as a tool of political and diplomatic propaganda for the princes of the Holy Roman Empire and their emissaries.[1037] Yet, it is also possible to think that perhaps one copy was also sent to the Ottoman court after its publication in 1720. If this was the case, then our painters might have consulted these sequential images of processions while they were working on the 1720 festival book's illustrations.

As far as the guild parade paintings are concerned, on the other hand, this type of sequentiality holds true only for the paintings by Ibrahim. Indeed, Ibrahim's serial guild parade paintings visually complement each other, creating a frieze-like

[1036] I am thankful to Tülay Artan for bringing this album into my attention. Today the album has two extant copies, one at the Belgrade City Museum and the other one at the National Museum. The engravings of the album were published by Jeremias Wolff in 1720. For the album and its images see Milosevic, "The Festival Book for the Exchange of Austrian and Turkish Deputations."
[1037] Ibid. 248.

composition. When examined carefully, it emerges that, to create serial imagery, Ibrahim conceived a laterally composed serpentine movement. The serpentine movement of figures begins at the bottom of the verso page. It starts from the bottom right and moves in a reverse s-shaped movement to the upper left margin of the recto page, and then continues in an s-shaped movement in the subsequent verso page and moves as such. When one crops these paintings and put them together, it is seen that the serpentine movement of figures that extend to a number of pages visually complement each other (Fig. A122). In this case therefore, the sequential aspect was achieved through visual continuity between a number of folios.

Contemporary to these guild parade images, the Flemish painter Van Mour also used the serpentine movement in a number of his paintings that represented processions of the sultan and the grand vizier.[1038] This brings to mind the possibility that Levni and Ibrahim were aware of the workshop of Van Mour and his paintings. As Van Mour was producing his paintings exclusively for private collections of the ambassadors then, perhaps rather than his paintings his engravings might have been known to the Ottoman painters.

Indeed, books of engravings seem to have had a certain demand and popularity in the imperial capital during the first decades of the eighteenth century, at least among a certain segment of the elite. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, the Ottoman envoy to France in 1721, for example, is known to have brought back with him a collection of architectural books, plans, and views from various French palaces.[1039] There are other such illustrated books today in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library. One of these books of engravings designates

[1038] Nefadova, *A Journey into the World of Ottomans*, 134, Fig. 135.
[1039] For a list of illustrated European books and albums from the collection of the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library that contain single-page paintings and engravings see İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi," 56-72; 174-197.

some interesting pictorial parallels with the guild parades of Levni and Ibrahim. The book is entitled *Nouveau Theatre d'Italie au Description exacte de ses Villes, Palais, Eglises* (published in Amsterdam 1704)[1040] includes mostly views of main Italian city centers, Naples, Sicily, Florence, Venice and Rome. There are four volumes of the book. Venice and Florence comprised the first two volumes, Naples and Sicily made up the third, and Rome is the fourth volume. The first and the second volumse, and the third and fourth were bound together. The first and third volumes open with a long Ottoman Turkish preface, written in a very good handwriting. The Ottoman Turkish preface introduces the name of the book, its author, where and when it was published, the content of the books, and why a translation summary was made. On these opening pages, the translator identifies himself as poor Ibrahim, the geographer, from the *müteferriḳa* corps of the imperial palace and notes a date, which is 1145 (1733).[1041] Orlin Sabev in his study on Ibrahim Müteferrika, who opened the first printing house in the Ottoman lands that worked Arabic letters, mentions that Müteferrika had signed the colophons of his prints with very similar identifications. Indeed, in a depiction of celestial bodies and spheres of Ptolemy's system, attached to the printed version of Katib Çelebi's *Mirror of the World* (1732), he identified himself exactly in the same manner, as the geographer,[1042] which substantiates the claim that the translator of aforementioned book of engravings must have been Ibrahim Müteferrika. As Ibrahim Müteferrika states in his preface, the translation was necessary to prevent any mistakes when these images were consulted.

[1040] The book has 4 vols. TSM. H. 2742 (vol. 1-2); H.2751 (vol. 3-4).
[1041] At the preface of TSM. H. 2751, the identification reads: "Min tercim el- ḥaḳīr Ibrāhim el coġrāfī min müteferriḳagān-ı dergāh-ı 'alī sene 1145." In TSM. H. 2427 the identification is slightly shorther: "min tercim el-ḥaḳīr el-faḳīr Ibrāhim an müteferriḳagān-ı dergāh-ı 'alī sene 1145."
[1042] Sabev, "Portrait and Self Portrait," 112, 113.

[1043] At the bottom of each illustration, an Ottoman Turkish caption was added, denoting the overall iconographical content of the image. This concern towards the reader/beholder further indicates that these books were consulted at the imperial palace.

One of the images in the fourth volume of the book, on the part that was dedicated to Rome, includes a double-page engraving of an ecclesiastical procession in Rome. The Ottoman Turkish caption identifies the image as "the painting of the procession from the [new] city of Rome that takes place when a newly appointed Pope was brought to the Lateran Palace."[1044] What strikes the the eye is the composition of this procession (Fig. A123). The vertical frame is divided into five equal horizontal rows; in each row one sees a segment of the procession. Interestingly, however, these rows make up a continuous serpentine movement that begins in the foreground of the page and moves to the top. This movement begins at the bottom of the page, at the left margin of the first row. One sees the backs of some figures as they were walking up to the second row from this margin. The movement, then, continues in the right margin of the second row, where one again some figures are depicted as walking upwards, and the movement continues in this way until the fifth row. Thus, looking from the bottom to top, one sees the procession in a serpentine movement.

I think this composition might draw some conceptual parallels, particularly with Ibrahim's interpretation of the serpentine movement in guild parades. While in that particular example, the movement was vertically arranged from the bottom up, in Ibrahim's paintings it was conceived laterally from right to left due to the spatial

[1043] TSM. H. 2751, vol. 4: "…ġaflet olunmamak içün bu maḥālde şerḥ verildi." The opening page has no pagination.
[1044] TSM. H. 2751, vol. 4. Plate LXX: "Romā-yı cedīd şehrinde yeni Pāpā naṣb olunduḳda pāpālara maḥṣūṣ Lāterān nām sarāya Pāpā-yı cedīdi götürdükleri alāylarınıñ resmidir."

requirements of a manuscript page (Fig. A122). In other words, Ibrahim seems to have come up with a lateral interpretation of the serpentine movement in his guild parade depictions. As figures in rows of the engraving complement each other, the same happened to the serpentine movement of the parade in Ibrahim's images. To achieve the serpentine movement, Ibrahim's parade was conceived in a reverse S-shaped movement on the recto pages and S-shaped movement on verso pages. Thanks to this solution, when the pages are brought together, it is seen that the movement of figures complement each other perfectly. Indeed, just like the figures in the engraving that were depicted as turning their backs, when moving to an upper row, in Ibrahim's serial guild parades, those figures on verso pages were also depicted as turning their backs, as if they were walking up a hill (Fig. A124). This further detail also suggests that Ibrahim might have appropriated this pictorial tool from that particular engraving or a similar one unknown to us today.

Although the Ottoman addition of the preface to the volumes is dated 1733, this book might well have been at the imperial palace even before that year since it was published in 1704. This is to say that, when the illustrated manuscripts for the 1720 festival were being prepared, this book might have been available for the perusal of our painters.[1045] The conceptual and visual affinity between the pictorial representation of Ibrahim's serpentine guild parades and the aforementioned Dutch engraving also reminds us that such engravings, etchings and drawings were a part of the pictorial-visual vocabulary of at least some painters, designers, architects working in Ottoman lands in the eighteenth century. Indeed, these examples also designate that Ottoman painters/designers were coming up with creative translations of these models. This certainly calls into question the assumptions of the Tulip Age

[1045] Uluç, "The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums," 235-276; Rüstem, "The Afterlife of a Royal Gift," 245–339.

paradigm that perceives the pictorial arts of the period through the lenses of a notion of "western influence," which still persists in art historiography of the Ottoman world.

7.2 Individual approaches of painters in their representation of the festival

As has been mentioned before, the subject matter of the paintings that were depicted by Ibrahim and Levni is identical except four cases. However, contrary to the general assumptions, even if they represented the same event, the way they represented it differed drastically. This brings us back to the issue of artistic representation, to the inevitable question of how to evaluate and approach an artwork or more specifically how to approach a painting.[1046] Norman Bryson at the beginning of his book *Vision and Painting,* gives a quotation from the Roman author Pliny about a competition between two painters on lifelike representation. According to the Plinian tale, in this competition, one painter made a picture of grapes so mimetic that birds began to fly down to ear from it; the other painter made a picture of a curtain that was so lifelike that the first painter requested that the curtain should be drawn back so that he could see the picture. Having deceived his colleague, the latter painter won the competition.[1047] As Bryson says, this tale epitomizes the assumptions of the theory of the realism, which regards that "the goal of the painter is to produce a replica of the nature and the reality."[1048]

The theory of realism acknowledges "a universal visual experience" for the artist/painter when representing the physical world. Beginning with the Renaissance, in the western pictorial tradition, paintings were often conceived in this framework,

[1046] Marin, *On Representation*, 252-268; Summers, "Representation," 3-16; Krieger, "The Ambiguities of Representation," 184; Bryson, "Introduction," 2.
[1047] Bryson, *Vision and Painting*, 1. For the application of this conception to the study of paintings see Gomrich, *Art and Illusion*. For its critic see Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 195;
[1048] Ibid.

which was conceptualized by Vasari into an evolutionary categorization of western styles in which the realist art of the antiquity and Renaissance symbolized the pinnacle.[1049] Starting only with the early twentieth-century cultural and artistic movements such as cubism, abstraction, expressionism and surrealism began to criticize and reject this notion of causality in the representation and reception processes.[1050]

The new approaches towards literature and history writing that embraced the subjectivity of sources were extremely significant for changes in art historiography.[1051] Indeed, the most significant challenges came from literary historians, who started to introduce methodological tools of literary history to art history.[1052] According to new historical, art historical and literary discussions, sources such as texts, poetry, paintings, and monuments came to be conceived as "representations" not as reflections of objective reality. In the words of Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, representing something refers to a complex process of the construction of social reality.[1053] This perception brings forth a challenge to the directionality of the knowledge in the production and reception processes. In addition, it takes into consideration multiple factors such as the personal preferences, social ties and the networks of the author/beholder, as well as their social, economic or cultural backgrounds when evaluating the sources. Acknowledging this self-referential and multi dimensional aspect of representations leads to a completely different way of approaching textual, pictorial or visual sources.

[1049] Belting, "Art Historiography as Tradition," 126.
[1050] Schapiro, "Style," 143.
[1051] See White, "The Value of Narrativity," 5-27; Idem, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," 221-236; Idem, *The Content of The Form*; Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn;* Hunt ed. *The New Cultural History*; Paul, "Representations Are Social Facts" 234-261; Burke, *Eye witnessing*; idem, *Varieties of Cultural History;* Darnton, "A Bourgeois Puts His World," 107-144.
[1052] For example see Bryson, *Vision and Painting;* idem, *Word and Image;* Baxandal, *Patterns of Intention;* Mirzoeff ed. *The Visual Culture Reader*; Mitchell, *Picture Theory*; Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting;* Bal, *Looking In;* idem, *Narratology*; idem, "*Reading "Rembrandt."*
[1053] Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History,"195.

The festival paintings of the 1720 festival have never been evaluated from this revisionist approach. Without exception, these paintings have been regarded merely as illustrations reflecting the objective reality of the festival. This perception is related to the traditional art historiographical assessment of Ottoman book paintings, more specifically referring to illustrated history books that were produced at the Ottoman court. Accordingly, these illustrated histories of the House of Osman have been regarded as realist depictions of contemporary events while ignoring their intricate production and commissioning processes.[1054] While this perception has been revised in Ottoman art historiography in the last two decades,[1055] the paintings of the 1720 festival have not yet been examined from this revisionist perspective. Moreover, the two illustrated copies have never been comparatively analyzed. Such an analysis is necessary, as it brings to the fore the individuality of these painters' distinct pictorial vocabularied, which also helps to challenge the claim that these paintings reflected the objective reality of the festival.

7.2.1 Focal points in paintings of Levni and Ibrahim

Traditionally, festival paintings of Ibrahim have been neglected in Ottoman art historiography. This is partly related to the assumption that festival paintings of Ibrahim were based on Levni's images in terms of their iconography and composition. Indeed, his paintings are regarded inferior in stylistic quality when compared with those of Levni. [1056] This section aims at challenging this assumption

[1054] Emine Fetvacı rightfully discusses that in the traditional art historiography of Ottoman book painting only those illustrated manuscripts that were produced at the court and that adhered to "Ottoman court style" were analyzed. Yet, in the last two decades scholars began to examine illustrated manuscripts that display diverse styles. See Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 33, 34.
[1055] For a comprehensive list of revisionist studies on Ottoman book painting see Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 34, n. 45-46.
[1056] Ibrahim's festival images were traditionally attributed to the "school of Levni." See Atıl, "Surname-i Vehbi," 370-371;idem, *Levni and the Surname*, 36; Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, 75; Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*, 78.

through a comparative analysis of some particular paintings of Ibrahim and Levni, which shows that two painters had diversified focal points while representing the same subject. Moreover, it intends to bring to the fore distict features of Ibrahim's pictorial vocabulary.

The individuality of painters, that is, the self-reflexive aspect of their pictorial representation is revealed through their differentiated focal points. As Mieke Bal puts it, focalization in narratives "is already an interpretation, a subjectivized content,"[1057] which means that what one sees has already been interpreted. This is to say that the focal points of these paintings articulate about the painters' point of view.

Some examples will illustrate this point. During the third day of the festival, nighttime festivities were held on the Golden Horn, in front of the Tersane Palatial Complex. According to the textual narrative, the sultan watched the performances from his imperial tent, which was pitched in front of the main gate of the Tersane Palace. The grand vizier, on the other hand, watched the shows from a galleon named *Kapudane Kalyonu*, which was anchored in front of the deck of the palace.[1058] Following the textual narrative, one sees a double-page composition in both copies (Fig. A95, A96). In these paintings, one sees that the shutters of the seaside kiosk of the palace were closed, indicating that the sultan was not present in the building. While Ibrahim depicted only the grand vizier sitting on the galleon,[1059] Levni seems to have depicted the sultan in his tent, which was pitched on the deck of the palace. This significant difference between the focal points of two painters might well be related to the fact that Levni's copy was prepared for the sultan and Ibrahim's for the

[1057] Bal, *Narratology*, 163; also see idem, *Looking in*, 41-64.
[1058] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 524.
[1059] Çağman, "18. Yüzyıl Yenileşme Dönemi," note 10. Çağman rightfully draws attention to Ibrahim's depiction of only the grand vizier in his composition. For Levni's depiction of the same episode she mistakenly identifies another painting (TSM A. 3593 fol. 93a-92b), which however belongs to the seventh day.

grand vizier.[1060] Yet there is another possibility. When Levni's painting is examined carefully, it emerges that the iconography of the sultan is quite strange. He lacks the symbols that help one to identify this figure definitely as the sultan: such as his aigrette and his dagger. Missing also are the presence of the officials of the imperial chamber, the black aghas, and the crown princes. Rather, this depiction stands very close to the iconography of the grand vizier throughout the pictorial narrative. This urges one speculate that in this composition Levni might have depicted the grand vizier, who was very possibly actual patron of this *sūrnāme* project. The textual narrative directs us to believe that the figure sitting on the tent should have been the sultan. But as Levni often made deviations from the textual narrative, he might well have depicted the grand vizier instead, thereby assigning the position of the sultan to the grand vizier, which is worth paying attention.

Another example is a painting illustrating an event from the sixth day. According to the textual narrative, on the sixth day, a tightrope walker made a dangerous show called a falcon's fly (*şahin uçurması*)[1061] while holding two swords in his hand. Dancers and musicians enacted performances on that day, and there was also a cannon fire display from a portable castle maquette. The pictorial representation of this daytime performance is quite different in Levni and Ibrahim. Ibrahim seems to have represented the performance of dancers, musicians and the tightrope walker holding swords in his hand (Fig. A97), yet he omitted or preferred not to include the canon fire display in this composition. Levni, on the other hand, represented all these shows (Fig. A39). Additionally, he depicted a man wearing a dress made of fireworks, a detail not mentioned in the textual narrative. Once again,

[1060] Filiz Çağman makes this point in her unpublished essay on the eighteenth-century Ottoman painting tradition. Çağman, "18. Yüzyıl Yenileşme Dönemi," n.10.
[1061] And, *40 Gün 40 Gece*, 144-147.

he made a slight deviation from the text, as he depicted the tightrope walker with a long stick in his hand instead of swords, as the text mentions.

In the afternoon of the seventh day, various performances were again held at Okmeydanı, including the janissaries' scramble for food, the performance of tightrope walkers, mock battle games enacted by a spinning castle carried by an elephant and by big galleon that was carried to the festival ground, and the performance of dancers and musicians.[1062] Pictorial representations of these performances are quite different in the two illustrated copies. Ibrahim's composition focuses solely on the recto page, where the background was given to the scramble for food and the foreground was reserved for the performance of tightrope walkers, and the mock battle performance by including a spinning castle that was carried by an elephant (Fig. A22). Levni, on the other hand, extended this composition to two pages. He depicted the performance of dancers and musicians on the verso page, and the mock battle game of a spinning castle and a galleon on the recto page. Interestingly, he omitted the ritual scramble for food in this composition. Indeed, as a minor yet important detail in Levni's painting, the castle is depicted as an independent structure, without an elephant (Fig. A98). As an overall visual effect, it is not possible to identify exactly the focus point of his composition, rather Levni seems to have had multiple focal points in this composition.

A further example is from the eighth day. According to the text, during the nighttime performances across the Golden Horn, a number of floating rafts which were full of musicians and performers passed in front of the Tersane Palatial Complex. The text related that in one of these floating rafts a spinning castle maquette enacted a performance of a sea battle game, in another raft dancers and a

[1062] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 583-586.

band of musicians performed, and in different one firework in the form of a flower garden were displayed.[1063] In their pictorial compositions, both Levni and Ibrahim depicted two floating rafts. While both depicted the castle performance on the recto page, for the second floating raft they had different preferences. Levni depicted the performance of a band of musicians and dancers (Fig. A99), yet Ibrahim chose to depict the fireworks designed as a flower garden (Fig. A100). The paintings present two painters' different choices for their pictorial narratives of the same event.

7.2.1.1 Compositional and stylistic aspects of the paintings of Ibrahim

Ibrahim's festival paintings differ from those of Levni with some of their compositional and stylistic aspects. For example, his paintings are particular in terms of the attention that he paid to represent different social groups in the audience. Ibrahim carefully differentiated some people from the others with marked dress codes.[1064] This holds true especially for three categories that indicated economic or social standing, life phase characterization and possible ethnic origin. For the first category, some figures were distinguished from the others through their ragged clothing. This holds especially true for an old man who wore markedly patchy clothes and an old woman who held a stick in her hand; both were positioned at the foreground of a number of paintings (Fig. A97, A102, A113). These figural representations are indeed reminiscent of some figures of the seventeenth century painter Ahmed Nakşi, who depicted the court commissioned *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (TSM. H. 1124) and *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* (TSM. H. 889) copies, which are preserved at

[1063] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 609-610.
[1064] Dress codes (referring to the color, material, fashion of a costume) articulated about social and hierarchal status of an individual in early modern societies. Faroqhi and Neumann eds. *Ottoman Costumes*; Faroqhi, "Introduction or Why and How", 22-25; Schick, "The Place of Dress," 93-102; Wilson, "Souvenirs and Stereotypes," 35-36; also see Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 226.

the Imperial Treasury.[1065] Ahmed Nakşi had a peculiar pictorial vocabulary with elaborate depictions of the architecture that is seen in the background of his compositions and with his interesting figures that he often placed in the foreground. These figures are noticeable with their particular physical characteristics and their ragged dressing. The visual similarity between Ibrahim's elderly figures and some of Nakşi's figures raise the possibility that, as a courtier, Ibrahim might have consulted those illustrated books, which were available at the imperial treasury.

Ibrahim's other figures, on the other hand, are depicted in garments that signify their well-to-do economic or social status. For instance, in one painting, two figures at the left margin of the recto page wore fur-lined garments, which clearly communicate their relatively higher social/economic status among the socially undifferentiated members of the audience (Fig. A58).[1066] In all his paintings, Ibrahim depicted some figures among the audience with recognizable headgear which seem to be made of leather (and sometimes leather knitted) and often lined with fur (Fig. A51, A94).[1067] As dress codes were visual markers of social identity in pre-modern societies, I suggest that this headgear might indicate a different ethnic origin of those people, possibly of Tatar or Caucasian origin.[1068]

As a third category, Ibrahim seems to have been keen to differente men and women through their life phase characterizations. For example, he differentiated men among the audience as youngsters (without a beard), middle aged (with a beard or mustache), old (with white hair and beard) and those with a child.[1069] The same kind

[1065] For Ahmed Nakşi see Atıl, "Ahmed Nakşi," 103-121; Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları*; Idem, "Şiirin Resmi," 314-338.
[1066] Tezcan, "Furs and Skins," 63-80.
[1067] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 60a, 69a, 87a, 123a, 125a, 154a, 168a.
[1068] Reşat Ekrem Koçu in his book on Turkish costumes indicates that such headgears were traditionally worn by ethnic groups such as Tatar, Circassian, Bulgarian and Iranian. See Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*. Also see Tezcan, "Ethnicity, Race, Religion," 159-170.
[1069] For example see TSM. A. 3594 fol. 60a, 69a, 83a, 90a, 138b.

of differentiation holds for women; Ibrahim differentiated the old and young women through their clothing. While old woman were depicted as unveiled and thus their face is visible to the beholders, young women (with or without a child) were typically depicted as veiled.[1070]

Apart from these, one should also mention that some of Ibrahim's figures have very distinct physical characteristics that separate them visually from the rest. These figures were represented in a number of paintings. Some examples of these figures are mustached men with a big earring (Fig. A104, A105), bearded men with a big earring (Fig. A106), a man with a hooked nose (Fig. A106), and an old woman with a hooked nose (Fig. A107). The marked physical characteristics of these figures might indicate Ibrahim's familiarity with the modeling technique of the western painting tradition. In his depiction of fruits and vegetables, one also observes an acquaintance with the perspectival point of view, which once again brings to mind that Ibrahim might have been familiar with western painting (Fig. A108, A109).

Ibrahim's festival paintings are also particular with the representation of some monuments.[1071] The architectural representation of the Tersane Palatial complex (within the Tersane imperial gardens across from the Golden Horn) with many differentiated buildings is a case in point.[1072] Ibrahim's representations focus particularly on the Pearl Kiosk (İncili Köşk), which had a baldachin lead roof and latticed windows and had portable shutters on the sea front. During the course of the

[1070] TSM. A. 3594 fol. 86b, 89b, 93b, 122a, 124b, 128b.
[1071] This aspect of Ibrahim's pictorial language has already been noticed in some earlier studies such as Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı;* idem, "Türk Resminde Batılılaşma,"17-48; Bağcı et. al. *Ottoman Painting*, 229; Çağman, "18. Yüzyıl Yenileşme Dönemi."
[1072] Since the time of sultan Ahmed I (r.1603-1617) the existence of a kiosk at the Tersane imperial garden (at Hasköy) is documented. Yet, additional constructions were made during reigns of Ibrahim and Mehmed IV respectively. In March 1678 (*Muharrem* 1088) a fire broke out at the harem part of the palace, yet a reconstruction was immediately carried out during a year's time. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha in his chronicle relates that in February 1679 (*Muharrem* 1090) for celebrating the return of Mehmed IV from the Polish campaign, the guilds of the city paraded in front of the palace with their workshops that were put on floating rafts. The sultan watched the parade from the kiosk of the palace. For this information see Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, v. III, 467-470.

festival, the sultan stayed at this palace with his family, and he watched many nighttime and daytime performances from the balcony of this kiosk. In Ibrahim's Golden Horn paintings, one observes that the complex was surrounded by light sea walls. In the foreground, one sees the deck of the palace, a bathhouse, and a two-storied building, which can be identified as harem apartments,[1073] two mosques, other kiosks and service buildings of the complex (Fig. A95). Indeed, another painting by Ibrahim where he once again depicted the palatial complex provides additional information (Fig. A110). On the verso page, one sees one of the gates of the palace complex that was brick-roofed and opens to the deck of the palace.[1074] Moreover, in the painting, one also sees a tree with a mirror to which ropes were tied. Although it is not certain where the name *ayīnelī ḳāvāḳ* (literally means the poplar tree with a mirror) came from, the depiction of this tiny detail is worth mentioning.[1075] Levni's depiction of the palace complex hardly provides such architectural details related to the complex; his compositions seem to have focused on the seaside kiosk and merely included a few undifferentiated monuments behind the sea walls of the complex (Fig. A93). One of Ibrahim's depictions of the Tersane Palatial complex is in fact strikingly similar to another painting in *Mecmū'a-ı Eş'ar* (an anthology of poems)[1076] by a poet named Gaznevi (İÜK T. 5461 fol. 25b).[1077] In

[1073]An archival document dated 1908 (1220) gives detailed information regarding the buildings in the complex and of their architectural and structural details. In this document, harem apartments are identified as a two-storied building in front of which there was a lead roofed kiosk. This information matches to the depiction of Ibrahim. The document is cited in Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri,* v. III, 468-469.

[1074] The aforementioned archival document mentions that on the side of the harem apartments there was a kiosk and after this kiosk there was a big gate, which was brick roofed. This gate could have been the gate depicted by Ibrahim. See Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri,* v. III, 468.

[1075] There are a number of possibilities for the name of the place that had been offered by European travelers or observers to the city. The explanation that is related to the poplar tree near the palace gardens came from the late eighteenth century, from famous architect and painter Ignace Melling. Melling wrote that the name of the place came from a kind of poplar tree, which created a kind of mirror effect when sunshine reflected upon to its leaves. See Eyice, "Aynalıkavak Sarayı", 264.

[1076] This *mecmū'a* (İÜK T. 5461) was in the manuscript collection of Yıldız Palace Library and then was transferred to Istanbul University Library between years 1924-25. I am thankful to Dr. Lale Uluç who has kindly drawn my attention to the *mecmū'a* and to the visual similarity between two paintings.

this *mecmū'a*, the author Gaznevi said he completed this anthology of poems in 1685 (1097) as a gift for Sultan Mehmed IV (r.1648-1687), and he added that he was the author and calligrapher of the poetry and that he also made all paintings himself.[1078] However, the stylistic quality of this architectural depiction is in stark contrast to the rest of the images of in the manuscript, which raises the possibility that it might have been added later at the Imperial Palace. [1079] Or alternatively, the addition might have happened much later, when the manuscript left the palace and passed to private ownership, given that there are two registers of ownership in the beginning section that date to the late nineteenth century.[1080] Although now it is not possible to determine how this *mecmū'a* left the waqf library, passed to private ownership and then entered the Yıldız Palace collection, for the concerns of this study it is still important to take into consideration that one of its paintings is directly related to Ibrahim's depiction of the Tersane Palatial Complex. This example further designates the circulation of such visual models among painter/designers.

See Uluç ed. *Yıldız Sarayından Istanbul Universitesine /From the Yıldız Palace to the Istanbul University*, 20-27; 82; Derman, "Benzeri Olmayan Bir Sanat Albümü," 17-20. My thanks to Zeynep Atbaş of the Topkapı Manuscript Library for bringing this article into my attention.

[1077] Müstakimzade Sadeddin Efendi in his *Tuhfe-i Hattatin* identifies a certain Mustafa-yı Gaznevi (d. 1699) who was a calligrapher from Kastamonu, and he adds that this calligrapher was teaching at a primary school, which was named Gaznevi Mahmud Efendi at Uzunçarşı, Istanbul from where this pseudonym Gaznevi came from. Uğur Derman suggests that this Gaznevi might have been the author of *Mecmua-i Eşar*. Derman, "Benzeri Olmayan Bir Sanat Albümü," 20, n.3; Müstakimzade, *Tuhfe-i Hattatin*. Also see Uğurlu, "Gaznevi Mahmud: A Neglected Ottoman Clerk," 11-17. I am thankful to Tülay Artan for bringing this thesis into my attention.

[1078] Gaznevi, *Mecmū'a-ı Eş'ar*, İÜK T. 5461, fol. 2a. The calligraphic works of this *mecmū'a* has recently been examined in a MA thesis. See Uğurlu, "Gaznevi Mahmud: A Neglected Ottoman Clerk."

[1079] For the additions of paintings at the imperial palace to the fifteenth century illustrated manuscripts see Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts,"147-161; idem, "Manuscript Production," 67-98.

[1080]At the beginning of the manuscript one sees a seal, which is attributed to Abdülhamid II and one also reads two records of ownership. In the former one reads that this was fine gift to the dearest, poor Ziver and it dates 1245/1828. The latter one, on the other hand, indicates that ownership passed from the aforementioned Ziver to his son, Yusuf Bahaüddin, and it dates 1282/1865. On the basis of these records Uğur Derman identifies this Ziver as Ziver Pasha (1793-1862), who was one of the viziers to sultan Mahmud II. And he proposes that this book might have been a gift of Mahmud II to Ziver Pasha nevertheless he does not provide any clue to substantiate his point. In any case how did the *mecmū'a* pass to private ownership and then how it came to Yıldız Palace collection is unclear. See Derman, "Benzeri Olmayan Bir Sanat Albümü," 17-20; Uğurlu, "Gaznevi Mahmud: A Neglected Ottoman Clerk," 23, 24.

Another interesting detail about the architectural depictions is the representation of the workshop of the imperial painter/designers (*naḳḳāşḫāne-i ḫaşşa*)[1081] that was near to Arslānḫāne or the royal menegerie.[1082] This was the site where the sultan watched the circumcision procession of the court officials, high-ranking dignitaries and his sons that took place at the closing of the public celebrations of the 1720 festival. In the 1720 festival paintings, this building was depicted as a two-storied building, with the first floor of stone masonry and the second floor brick-roofed (Fig. A111, A112). Filiz Çağman has mentioned in her study that also in Matraḳçı Nasuh's, *Beyān-ı Menāzil-i Sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn* (The Description of the Halting Stages of Camping in Two Iraqs)[1083] this royal workshop also was depicted just next to the Arslānḫāne building. As Çağman argues, while the general features of the building was same both in Levni and Ibrahim, the two painters seem to have represented some architectural details of the building quite differently.[1084] As a common point, both Levni and Ibrahim depicted the first floor of the building as work of stone masonry, and the recently built kiosk on the second floor as a brick roofed building with a number of windows. However, Çağman says that Ibrahim's painting provides additional information, as it depicts a wide arch onn

[1081] For the ongoing discussions on the actual place the workshop of imperial designer/painters see Çağman, "Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri," 35-46.
[1082] A former church located on the southern side of Hagia Sophia that was used after the conquest of the city to accommodate lions and other kinds of wild animals. Visual documentation from the early sixteenth century (Māṭrāḳçı Naṣūḥ, *Beyān-ı Menāzil-i Sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn*) and eighteenth century (a painting by Swedish painter Cornelius Loos and an engraving by Gugois İnciciyan) identifies the location of the building as between the sea and Hagia Sophia and they depict it as being covered by one full and two half domes. Archival documents indicate that at least from the early sixteenth century onwards the upper floor of the building was used as the workshop of urban painter/designers. Famous seventeenth century traveler Evliya Çelebi and eighteenth-century geographer Gugois İnciciyan (d. 1833) also identifies the building as such. İnciciyan also mentions that the upper floor of the building was damaged from a fire in 1802 yet it was totally demolished only in 1804. In 1848 Gaspare Fossati built *Dar'ül Fünun* in the site of the building, which was then used as the Palace of Justice. In 1933 the building burned down in a fire. Information cited from Eyice, "Arslanhane ve Çevresinin Arkeolojisi," 23-33. For the archeology of building see Mango, *The Brazen House*;
[1083] *Matrakçı Nasuh, Beyān-ı Menāzil-i Sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn* (İÜK T. 5694, fol. 8b). Facsimile published by Yurdaydın, *Beyān-ı Menāzil.*
[1084] Çağman, Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri," 43, 44.

the first floor of the kiosk that very probably opened to the courtyard; it also depicts the kiosk as a wooden baldachin. Moreover, according to the observation of Çağman, a transparent gelatin-like substance was pasted over the painting of window frames, possibly to highlight the fact that the building had many windows.[1085] These features, however, are not seen in Levni's paintings.[1086]

7.2.2 The painters' dialogue with the textual narrative

Traditionally, the festival paintings of Levni have been perceived independent of the textual narrative. The pioneer of this point of view, Esin Atıl, in her famous book on Levni's festival paintings, argues that these paintings were made to be interpreted independent of the text and thus they do not explain or relate to the textual narrative.[1087] Levni's divergences from the textual narrative are also perceived as an indicator of the independence of his imagery. Moreover, this aspect of Levni's paintings has been perceived as a sign of deviation from the traditional rules of Ottoman book painting.[1088]

In the past two decades, studies on Ottoman book painting have shown that, already in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, narrative paintings and album paintings were related to their accompanying texts in indirect ways.[1089] As author of these works discussed, sometimes images made references to some abstract concepts

[1085] Çağman, Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri," 43.
[1086] As has been mentioned before, Esin Atıl has examined the stylistic and compositional aspects of Levni's festival paintings in her dissertation and her book. For this reason, here I preferred to outline the stylistic aspects of Ibrahim's neglected paintings.
[1087] Atıl, *Levni and the Surname,* 62.
[1088] Atıl, *Levni and the Surname.*
[1089] Necipoğlu, ""The Word and Image," 22-61; Fetvacı, "The Album of Ahmed I," 127-138; idem, "Enriched Narratives," 243-66; idem, "Love in the Album of Ahmed I," 37-51; idem, "The Production of Şehname-i Selim Han," 263-315; Tanındı, "Transformation of Words into Image," 131-145; Değirmenci, "An illustrated Mecmua," 186-218; idem, *İktidar Oyunları;* idem, "Şiirin Resmi" 314-338; Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter," 39-80. For a similar approach in the seventeenth century Safavid book painting see Babaie, "The Image of Sound," 143-163; also see Farhad, "Safavid Single Page Painting."

that were mentioned in the text; they also included certain self-referential details related to the objectives of patrons, agents, and authors. In addition they deviated from the text in other ways.[1090] To this end, in the interpretation of the images these studies argue for a critical consideration of related texts rather than their total rejection.

Following this line of inquiry, there is a need to evaluate how the festival paintings of Levni and Ibrahim are related to the textual narrative. This consideration is especially important with regard to the neglected illustrated manuscript of the festival that was illustrated by Ibrahim. As a broad observation, a detailed comparison between two illustrated copies in terms of their text-image relationship shows that Levni's images included various details not mentioned in the text. Moreover very often he made divergences from the textual narrative. Ibrahim's paintings on the contrary had a much more intimate relationship with the text. This difference between two painters' pictorial vocabulary further indicates the individual approach of these painters in constructing their pictorial narratives of the festival.

To begin with, a detailed analysis of Ibrahim's illustrated copy shows that his paintings carefully followed the details of the textual narrative. This holds especially for the ordinance of guilds during their parades, the order and number of performers or attendants, and for the material/visual details. The guild parades are worth noting. Starting with the sixth day of the festival, guild parades were enacted as a part of the festival's program. As has been mentioned before, Levni squeezed many guilds into a single double-page composition, but Ibrahim extended the number of parades in a serial manner. This compositional difference also brought about a difference in the number of guilds that were depicted by each painter. While

[1090] On that point especially see the seminal study of Emine Fetvacı on the complex production process of *Şehname-i Selim Han*. Fetvacı, "The Production of Şehname-i Selim Han."

each guild that was mentioned in the text was carefully depicted in Ibrahim's serial parade paintings, Levni omitted many of these guilds in his compositions, possibly due to his limited space in a double-page composition. Accordingly, the guild of carpenters, mirror makers, wool/cotton fluffers, makers of iron tip for a boots/shoes, fur makers, paper makers, goat-hair cloth weavers, and cooks are not seen in Levni's paintings.

Ibrahim often adhered even to numbers that Vehbi mentioned in the textual narrative such as the number of performers or the number of servicemen at the festival space. For instance, at the end of the festival, there was a circumcision procession. During this procession, sugar gardens, small and giant-scale *naḫıls* and sugared figures were displayed. According to the textual narrative, 40 men from the Imperial Dockyard carried 40 sugar figures in the shape of different animals, fruits and objects. In his serial pictorial representation of this procession, Ibrahim seems to have adhered to this number, as he depicted exactly 40 men holding 40 sugared figures (Fig. A9). Levni, however, depicted only 11 men who carried just one sugared figure at their hands (Fig. A10).

Sometimes Ibrahim's paintings made references to minor visual details that were mentioned in the textual narrative. One such example is from the parade of the makers of iron tips for boot. Vehbi noted that as a part of their performance, some members of the guild cut parts of their bodies in a horseshoe shape and others stabbed knives into their wrists.[1091] Ibrahim's related painting captured even these tiny details. At the upper margin of the page, one sees the parade of this guild with their members and portable workshop. Strikingly, in the arms of some guild members, horseshoe shaped tattoos and stabbed knives are also seen (Fig. A68).

[1091] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 612.

Ibrahim could not have depicted the actual moment of stabbing knives into their bodies rather he depicted the bleeding of their arms. I argue that this image of bleeding stood for the act of stabbing, so he indirectly referred to the textual narrative.[1092]

Apart from that, when the text is carefully examined in relation to the images, one sees that in some paintings, Ibrahim made particular pictorial reference to short verses in the text. This reminds one of the illustrated examples of *dīvāns* (collected poems), such as the illustrated copy of *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* (collected poems of Nadiri) (TSM. H. 889).[1093] One such reference to the verses in the text is from the tenth day of the festival, from the depiction of the parade of mirror makers. As mentioned in Chapter 5, after the narration of the parade of members of this guild, the text continues with a short a chant (*zemzeme*), which reads, "Look at the mirror, o beloved one! See who you are, you are unmatched [in beauty] who strikes hundred Josephs with admiration."[1094] In Ibrahim's representation of the mirror-makers parade (Fig. A62), one sees a young member of the guild holding a mirror in his hand and he looking at the mirror in which his face was reflected. Without any doubt, this particular detail of the pictorial composition articulates a reference to the textual narrative.

Another such example is seen in the narrative of the eleventh day. As the textual narrative mentions, the first to parade was the guild of silver and gold thread makers, who paraded with a workshop covered with latticed windows that was

[1092] Mieke Bal transfers the rhetorical tools, especially the synecdoche, which takes the detail stand for the whole event, for the interpretation of some western paintings. I argue that this tool might also be applied to the interpretation of the festival paintings. See Bal, *Looking In*, 100; *Reading Rembrand*, 70-74.

[1093] The author of the text is the court poet Ganizade Nadiri. For analysis of the illustrated copy of *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* see Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları,*153-171; idem, "Şiirin Resmi," 314-338. For an earlier analysis of the iconographical details of paintings of *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* see Tanındı, "Transformation of Words into Image," 131-145.

[1094] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 634: "Mir'āta ḳıl bir kez naẓar, gör kendüñi cānā nesin, yüz Yūsuf'ı ḥayrān ider bir miṯli yoḳ cānānesin."

embroidered with gilded silver and gold threads. Then, the text continues with a couplet which eulogizes the merits of a young member from the guild which reads: "You have drawn off the darkness of the heart from the wire-drawer's plate like a thread, hundred congratulations to your master o young gold/silver thread maker."[1095] Ibrahim's depiction of this episode is quite interesting. In the pictorial composition, one sees this guild's workshop in the foreground of the verso page (Fig. A24). The workshop is latticed with gilded silver and gold threads and inside there is a young boy displaying his craft. The young thread maker is depicted in a position as if he was pulling goldthreads from two small dishes. I argue that this depiction should be interpreted as a concretized interpretation of the abstract concept of drawing off the darkness of the heart from the wire-drawer's plate as mentioned in Vehbi's couplet.

These examples raise the possibility that Ibrahim might have read the textual narrative in advance. As far as the convention of book painting at the ottoman court is concerned, this is not unusual. Emine Fetvacı, for example, mentions, one illustrated and unfinished copy of the text of Ferruh and Huma, where the draft copy is full of notes that specifically address the painters. One of these notes strikingly orders the painter to depict the episode of the meeting of Huma and Ferruh and it adds that the text should be read and later illustrated accordingly.[1096]

This kind of dialogue with the verses of the text does not feature in Levni's paintings. As has been mentioned before, in many paintings Levni created his own version by changing the sequences of events, the order of performers or functionaries or the material details. One example is from the sixth night of the festival when the

[1095] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme,* 650: "Ḥaddeden tel gibi çektiñ kendiñe tār-ı dili, ey cüvān sīm-keş ṣad āferīn üstadına."
[1096] Cited in Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri*, 117, n. 56. For the original reference see TSM. R. 1484 fol. 58a: "Ferruh ile Hüma buluşduġudur, Kıssası okunup tasviri münasip ola."

performances were at the Golden Horn. Typically, a number of floating rafts passed along the Golden Horn displaying different performances. As far as the paintings are concerned, both copies represented four floating rafts on a double-page composition (Fig. A47, A48). Yet, when the paintings are examined in detail in relation to the text, it emerges that Levni ascribed material details of one raft to another. For instance, according to the text, giant puppets and Aries were on the same floating raft, but Levni separated them and depicted them as if they were passing on different rafts. Thus, he created his own version of the episode. Ibrahim,, on the other hand, followed the textual narrative in his composition.

Levni's diversions from the textual narrative are particularly striking in his representations of guild parades. Sometimes in his paintings he puts the first parading guild at the end of the parade, and sometimes he depicts particular material objects that belonged to one of the guilds as if they belonged to another guild. For instance, during the eight-day guild parade, according to the text, the guild of tent makers came at the beginning of the parade. The text relates that, as their customary gifts to the sultan, tent-makers prepared a tent in which a young member of the guild was sitting, and they paraded with a number of players who wore terrifying masks. In Ibrahim's composition, one sees the exact representation of these details (Fig. A113), but Levni seems to have conceived it quite differently. In Levni's composition, at the foreground of the page one sees a walking figure, and above his head a tent-like structure was being held (Fig. A114). This must have been Levni's own interpretation of the tent-makers' tent.

Another example is from the ninth day, whose textual narrative mentions that this day's guild parade started with the parade of the carpenters. As their customary gift to the sultan, the carpenters constructed an elaborately designed kiosk (*ḳaṣr*) that

was covered by red silk textiles. As the textual narrative mentions, oxen were pulling this portable kiosk.[1097] As the sultan was very pleased with the form and style of this kiosk, it was carried to the tent of the sultan after the parade.[1098] In Ibrahim's painting of this day, at the bottom right margin of the recto page one sees an elaborately designed two-storied kiosk, possibly wooden (Fig. A42). The upper story of the structure seems to have been surrounded by windows, and the wooden pillars supported the lower story. In the painting of Levni, however, neither the kiosk of the carpenters nor the members of this guild are seen. In his composition, one sees a workshop carried by oxen, but this workshop belongs to the goldsmiths, not to carpenters (Fig. A66).[1099] Indeed, the first parading guild in his composition seems to have been the coppersmiths, who paraded in eighth rows. Thus, Levni not only changed the order of the guilds but also omitted carpenters from his pictorial representation of the parades of the day.

7.3 Vehbi's *Sūrnāme* in the Ottoman book painting tradition

An equally significant issue related to the 1720 festival paintings is the interpretation of their stylistic and compositional aspects. As mentioned in the Introduction, in the traditional art historiographical literature Levni's festival paintings have long been approached from the framework of the so-called Tulip Age. While the Tulip Age has been perceived as a period of an instantaneous opening to the western world that was marked by an abrupt and intensified process of appropriating novel western forms and concepts in various fields, the festival paintings that were made during this particular span of time have been considered as an outcome of this assumed novel

[1097] Seyyid Vehbi, *Sūrnāme*, 616.
[1098] Ibid: "maṭbūʿ ī-i ṭarḥ u üslūbı pesendīde-i ṭabʿ-ı hümāyūn olmaġın…"
[1099] This contradiction between Levni's painting and the textual narrative has also been noticed by Mertol Tulum, see Tulum, ed. *Sūrnāme,* 737.

inclination towards the west. One of the most problematic aspects of the so-called Tulip Age paradigm is that it detaches the artistic and cultural trends of this particular twelve-year period from the preceding and following periods. It recognizes the Ottoman Empire and the Western Europe as distinctively separated cultural and artistic domains, while almost ignoring centuries-old mutual dialogues and the cross-cultural interconnectivity.[1100]

This perception is also problematic in the sense that it does not answer the question why the Ottoman court or patron/s of these illustrated books preferred a traditional cultural form, the illustrated historical narrative suitable for the representation of the festival. Indeed, it also ignores possible visual dialogues of some of these paintings with certain painting albums and other illustrated books that were produced in the seventeenth century. As has been discussed before, some paintings of Ibrahim display certain visual affinities with images of Ahmed Nakşi and with a particular image that was inserted into an album. Besides, in some of his paintings one also sees visual references to the verses in the text, something that is also seen in illustrated anthologies. In addition, some figures in Levni's paintings, such as the image of the giant two-faced puppet have a striking similarity to figures that one sees in paintings of the Taeschner album (from the second half of the seventeenth century).[1101] These examples indicate the connections of these festival paintings with the Ottoman book painting and album painting tradition. As has been mentioned before, since the cultural predilections of the Ottoman court in this period

[1100] On cross-cultural analysis of arts of the east and the west see Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*; Jardine and Brotton. *Global Interests*; Contadini ed. *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*; Carboni ed. *Venice and the Islamic World*; Roodernburg et al. *Cultural Exchange;* Arcangeli and Wolf eds. *Islamic Artifacts in the Mediterranean World;* Rosamond, *Bazaar to Piazza.*

[1101] See Taeschner, *Veröffentlicht von Franz Taeschner*. For the discussion on the content and style of these albums see And, "17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları,"153-162; Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter," 39-80.

were marked by a blend of tradition and novelty,[1102] I think the paintings of the 1720 imperial festival almost perfectly epitomized and represented this two-folded cultural tendency.

In the 1720 festival paintings, one clearly observes the painters' appropriation of western pictorial tools such as modeling in figural representations, color gradations to stimulate naturalistic appearances of some objects and landscape, novel spatial arrangements and the perspectival rendition of architecture and objects. As has been discussed above, the unusual directionality of the paintings where movement is depicted in the opposite of the reading direction of the manuscript might have also been appropriated from western albums and books of engravings that were available to painters at the imperial palace. Can one assume, following the premises of the westernization paradigm, that these tools were entirely unknown in the Ottoman world prior to the eighteenth century?

In the last three decades, studies on Ottoman book painting and Ottoman visual culture have shown that Ottoman painters were acquainted with the western pictorial tradition as early as the late fifteenth century.[1103] Indeed, as far as Ottoman court patronage is concerned, during the reign of Mehmed II, who is known for his patronage of the western style arts and during the early reign of Süleyman I, and also

[1102] Ünver Rüstem in his recent study on the eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture stresses the combination of the traditional and novel artistic forms in significant projects of the reign of Ahmed III such as the stylistic features of his library at Topkapı Palace, his fountain just across the gate of the imperial palace and also at Sadabad project. See Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 42-65. Tülay Artan, on the other hand, approaches the ceremonial and ritualistic revivals of the period from a similar perspective. Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizierate."

[1103] For Mehmed II's patronage of the western arts see Rogers, "Mehmed the Conquerer," 80-97; Campbell, "Italian Images of Mehmed the Conquerer," 66-79; Necipoğlu, "From Byzantine Constantinople," 272-277; idem, "Visual Cosmopolitanism,"1-82; Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox,"3-8; Idem, "From Europe to Istanbul", 136-163; Idem, "Mehmed the Conquerer's Greek Scriptorium," 15-64. For the European style architectural depictions that were later added to the illustrated books that were brought from the Timurid lands see Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts," 147-161.

during later periods dialogue with the western artistic forms continued.[1104] As these studies have rightly shown, in different periods the artistic contact and translation both from the east and the west occurred in many ways via the transfer of artists, books, paintings, engravings and images or via training in the royal ateliers. These contacts were persistent in varying degrees throughout the early modern centuries.

In the eighteenth century, however the growing mercantile and diplomatic relations brought about new patterns of mobility and global interconnectivity. In this more cosmopolitan world, "the utilization of transcultural idioms and motifs became more important in self fashioning and self representations"[1105] of rulers, princes, urban and provincial notables. In this respect, artistic and cultural citations from the east and west in the medium of architecture, decoration, music, painting or literature articulated this recognition of a cosmopolitan cultural vocabulary. Parallel to that, in the eighteenth century, Ottoman, Mughal, Safavid, Russian and Japanese painters, authors, intellectuals were all appropriating the arts of Western Europewhile their European colleagues were equally enthusiastic about the "consumption of these others" through representation in paintings, cross-cultural dressing, opera and theatrical plays, literature.[1106] Until recent decades, artistic and literary products that have borrowed their subject matter from Turkish, Chinese manners have largely been conceived as stereotype or fantasy, but the recent art historical literature assesses the profound impact of these cultures on Western European art and culture. Parallel to this novel approach, the diffusion of cultural forms such as *turquerie*, *chinoiserie*,

[1104] Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent," 401-427; Idem, "Word and Image," 37-41; Fetvacı, "From Print to Trace," 243-268; Değirmenci, "Şiirin Resmi," 314-338; Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter," 39-80.
[1105] Avcıoğlu and Flood, "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures," 14.
[1106] See Avcıoğlu and Flood, "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures," 7-38 and also articles in *Ars Orientalis, 39*: *Globolizing Cultures.* For the cross cultural theory on art also see Flood, *Objects of Translation*; Canepa, "Theorizing Cross-Cultural Interaction," 7-29; Sheriff, "Cultural Contact and The Making of European Art," 1-16. Also see Babaie, "Frontiers of Visual Taboo," 131-156; idem, "Shah Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar,"125-142; Landau, "Visibly Foreign, Visibly Female," 99-130.

egyptomanie in Europe in the eighteenth century have recently been assessed from a transcultural perspective, emphasizing the multi-directionality of cultural flows.[1107]

In the eighteenth century, some Ottoman painters were evidently inclined towards appropriating tools of the western pictorial vocabulary and applying them to book painting, while, at the same time, numerous European painters were coming to the Ottoman capital to produce tableaus of Ottoman ambassadorial ceremonials and daily life scenes.[1108] It would not be wrong to assume that these European painters looked at vernacular visual models or that they had a familiarity with the Ottoman book painting tradition. Such a possible visual dialogue, for example, between the images of Levni and the Flemish painter Jean Baptiste Van Mour (d. 1737)[1109] and the Genevan painter Jean Étienne Liotard (d.1789) have already been proposed.[1110] In fact, these painters' Ottoman images such as those by Van Mour were widely diffused in Europe thanks to the engravings that were produced after his paintings.[1111] Van Mour's Ottoman images (that were produced during the first decade of the century) served as visual models for English, Dutch and German engravers as well as to French and Italian artists throughout the eighteent century and nineteenth centuries. As Seth Gopin argues, paintings by Van Mour were among the primary sources of European *turquerie* in the eighteenth century.[1112] The reception and dissemination of these images in the European peninsula were wide and

[1107] Sheriff, *Cultural Contact*; Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie' and the Politics*.
[1108] Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore;* Yücel-Celbiş, trans. *XVIII yüzyıl Boğaziçi ressamları*. Also see Renda, "Sultans, Ambassadors, Painters," 10-17.
[1109] For Van Mour and Levni comparison see İrepoğlu, "Van Mour ve Levni," 73-102; for the pictorial oeuvre of Van Mour and for his life see Nicolaas, et al. *The Ambassador, The Sultan and the* Artist; Nefedova-Gruntova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans.*
[1110] For Levni and Liotard comparison see Smentek, "Looking East," 93; also see Sheriff, "The Dislocations of Jean-Etienne Liotard," 97-122.
[1111] One hundred paintings by Van Mour were engraved through the efforts of the French ambassador to Constantinople, Charles de Ferriol (1652-1722). This work is commonly known as *Recueil Ferriol* was first published in 1712 in Paris though there are no copies of this very first edition. In 1714 and 1715 there were two subsequent editions. Gopin, "The Influence of Jean Baptiste Van Mour," 153-162.
[1112] Gopin, "The Influence of Jean Baptiste Van Mour," 153-161. For the *turquerie* see Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie' and The Politics of Representation*.

complicated. For example, in the 1748 carnival of Rome, the students of the French Academy utilized Ottoman images from Van Mour engravings for preparing their Turkish costumes and accessories for their performance of "the sultan's Mecca caravan."[1113] Thus, the images of Van Mour became almost a site of reconciliation with "the other."[1114] This example signifies the multi-directionality of the artistic and cultural flows in the period. A recent study on eighteenth-century Ottoman mosque architecture, for example, discusses how reigning sultans found a transculturally-diffused architectural from, baroque, suitable for their new mosques, which the author argues spoke to an international audience.[1115] Indeed, this legibility seems to have been two folded, since Ottoman viewers also welcomed these novel forms in architecture without perceiving them as alien. In fact, these forms were labeled as fresh, original and new by the local beholders.[1116] This perception views both parties as a part of an internationally shared visual repertoire.

Following this line of thought, I propose that the stylistic and compositional novelties of the 1720 festival paintings, such as their serial images, the use of perspectival renditions as one sees in the depiction of some objects, architecture and the landscape, and new spatial configurations might also be approached from such a transcultural framework. This perception is significant as it stresses the continuity of the cultural and artistic flows between the Ottoman Empire and the Western Europe for centuries. Perhaps more significantly, it acknowledges the multidirectional aspect of such flows, implying that Ottoman painters' artistic dialogue with western pictorial arts can be interpreted within a broader framework of cultural

[1113] Hitzel, "Padişahın Maskeli Mekke Alayı," 309-330.
[1114] Mary D. Sheriff in her study on Jean Etienne Liotard's Turkish images makes a similar argument. For her, Liotard's self identification in his portrait as the Turkish painter communicated about his disclocation from the European culture. Sheriff, The Dislocations of Jean-Etienne Liotard."
[1115] Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age,"
[1116] Hamadeh, " Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity," 31-51; Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 217-252.

appropriation[1117] rather than that of "influence," which ascribes passivism to the appropriating culture and thus creates a hierarchical relationship between the giver and receiver. Foregrounding appropriation, we may be more attentive to processes of creative interpretation and vernecularization.[1118]

To return to the question I raised at the beginning of this section, I suggest situating the 1720 festival paintings within the Ottoman book painting tradition and also in part within the cosmopolitan visual idiom that characterizes other aspects of the cultural production of this period. As far as the stylistic and compositional aspects of these colorful festival images are concerned, while some of them displayed the painters' appropriation of the tools of western painting, others featured visual affinities with Ottoman album paintings or earlier illustrated histories. Indeed, the traditional representational conventions of book painting were the main frame of reference for the painters of these images. In the last decades of the century, the Ottoman court would begin to commission gouache and oil painting on canvas, during the time when the 1720 festival paintings were commissioned painting was still conceived within the context of manuscript production, yet, it was softly blended with novel aspects. I think the interest of these lively festival images lies in their particular combination of tradition and novelty.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at addressing the issue of the representation of the festival in illustrated manuscripts. As the 1720 festival paintings have never been analyzed through their narratological strucure, the chapter began by addressing the narrative aspect of these extensive festival paintings. A section of the present chapter aimed at

[1117] Nelson, "Appropriation," 160-173.
[1118] Bhabba, "Vernecular Cosmopolitanism," 38-52.

analyzing how painters of the 1720 festival books constructed a pictorial narrative in the material constraints of a manuscript page. Levni and Ibrahim seem to have come up with a number of solutions to overcome the problem of representing the narrative through imagery. Repetitions of certain images in separate pages that created a visual continuity, the representation of the most dramatic moments of an event rather than the emotions of individuals, and the depiction of successive stages of a certain show or event in the same page, were some of these tools. Although these tools of the pictorial narrative were also used in other pictorial traditions, their analysis in particular context of the 1720 festival paintings offer new insights for studies on Ottoman narrative book painting.

In addition, in these paintings a peculiar pictorial tool was utilized, which was to depict events such as processions serially, without the interruption of the text. While this serial aspect of the procession images of the festival paintings has formerly been interpreted through cinematographic models, the present chapter suggested that they might also be evaluated through the adaptation of literary tools, such as the syntagmatic model. Except a few studies, Ottoman narrative book paintings have not been examined from this conceptual framework. Yet, an analysis through literary tools brought out new findings related to the representational practices in Ottoman book painting tradition. This study argues that the introduction of the literary tools to the analysis of book painting would have larger implications for the study of Ottoman pictorial tradition. Yet it is worth highlighting that book paintings had a closer dialogue with the textual narrative than the aforementioned paintings analyzed by Mieke Bal or Norman Bryson thus, their text-image relationship need to be a more attentively examined.

In addition to that, the serial guild parade images of Ibrahim, which have never been a topic of inquiry, are also discussed. These guild parade images that were conceived in a continuous serpentine movement extended to a number of pages. The visual continuity between different pages indicates that they created a frieze-like composition. I have also suggested that these serial images of Ibrahim's guild parades might have been products of a dialogue with a certain a Dutch engraving. In addition, serial procession images of both Ibrahim and Levni might have also been an outcome of a similar kind of an artistic conversation with an Austrian printed book. These examples bring to mind possible conversations of Levni and Ibrahim's images with contemporary European painting albums or books of engravings.

The chapter has also explored the individual approaches of Levni and Ibrahim in their representation of the festival. While Levni's scenes, which were full of motion, and his lively colorful images have traditionally been praised in the scholarship; those of Ibrahim have been found less refined and inferior in quality. Leaving such value-charged judgments aside, I have argued that each one of these painters had a distinctive pictorial vocabulary. The examination of the focal points of the paintings of Levni and Ibrahim, and especially Ibrahim's tylistic and compositional choices provided a relevant context for discussing divergences between the painters' approaches to pictorial narrative. While in most of the scenes the two painters depicted exactly the same event, how they represented it was quite different. This finding challenges the prevailing assumption that these paintings reflected the objective reality of the festival.

Since a textual narrative accompanies these book paintings, the chapter also aimed at understanding how the images of Levni and Ibrahim conversed with the textual narrative. With the exception of a few number of illustrated narratives and

genealogies, the illustrated books of the 1720 festival are particular in Ottoman book painting tradition in terms of the close dialogue between the textual and pictorial narrative. Almost each day's textual narrative was followed by a number of double-page paintings that depicted events and performances of the day. A detailed analysis of details of these paintings and the textual narrative however showed that, how the text and image conversed was different in Levni and Ibrahim's paintings. While Ibrahim's images had a closer relationship with the textual narrative, Levni had a more independent approach, as his divergences from the text were very explicit. The discussion of these aspects of the 1720 festival paintings and the comparison of the two illustrated copies also revealed that paintings of one copy did not actually mirror the other. We have two individual projects based on the same textual narrative realized by two painters, each of whom must have been accompanied by a number of other painters.

Finally, the present chapter turned to the conceptual framework through which these paintings might be approached. Traditionally, stylistic and compositional aspects of these festival paintings have been perceived within the framework of westernization in Ottoman pictorial arts. One of the most significant obstacles related to this perception was that it regarded Ottoman cultural and artistic idiom prior to the early eighteenth century as isolated from the rest of the world. For the eighteenth century, on the other hand, this perception underestimated Ottoman painters and designers' creativity in their artistic translations, while ascribing a passive role to the appropriating culture in the process of artistic translation. Rather than seeing them as forerunners of the western style in the Ottoman pictorial tradition, this chapter contended that the novel stylistic and compositional aspects of the 1720 festival paintings might be perceived from a transcultural perspective. The

visual or conceptual connections of these paintings with Ottoman painting albums and illustrated manuscripts were also mentioned. This study argued that the visual vocabulary of the 1720 festival paintings should be perceived from such a two-folded conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

At the end of his official narrative of the 1720 imperial circumcision festival Seyyid Vehbi stated that since the public festival ended, now the time has come to oversee his draft notes and prepare revised versions of his text. As he was handing over these revised pages to the calligraphers, they began to prepare court commissioned copies of Vehbi's festival narrative. Simultaneous to this process, painter/designers who were assigned to the project began to represent the festival in imagery. In the aftermath of the event, a number of other officials were also preoccupied with the festival. The clerks from the financial bureau were busied with preparing complete registers recording each single detail related to the financial and material aspect of the event. In addition, they had to take care of some delayed payments, which would be compensated with some regular incomes of the treasury of the coming year. The superintendent of the festival and his subsidiaries on the other hand were concerned with delivering borrowed utensils or materials to their owners and handing over the purchased objects to their right places at the imperial palace. And, the staff of the imperial treasury were classifying and counting the gifts presented to the sultan and to his family, which were then redistributed among the members of the imperial family. So, even if the circumcision festival of the sultan lasted for three weeks, it continued to busy various people at the imperial palace for months in its aftermath.

This study focused on one of the best-known festivals in Ottoman historiography, the circumcision festival of Sultan Ahmed III's four sons held in Istanbul in the first days of the autumn of the year 1720. Through an examination of its diverse aspects and rites, it illustrated how this grand scale festival was planned,

organized, staged and represented. This consideration brought the unknown social, material, financial and representational dimensions of such a court commissioned event into light. At the same time, it illustrated how the growing body of Ottoman bureaucracy worked, divided labor and conveyed information in the early eighteenth century.

To understand the ideological motives behind the Ottoman court's commissioning of such a grand scale festival at this particular period at a time when a number of smaller scale festivals has also been held, this study aimed at finding an answer to the question of why there was a need for such an effort. By organizing a public circumcision festival in the imperial city to which thousands of people could relate personally and participate in, the court and the dignitaries might have aimed at highlighting the wealth, generosity and enduring power of the sultan and the state. This mass distribution of the sultan's benefaction in forms of food, gifts, and display might also have intended to stress the significant position of the sultan and the Ottoman court in the overall patronage-clientage system.

Although the imperial festival was centered on the notion of the benefaction of the sultan, a thorough analysis of various rites of the festival showed that this benefaction was hierarchically arranged according to one's social position or rank. An in-depth examination of the food-related rites and gifting rites of the festival clearly indicated how all beneficiaries, including the including the top ranking dignitaries, court officials, functionaries, invited guests, performers, and residents of the city, were differentiated through the type and amount of the food, gifts or donation they received. Thus, although in the sultan's festival there was an unusual material abundance, participants did not share it on an even basis. Social rank and position determined not only what, where and how much one could eat but also the

amount, cost, and type of other gifts he/she could receive. The attention of the clerks to recor each minor detail related to the social differentiation of the beneficiaries through the distribution of benefaction further implies the great importance that was given at the Ottoman court to constantly define established hierarchies. This was very possibly related to the lack of formal rules of protocol governing hierarchical differences, especially among titleholders, as one would observe in a polity that incorporates a hereditary aristocracy.

As the archival sources on the preparations of the festival brought to the fore, for the organization of the festival, and for preperations, the court had to rely on the material and human resources of the imperial capital city and some other cities across the empire. This occurred in the form of borrowing utensils, kitchenware and tableware items from guildsmen, court officials and residents of the city, providing temporary employment to craftsmen, workmen and performers, and provisioning foodstuffs and other necessary items through purchase. The details of these processes indicated that without the assets or labor of these voluntary and obligatory contributors, completing the preparations of the festival and staging it would not have been possible.

Discussing the services, duties, and grants of these contributors and of the beneficieries illustrated in striking detail the social dimension of this court commissioned festival. Detailed archival sources showed that urban dwellers of the imperial city, both Muslim and non-Muslim, participated in the festival with their workforce and material belongings. In addition, they also benefited from the banquets and public displays. As far as Muslim residents of the imperial capital city are concerned, there was an additional motive to participate in the festival, which was to circumcise their sons and thus to receive extra grants. Over 4,000 boys living

in different parts of the imperial city and also their families benefited from the sultan's circumcision festival on a personal level. These boys, whose names and neighbourhoods were attentively recorded by the clerks of the festival, were the most obvious beneficieries of the festival of the 1720 and this study brought their identities, grants and involvement process into light. Particularly the involvement processes of these circumcised boys from the capital city into the sultan's festival and of performers from among Ottoman subjects showed that sometimes the chief officials of the festival modified certain procedures according to the needs of the time and according to the requests of these participants. Thus, although this was an imperial festival organized by the court, with regard to some of its aspects court officials permitted spontaneity, albeit to a certain degree.

Even though the sultan was the host of the event, in practice, certain high-ranking dignitaries, especially the grand vizier, also participated in the distribution of benefaction. The official narrative of the festival recurrently emphasizes the generosity and benefaction of the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha, who was acting as the sultan's deputy when the latter was not present at the festival space. Indeed, it is probable that the grand vizier might have been responsible for convincing the sultan to commission this grand-scale circumcision festival, and he might have been the actual patron of the illustrated festival books that embodied its textual and pictorial representation.

Conceived and commissioned jointly with the festival, the illustrated festival books were integral parts of the festival's planning and preperation from the very beginning. Thus, the commissioning process of these manuscripts, their codicological and representational aspects are analyzed just like the rites of the festival and organizational phases. A comparative analysis of the illustrated books

with archival sources showed us which certain events and themes were given particular significance in the official narratives of the festival. While these narratives underrepresented the preparatory phase and material dimension of the festival, they also neglected the involvement of the ordinary people as contributors and beneficieries of the festival. This selectivity was certainly related to the agenda of the patron/s and author/s and it reminds us the ideological dimension behind the court's patronage of these kind of illustrated narrative books. If the festival was a multilayered representation of royal benefaction and patronage, and of sultanic and vizierial power, these festival books were constitutive of these acts of representation.

A comparative analysis of Ibrahim's festival paintings with Levni's famous images of the 1720 festival showed that even if the subject matter of the paintings were the same, how the two painters represented these themes was quite different. This finding has refuted the perception that Ibrahim's paintings mostly copied those of Levni and has at the same time problematized the notion that these festival paintings documented the physical reality of the festival. So, although these festival images have largely shaped our perception of the 1720 festival, they actually represented a refined and higly subjective portrayal of the event.

From a broader perspective, the findings of this study have challenged some well-established assumptions related to the conceptualization of the 1720 festival that was mostly based on an uncritical assessment of its pictorial representations by Levni. First of all, although this festival has traditionally been studied within the conceptual framework of the so-called Tulip Age and thus has been regarded as unique, reflecting entirely novel and westernized cultural predilections of the court, I have argued that it was based largely on tradition. In the morphology of the event, in its organization, and also in its representation, the 1720 festival was modeled on

traditional practices. As the archival evidence indicates, the circumcision festival of 1675 was taken as the model for the scheduling of the festival. For the illustrated books of the festival, on the other hand, the structure of the official narrative of the festival signifies that the 1582 festival's festival book set the precedent. Indeed, the court's revitalization of the commissioning of illustrated history books as a tool of image making further designates the enduring significance of traditional practices in this period. As the tradition linked the present with the past, it also served to highlight continuity. And, during this particular period, when the Ottoman court was trying to uphold its public image this obvious stress on the continuity with the past was very meaningful.

Alongside tradition, one also observes novelties in this festival. The extensive and strikingly detailed archival records on the planning and organization of the festival that were kept by different bureaucratic units are unmatched in variety and amount. Although there was an established tradition of keeping expense registers and some other records mostly related to the finances of the imperial festivals, this time the Ottoman bureaucracy seems to have kept more extensive records including each minor detail related to the planning, provisioning, preperation and organization phases. Indeed, different bureaucratic offices seem to have simultaneously kept the same type of documents and they seem to have systematically revised their draft registers to prepare edited versions of the records. This keen concern for documentation, surveillance and record keeping points to the growingly bureaucratized Ottoman state structure in the early eighteenth century. And, from the particular example of the 1720 festival this study showed how this vast bureaucracy actually worked.

Some minor changes were also introduced to the festival's program. For example, different from all previous festivals, in the treatment of the invited envoys European standards seem to have been followed. This novelty was conversant with the diplomatic etiquette of the eighteenth century. Besides, in the pictorial representation of the event, one sees the painters' translation of some tools of the western painting. Obviously, none of these were coincidental. Rather, they denoted the Ottoman court's eagerness to appropriate the transculturally shared rules of protocol and artistic taste in the early eighteenth century. Yet, it should be emphasized that these transcultural norms did not structure the whole event, nor did they shape the entire structure of the festival books. Rather a number of contemporary European conventions were selectively utilized with regard to the organization and the representation of the festival.

This study intends to trigger new research on Ottoman imperial festivals. In particular, the circumcision festivals of 1582 and 1675 need further research with an inquiry of archival sources and a critical comparative evaluation with their narratives. In this study, some of these sources were used to understand the issue of change and continuity between the structure and rites of these three circumcision festivals. Yet, certainly the earlier festivals too need to be examined in a holistic manner, which would address their social, material, financial and representational dimensions. Only with such studies, we can reach general conclusions related to the organization pattern of Ottoman imperial festivals, their participants and their constitutive material/visual and performative aspects. Besides, another topic that deserves further research is the comparison of Ottoman imperial festivals, courtly rituals or urban celebratory events with contemporary western and eastern practices.

This study has not touched upon this issue, yet its findings on the 1720 festival might set off new discussions on parallels between contemporary festive forms.

In conclusion, this dissertation explored, in vivid detail, a particular episode from the early eighteenth century Ottoman history. With its findings it showed how the Ottoman court and the extended bureaucracy planned and staged a grand scale event, while illuminating its social, material, financial and performative dimensions. Besides, it addressed the semiotic aspect of various rites that comprised this particular event and evaluated the representation of the event in text and imagery in relation to the festival's planning and commissioning process. Maintaining that festival was not merely about entertainment and celebration, it scrutinized this early modern imperial festival as an extraordinary occasion when the court and a mass of ordinary people came together, when material and visual displays were staged and when social norms were reinforced. In this respect, the implications and repercussions of the festival were far beyond the event, a point, which makes the study of festivals and celebration challenging and extremely important.

APPENDIX

FIGURES

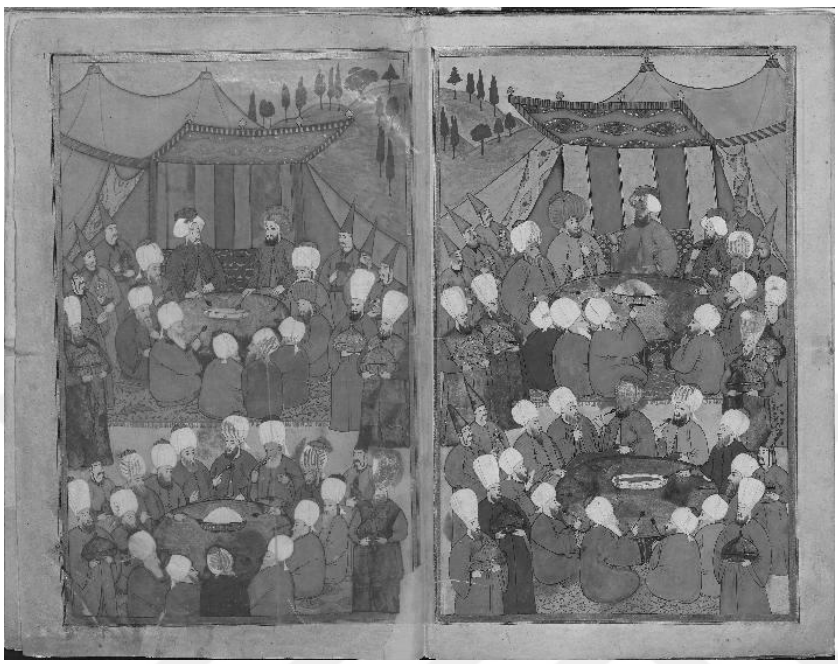

Figure A1. Levni. The fourth day of the festival, banquet for imams and preachers of sultanic and vizieral mosques (TSM A. 3593 fol. 31a- 30b)

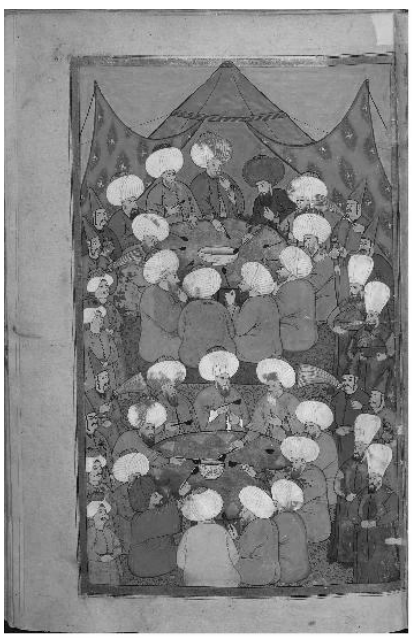

Figure A2. Levni. The second day of the festival, banquet for the chief military judges and judges (TSM A. 3593 fol. 50a)

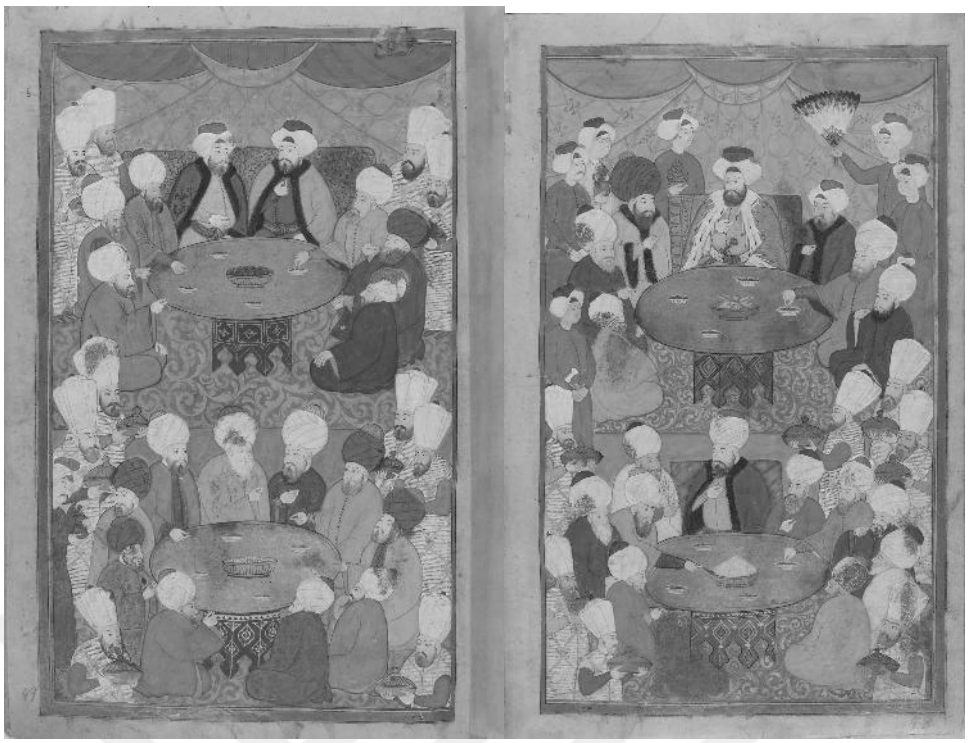

Figure A3. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, banquet for imams and preachers of sultanic and vizieral mosques (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 40a-39b)

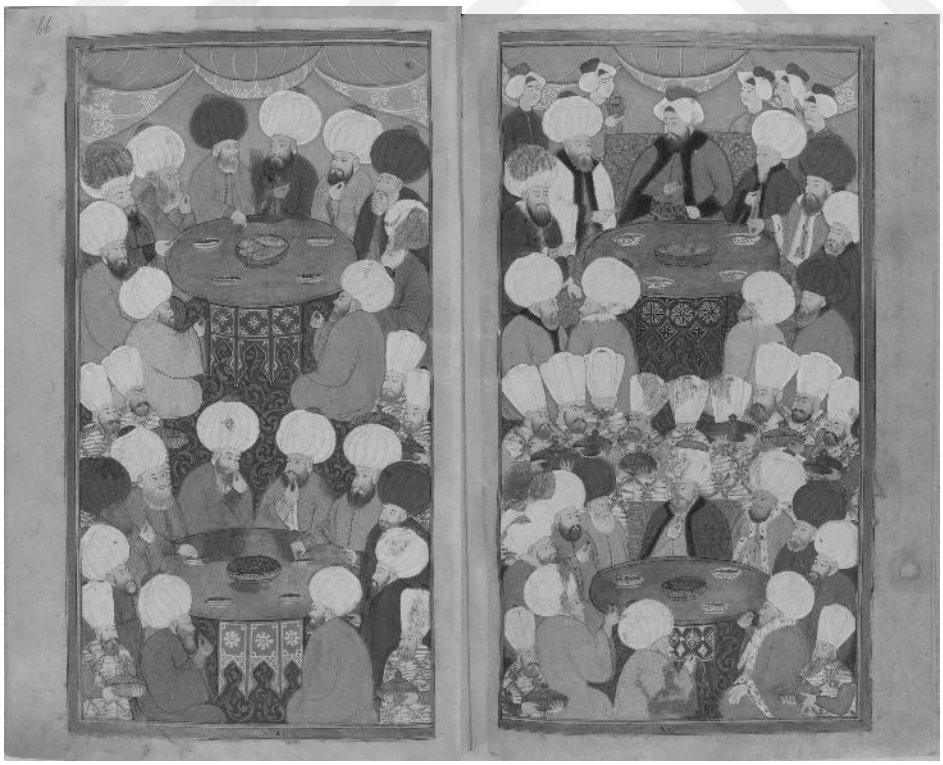

Figure A4. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, banquet for the chief military judges and judges (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 66a-65b)



Figure A5. Levni. The first day of the festival, banquet for the Imperial Council members (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 22a-21b)

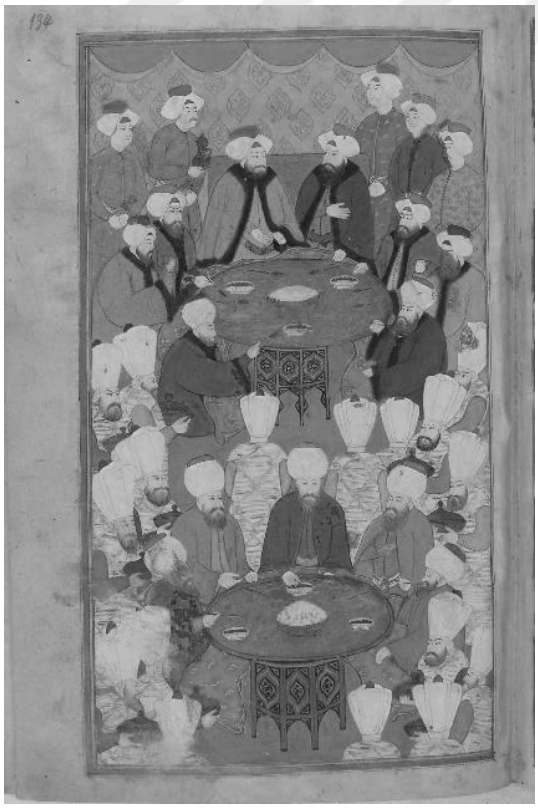

Figure A6. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, banquet for aghas of *sipah* and *silahdar* corps (TSM. A.3594 fol.134a)

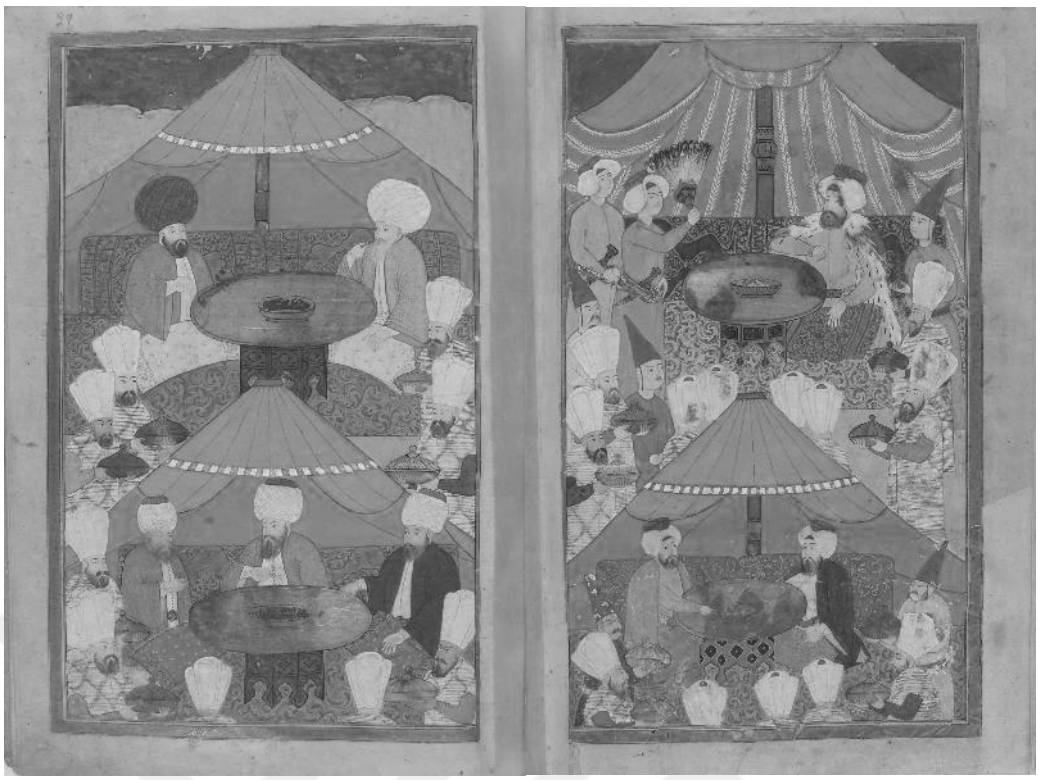

Figure A7. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, banquet for the Imperial Council members (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 27a-26b)



Figure A8. Ibrahim. The grand vizier's banquet table, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 26b)



Figure A9. Ibrahim. The procession of sugar statues (TSM A. 3594, fol. 7a)



Figure A10. Levni. The procession of sugar statues (TSM A. 3593 fol. 163a)

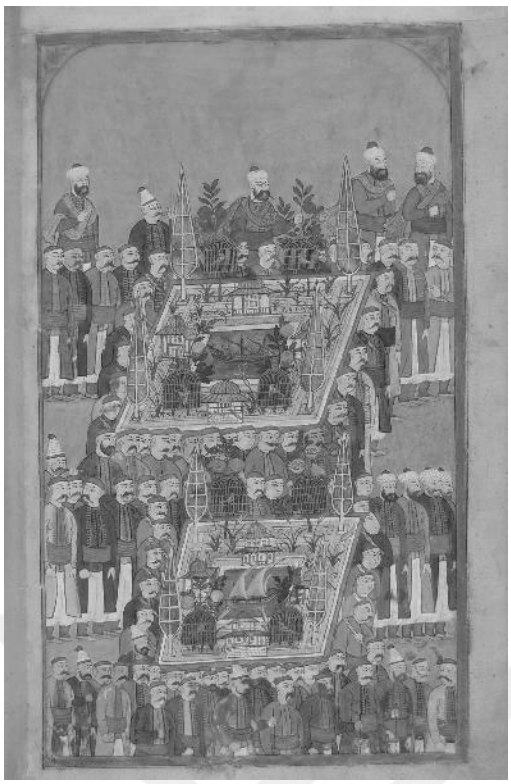

Figure A11. Ibrahim. Candy gardens in the procession (TSM A. 3594 fol.5b)

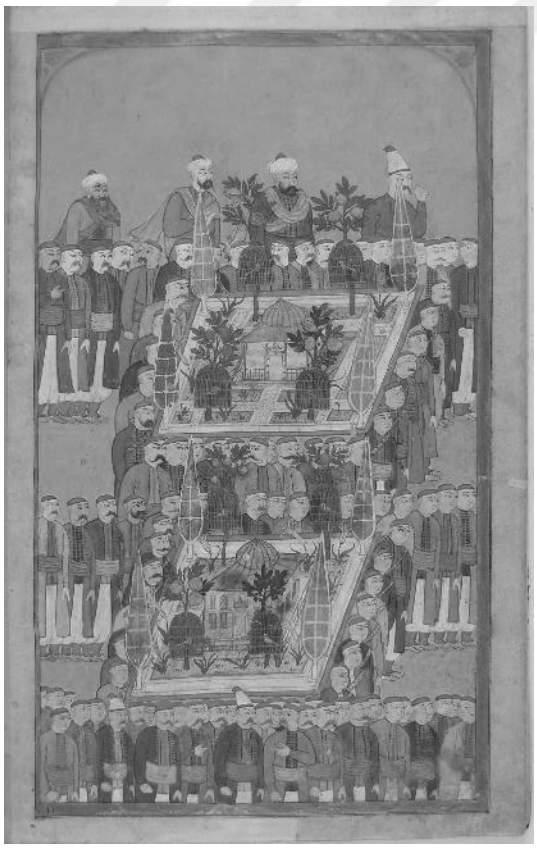

Figure A12. Ibrahim. Candy gardens in the procession (TSM A. 3594 fol.6b)

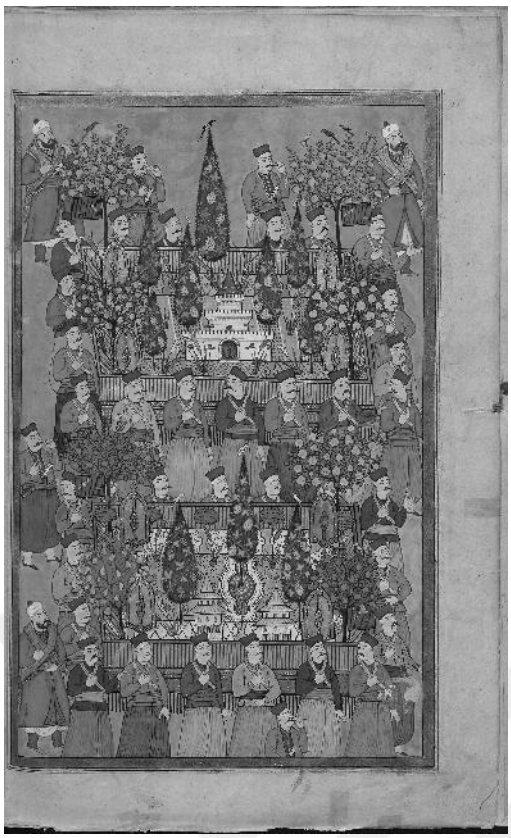

Figure A13. Levni. Candy gardens in the procession (TSM A. 3593 fol. 161b)

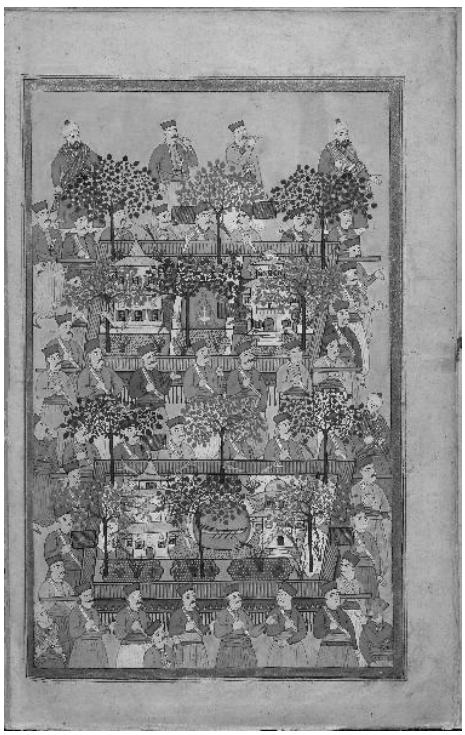

Figure A14. Levni. Candy gardens in the procession (TSM A.3593 fol. 162b)

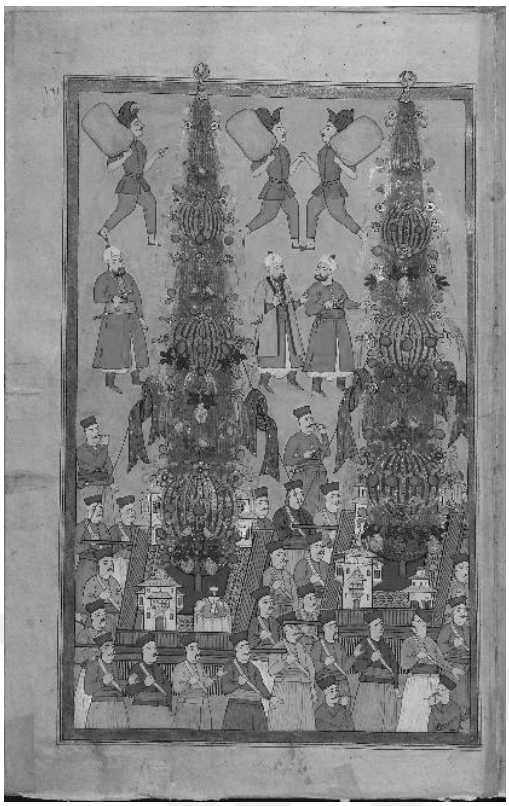

Figure A15. Levni. Spherical *naḫıls* in the procession (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 161a)

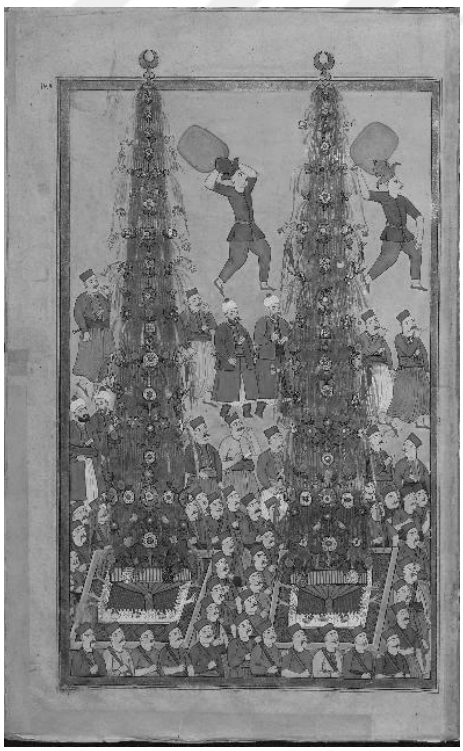

Figure A16. Levni. Cypress tree like *naḫıls* in the procession (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 162a)

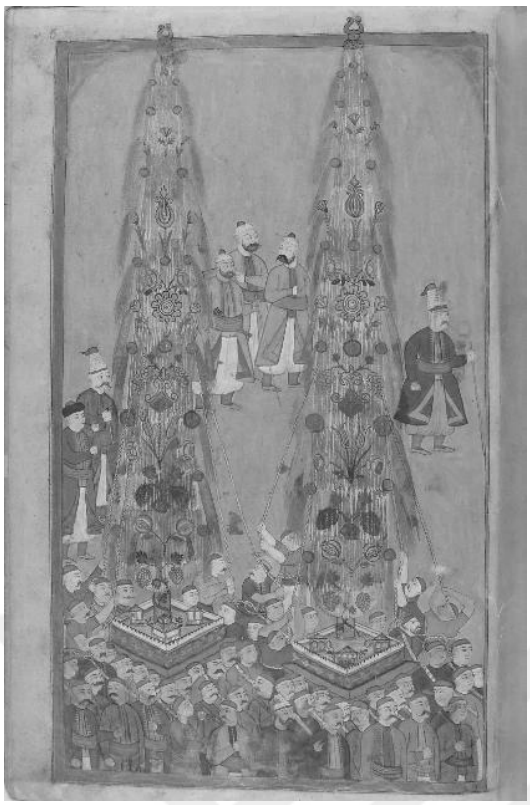

Figure A17. Ibrahim. Cypress tree like *naḫıls* in the procession (TSM A. 3594 fol. 5a)



Figure A18. Ibrahim. Spherical *nahıls* in the procession (TSM A. 3594 fol. 6a)

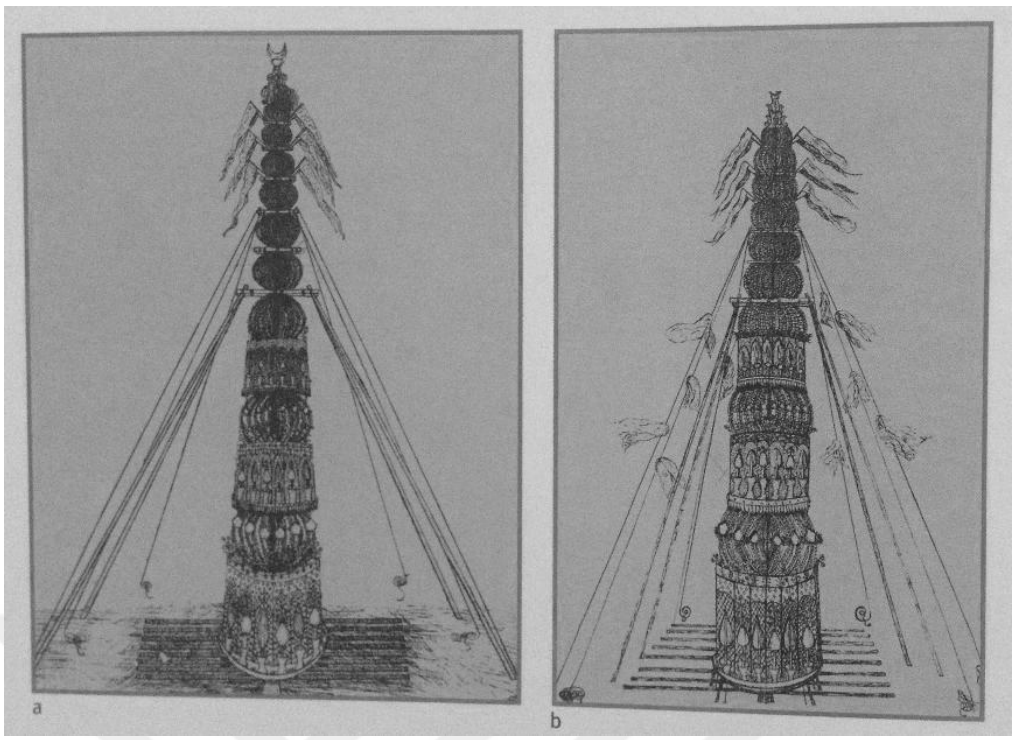

Figure A19. *Naḫıls* of the 1675 festival depicted by John Covel (Reproduced from Metin And, *40 Gün, 40 Gece*, 2000, 242, figs. a and b)

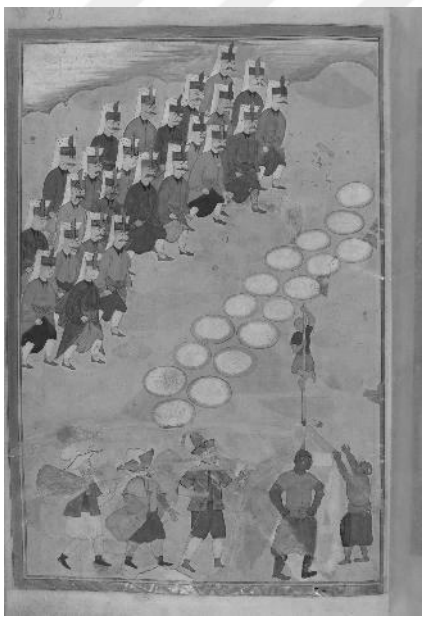

Figure A20. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, the scramble for food (TSM. A.3594 fol. 26a)

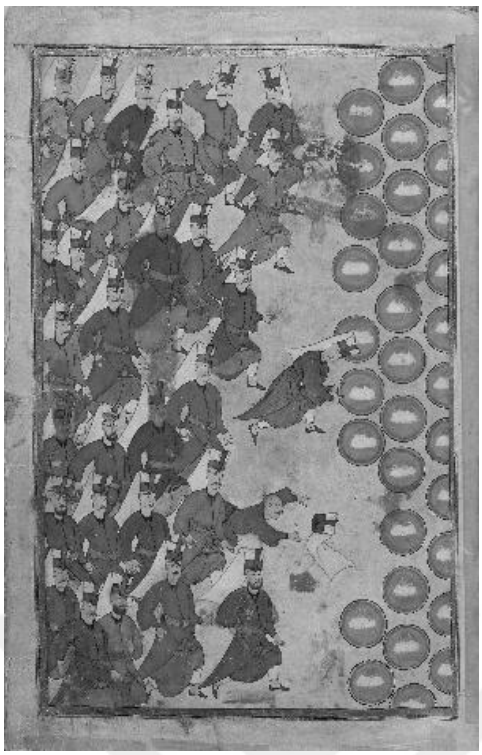

Figure A21. Levni. The first day of the festival, the scramble for food (TSM. A.3593 fol. 33a)

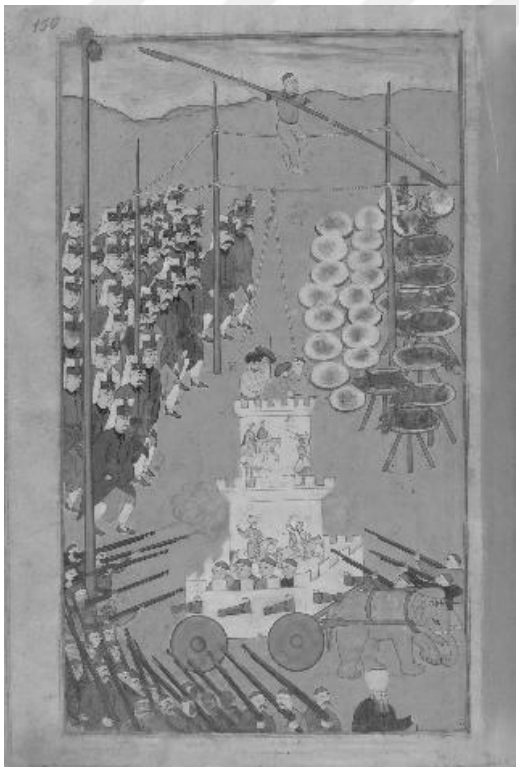

Figure A22. Ibrahim. The seventh day of the festival, the scramble for food (TSM A. 3594 fol. 150a)

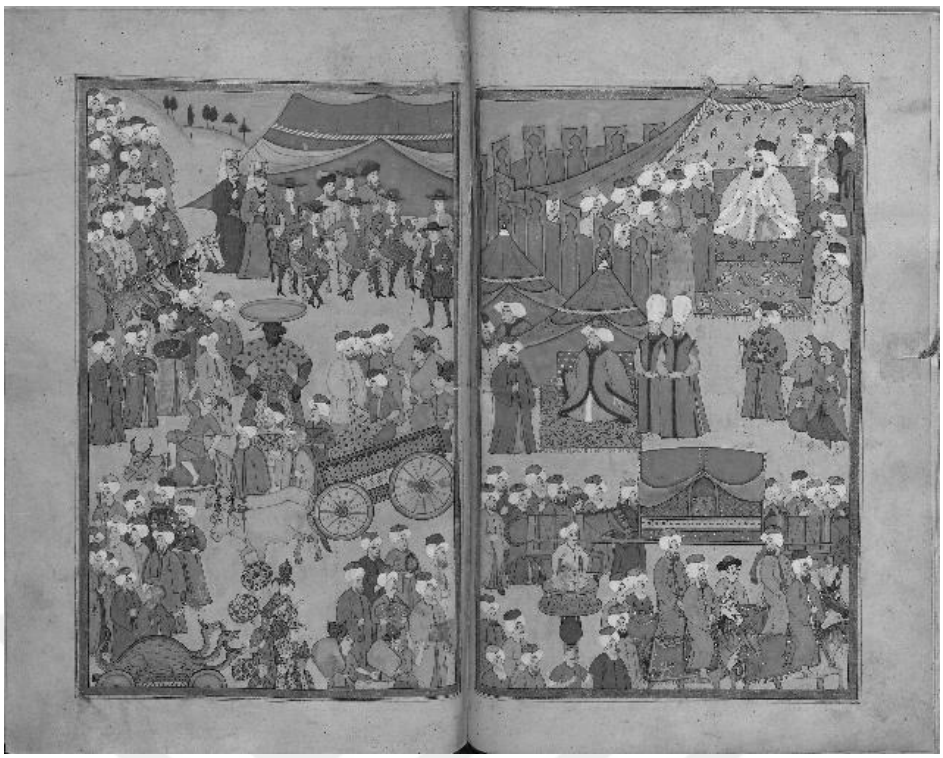

Figure A23. Levni. Envoys watching shows at their tents (TSM A. 3593 fol. 140a-139b)

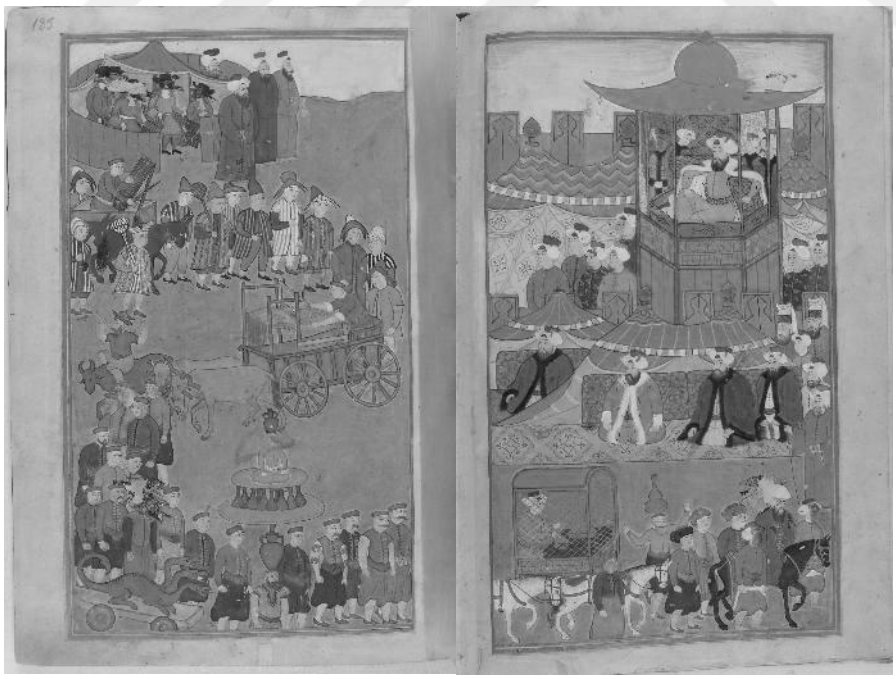

Figure A24. Ibrahim. Envoys watching shows from their tents (TSM A. 3594 fol. 185a-184b)

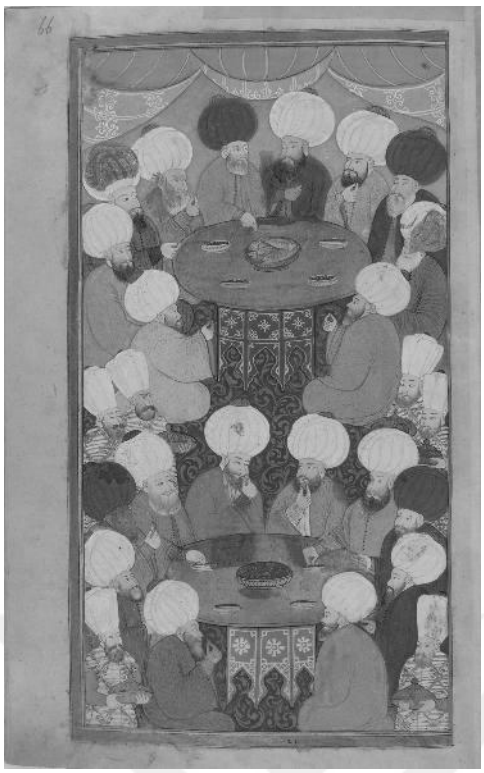

Figure A25. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, the depiction of fish on banquet tables (TSM A. 3594 fol. 66a)

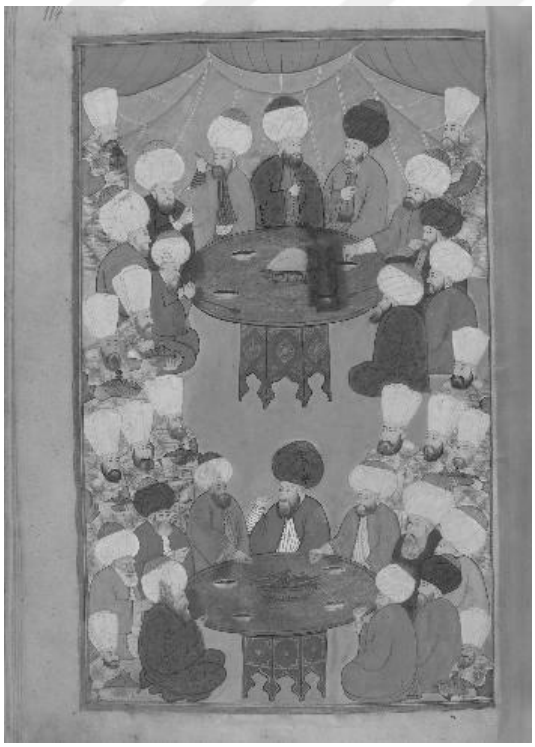

Figure A26. Ibrahim. The fifth day of the festival, the depiction of fish on banquet tables (TSM A. 3594 fol. 114a)

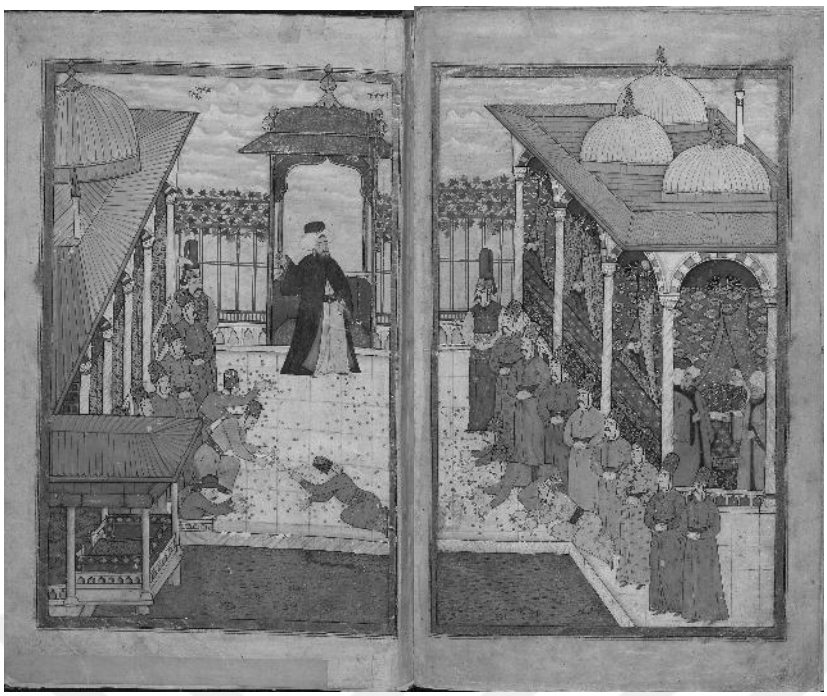

Figure A27. Levni. The sultan throwing gold coins to members of the inner household (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 175a-174b)

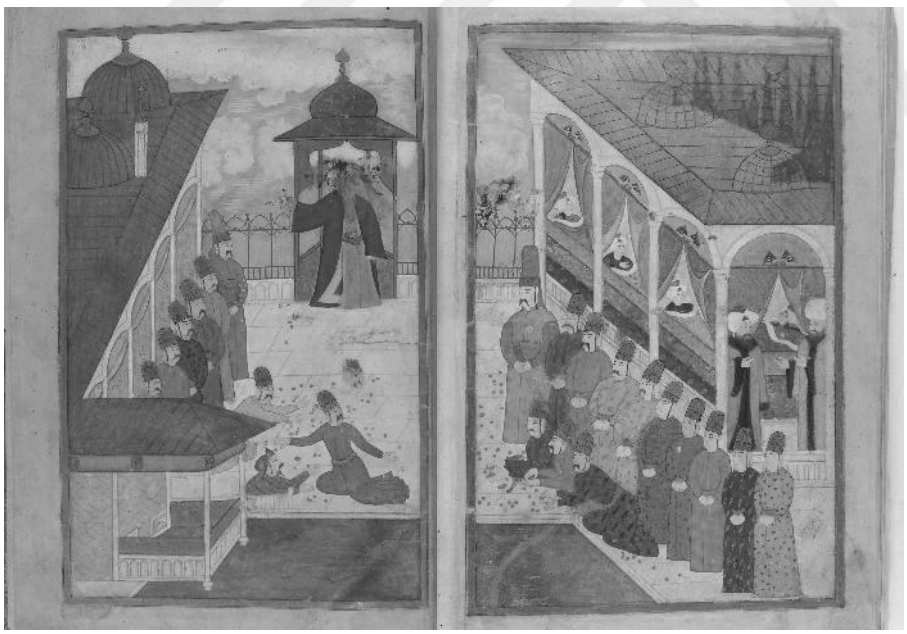

Figure A28. Ibrahim. The sultan throwing gold coins to members of the inner household (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 221a-220b)

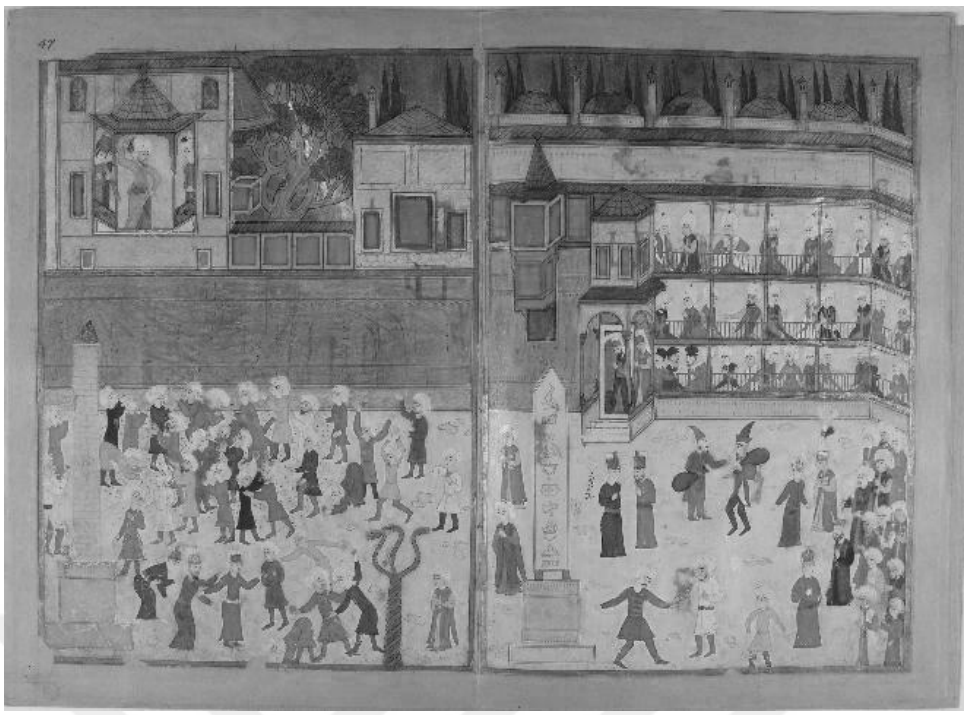

Figure A29. Nakkaş Osman. The sultan throwing gold coins to the audience during the 1582 festival (TSM. H. 1344 fol. 47a-46b)



Figure A30. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, sultan's gifts to the grand vizier (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 41a-40b)

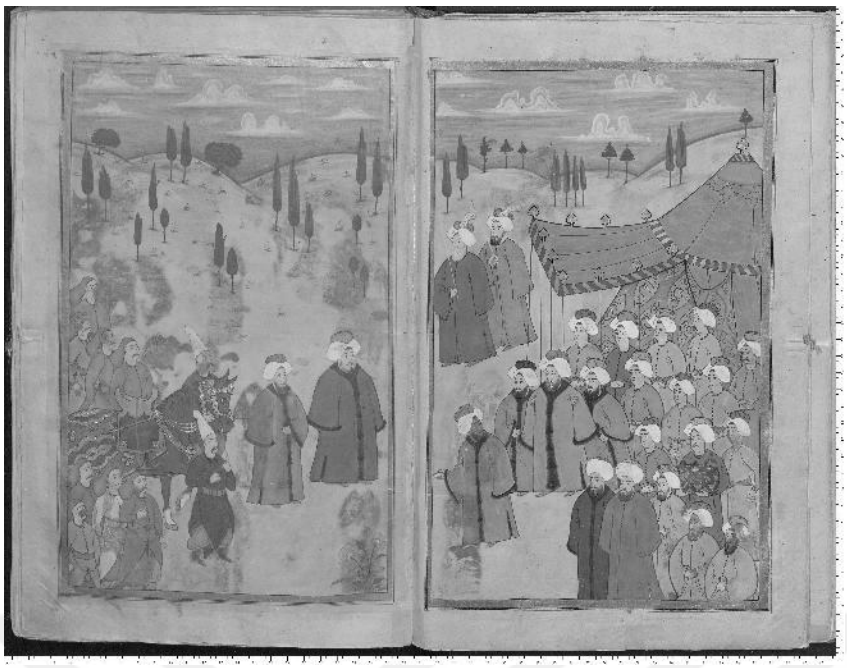

Figure A31. Levni. The fourth day of the festival, sultan's gifts to the grand vizier (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 36a-35b)

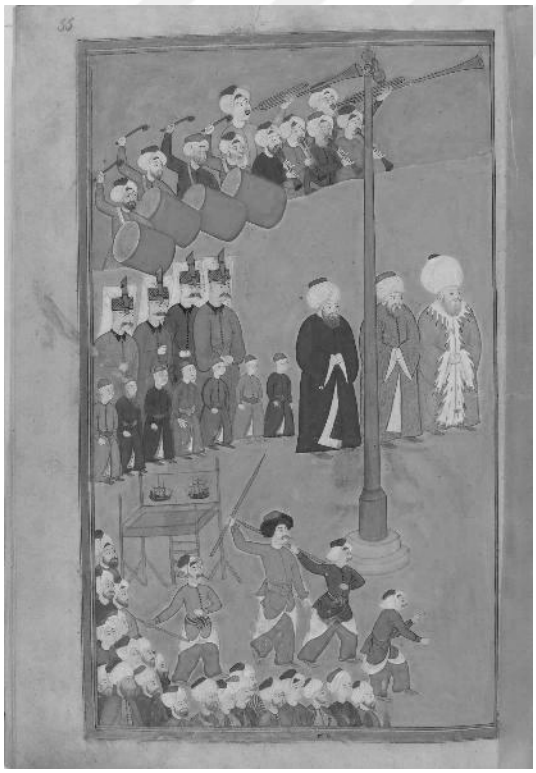

Figure A32. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, circumcized boys at the festival space (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 55a)



Figure A33. Ibrahim. The third day of the festival, circumcized boys at the festival space (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 72a)

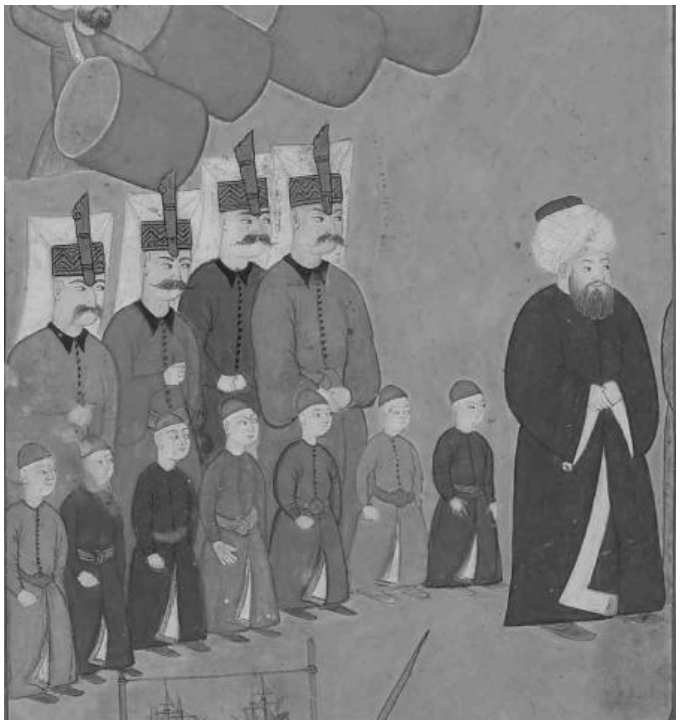

Figure A34. Ibrahim. The clothing of the circumcized boys, detail (TSM. A.3594 fol. 55a)

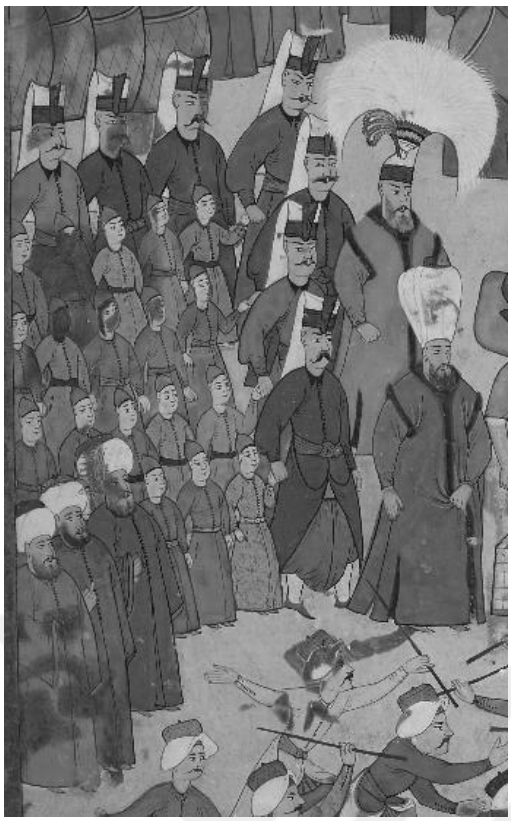

Figure A35. Levni. The clothing of the circumcized boys, detail (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 43a)

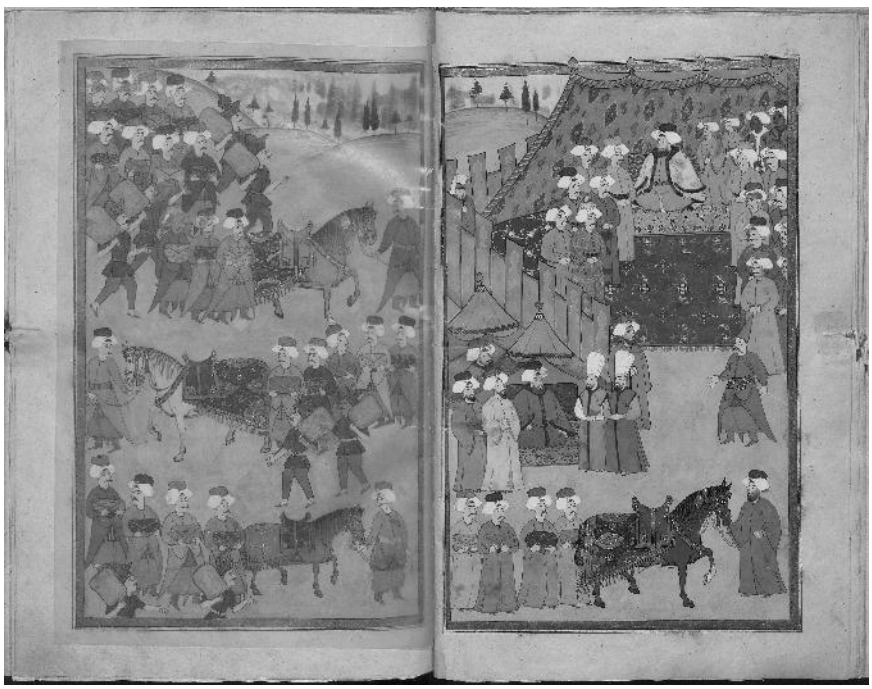

Figure A36. Levni. The eight day of the festival, the presentation of the gifts of the pashas to the sultan (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 111a-110b)

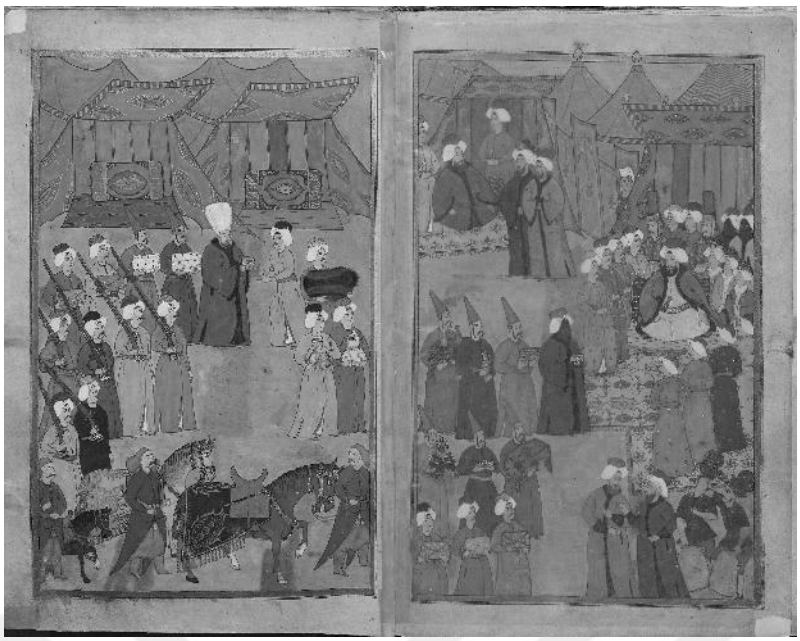

Figure A37. Levni. The first day of the festival, the presentation of the gifts of the grand vizier to the sultan (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 27a-26b)

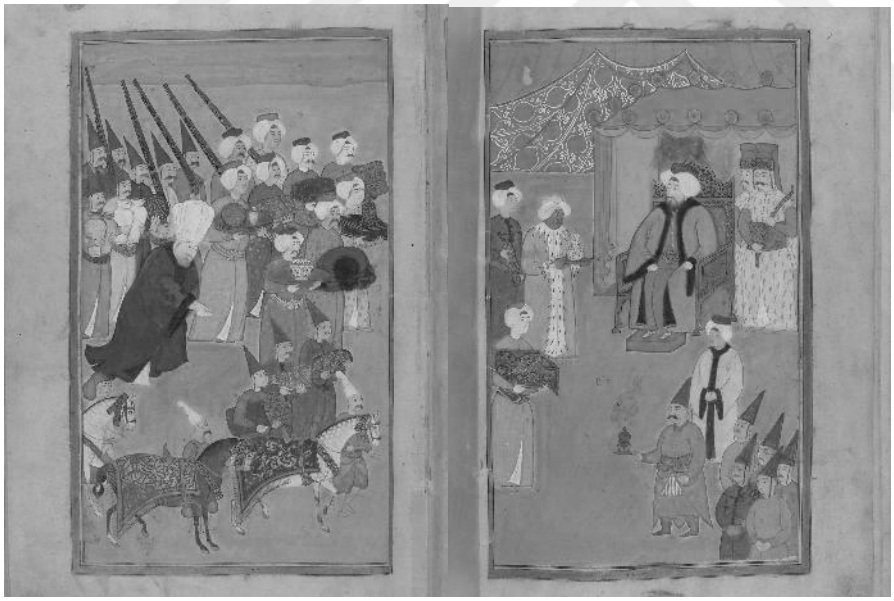

Figure A38. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, the presentation of the gifts of the grand vizier to the sultan (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 33a-32b)

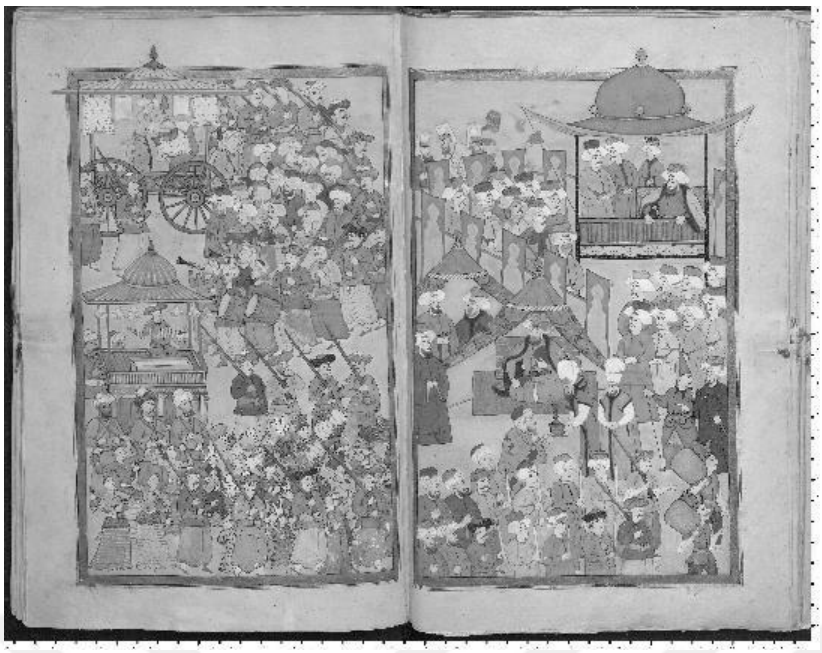

Figure A39. Levni. The sixth day of the festival, the guild of candle makers moving in font of the parade as they were presenting their gifts (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 80a-79b)

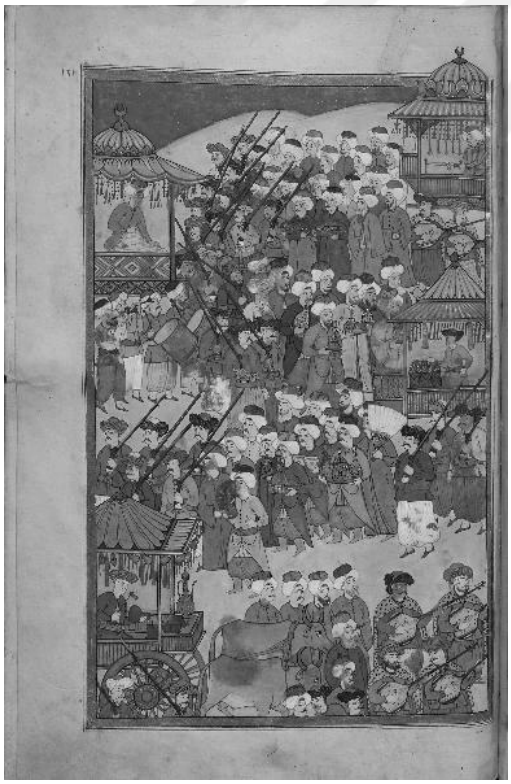

Figure A40. Levni. The ninth day of the festival, the guild of silk manufucturers of Istanbul and their gifts (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 121a)

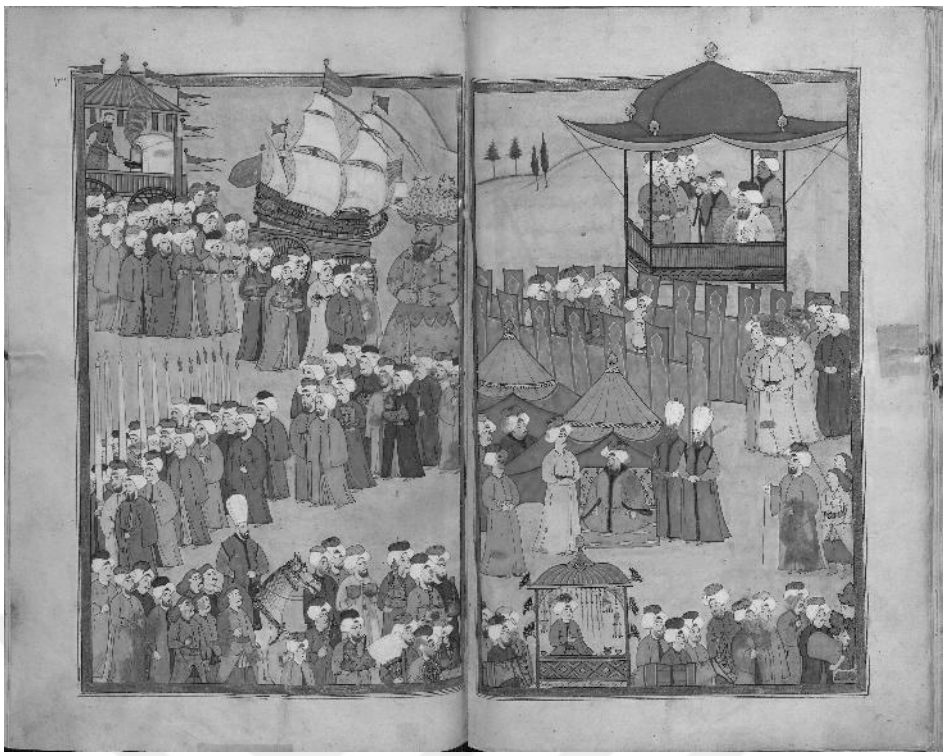

Figure A41. Levni. The tenth day of the festival, the guild of goldsmiths infont of the parade while they were presenting their gifts (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 130a-129b)

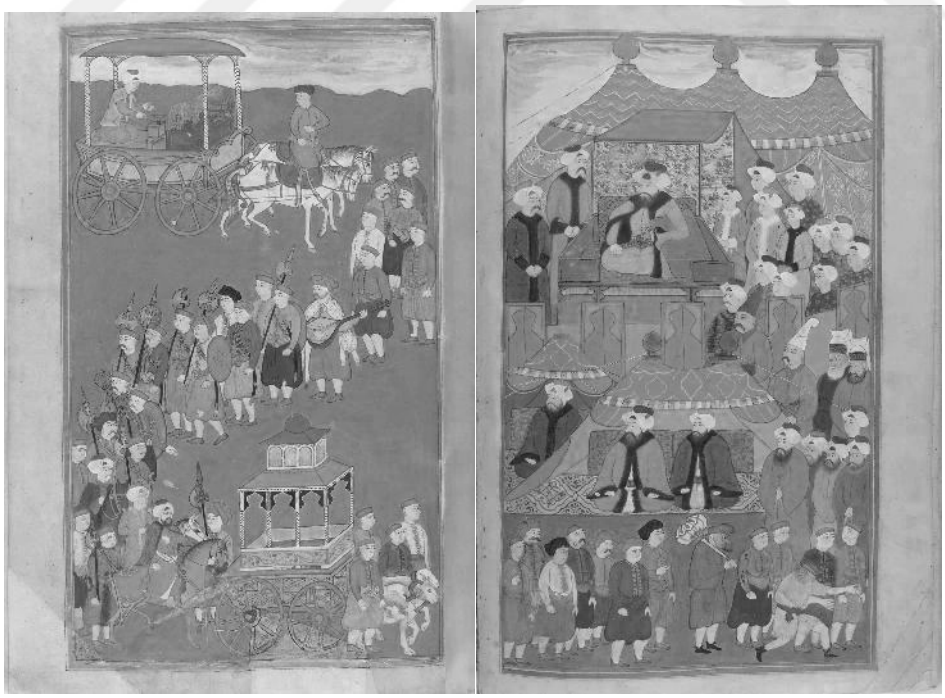

Figure 42. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, the elaborate kiosk of the guild of carpenters in front of the parade (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 161a-113b)

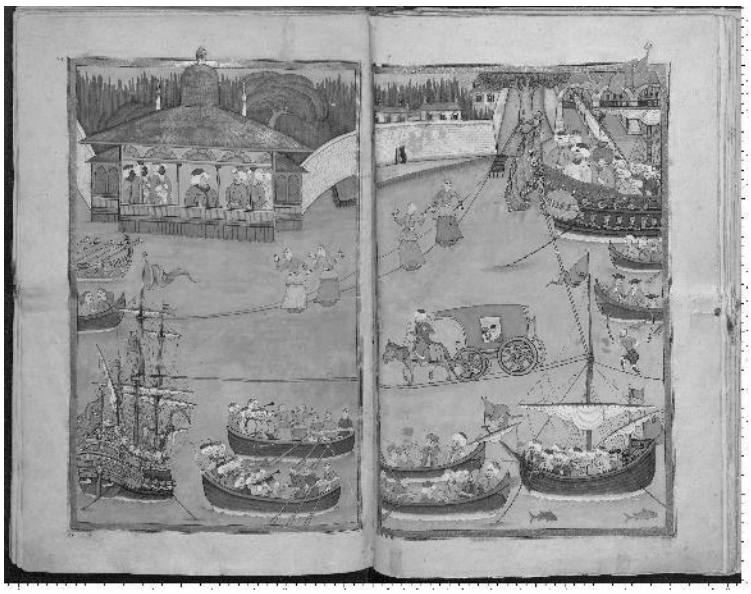

Figure A43. Levni. The seventh day of the festival at Haliç, a tightrope walker's performance (TSM A. 3593 fol. 93a-92b)

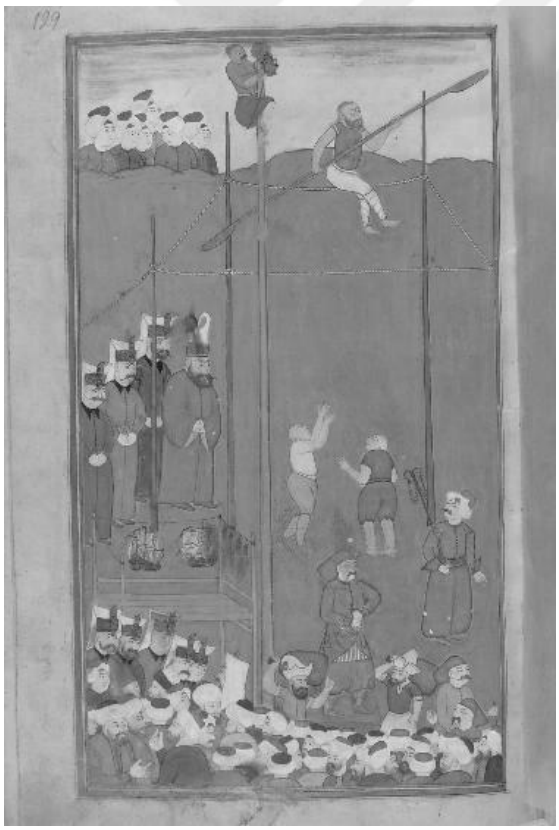

Figure A44. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, a man hoisting a silver ewer to the top of a pole (TSM A. 3594 fol. 129-128b)

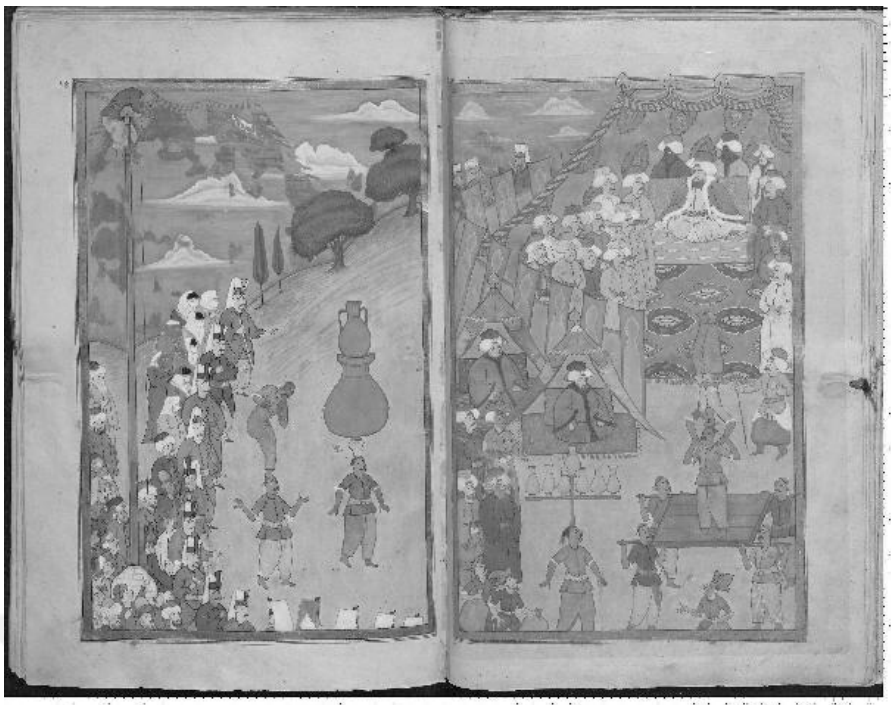

Figure A45. Levni. The sixth day of the festival, a man hoisting a silver ewer to the top of a pole (TSM A. 3593 fol. 84a-83b)

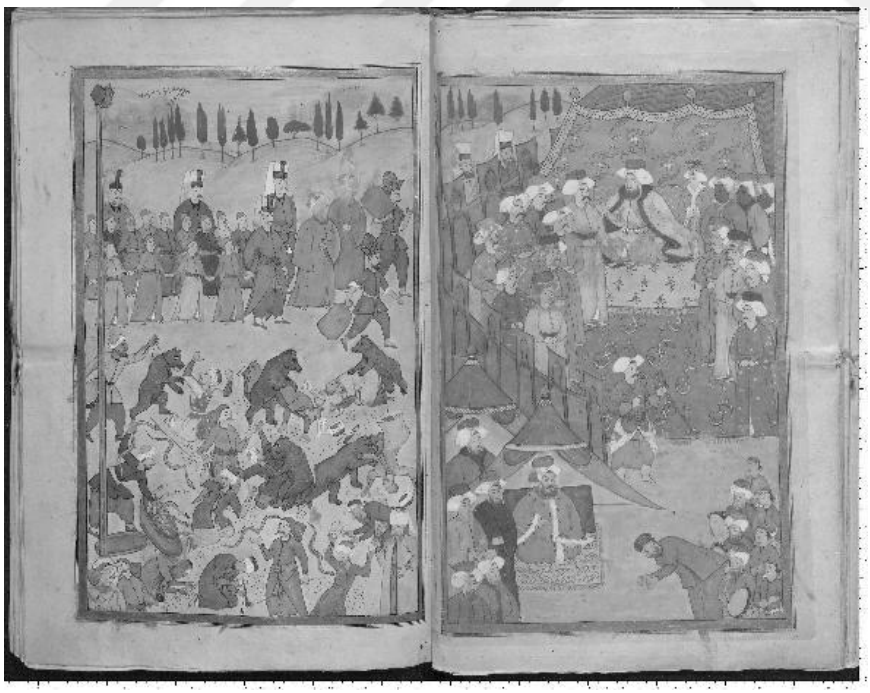

Figure A46. Levni. The fifth day of the festival, the performance of addicts (TSM A. 3593 fol. 67a-66b)

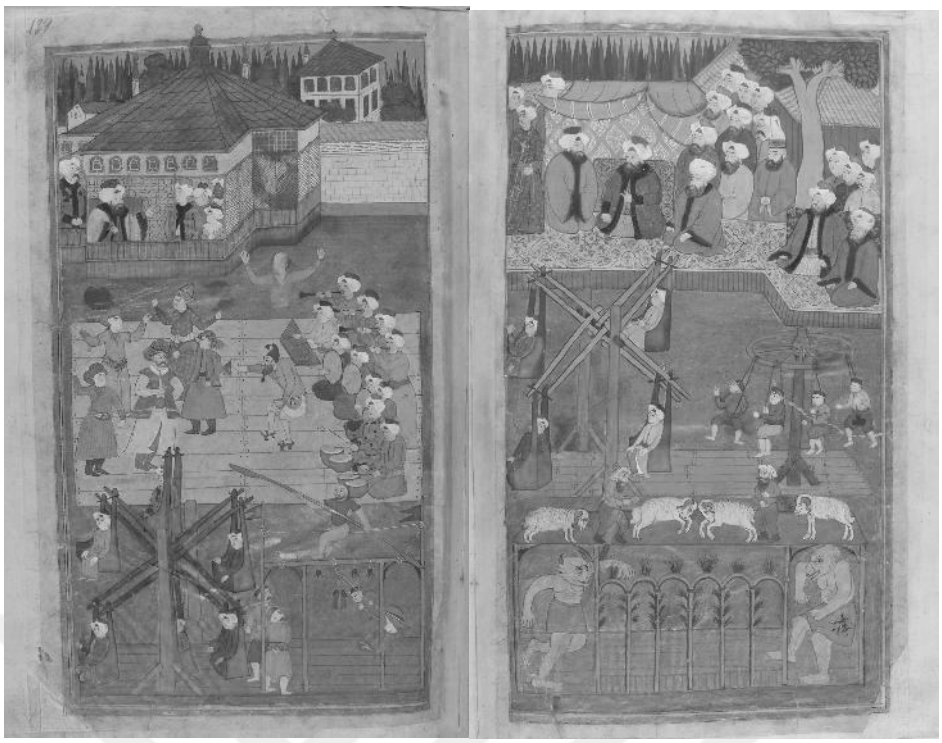

Figure A47. Ibrahim. The nighttime shows in the sixth day of the festival, the performance of Bağçevan and Halil Kolu at Haliç (TSM A. 3594 fol. 139a-138b)

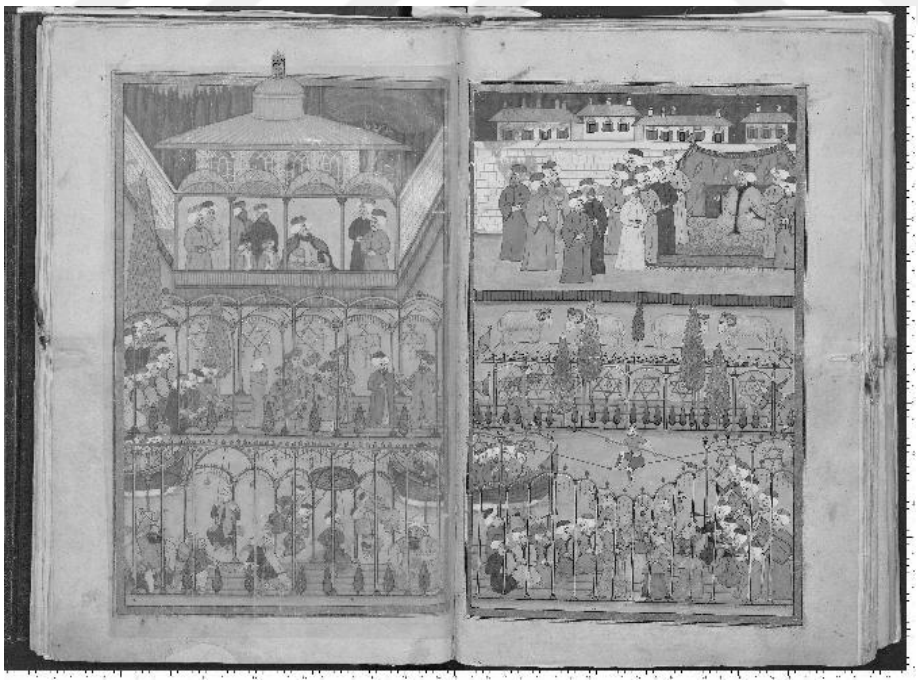

Figure A48. Levni. The nighttime shows on the sixth day of the festival, the performance of Bağçevan and Halil Kolu at Haliç (TSM A. 3593 fol. 90a-89b)

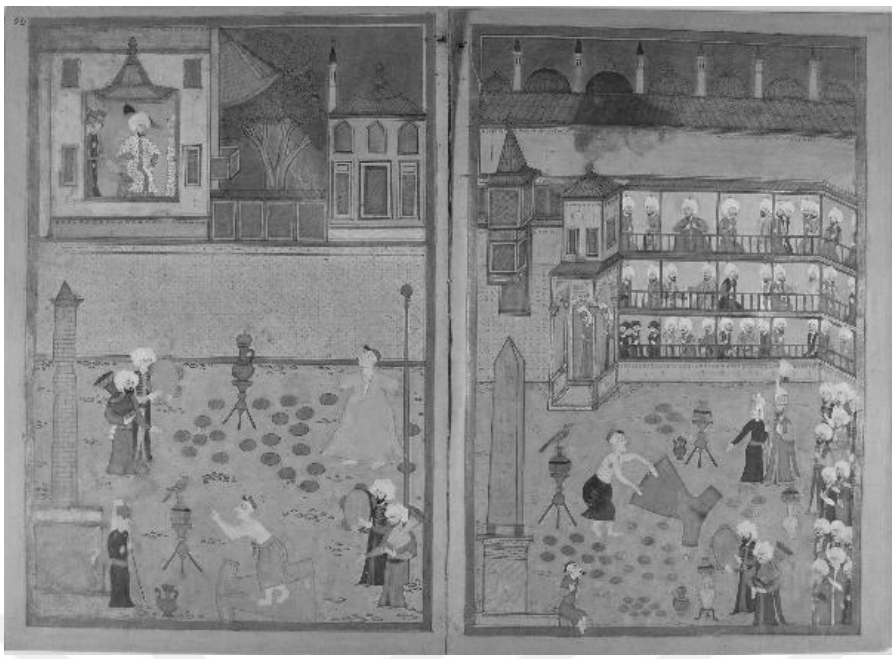

Figure A49. Nakkaş Osman. The performance of a *ṭāsbāz* during the 1582 imperial festival (TSM H. 1344 fol. 55a-54b)



Figure A50. Street performances at Kağıthane including a *ṭāsbāz* show (in bottom right). (Taeschner album, ca. mid-seventeenth century. Reproduced from Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof-Und Volksleben: Ein Turkisches miniaturen album aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*, plate 22)

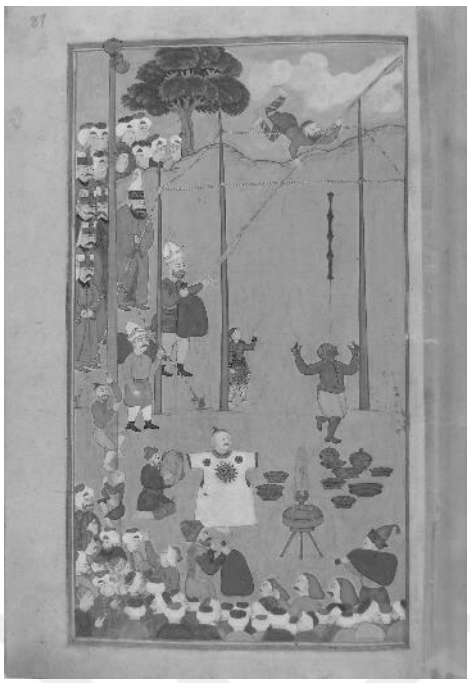

Figure A51. Ibrahim. The fifth day of the festival, the performance of a *ṭāsbāz* (TSM A. 3594 fol. 87a)

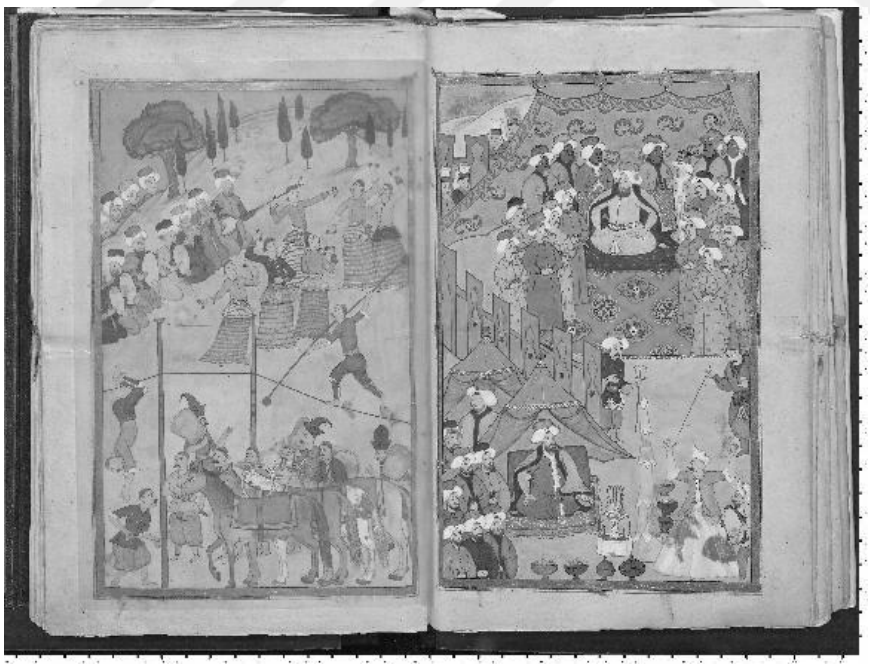

Figure A52. Levni. The fifth day of the festival, the performance of a *ṭāsbāz* (TSM A. 3593 fol. 65a-64b)



Figure A53. *Hamse-i Atai* (d.1738/9), the street performance of a *ṭāsbāz*
(BL. Or. 13882, fol. 106a. Repreduced from Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*,1982, image 81)



Figure A54. *Hamse-i Atai* (d.1728), the street performance of a *ṭāsbāz*
(TSM. R. 816 fol. 109b)

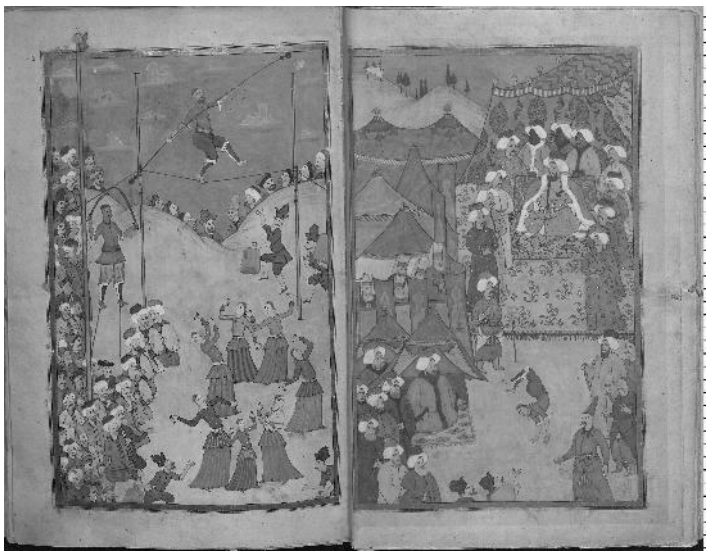

Figure A55. Levni. The third day of the festival, shows of tightrope walkers (TSM A. 3593 fol. 54a)



Figure A56. Ibrahim. The third day of the festival, shows of tightrope walkers (TSM A. 3594 fol. 74a)

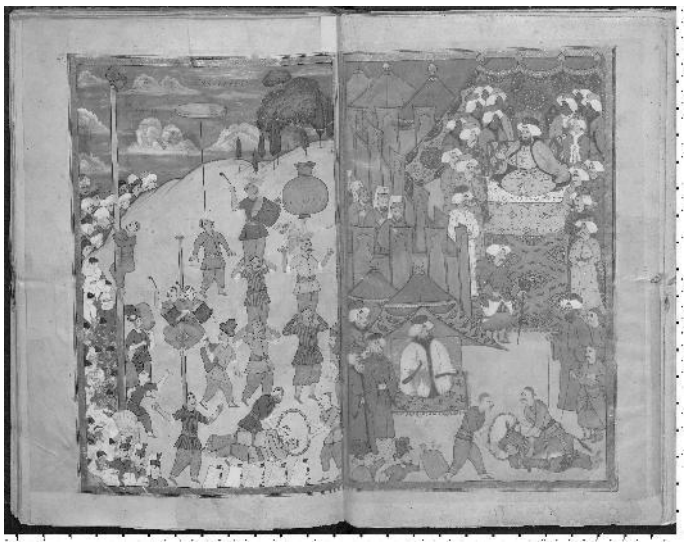

Figure A57. Levni. The fourth day of the festival, shows of Egyptian acrobats (TSM A. 3593 fol. 60a-59b)

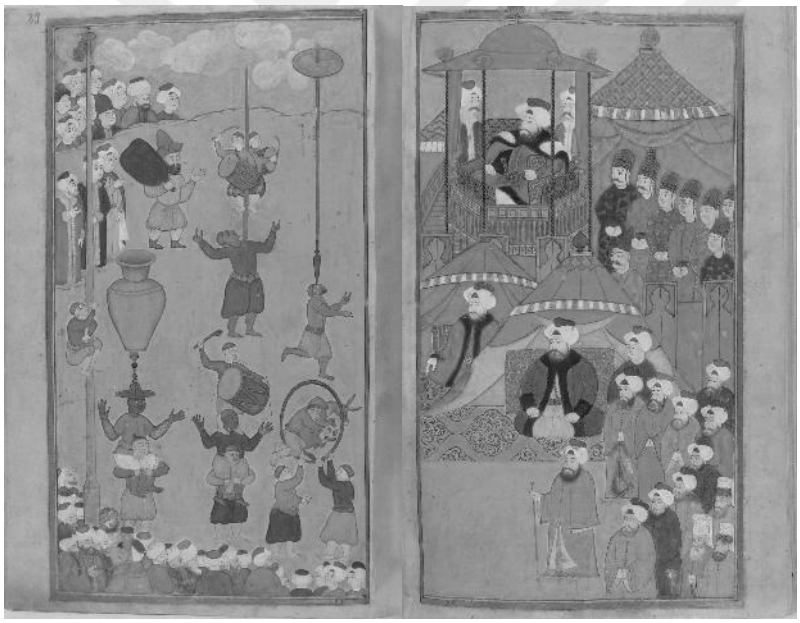

Figure A58. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, shows of Egyptian acrobats (TSM A. 3594 fol. 83a-82b)



Figure A59. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, red silk covered kiosk of the guild of carpenters, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 161a)

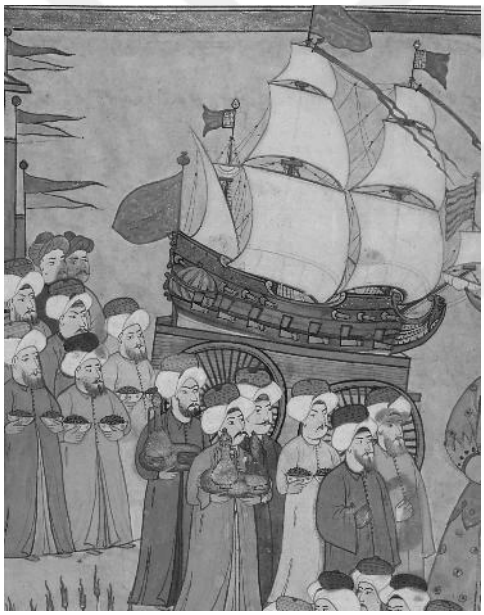

Figure A60. Levni. The tenth day of the festival, the portable galleon of the guild of flax dealers, detail (TSM A. 3593 fol. 130a)



Figure A61. Ibrahim. The tenth day of the festival, the portable galleon of the guild of flax dealers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 18b)



Figure A62. Ibrahim. The tenth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of mirror makers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 19a)

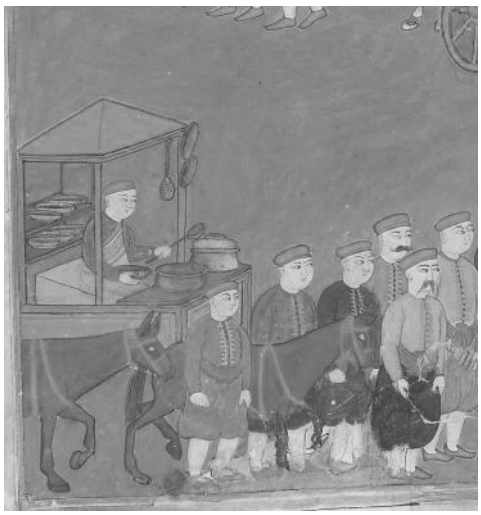

Figure A63. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of cooks, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 161b)



Figure A64. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of textile dealers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 154a).

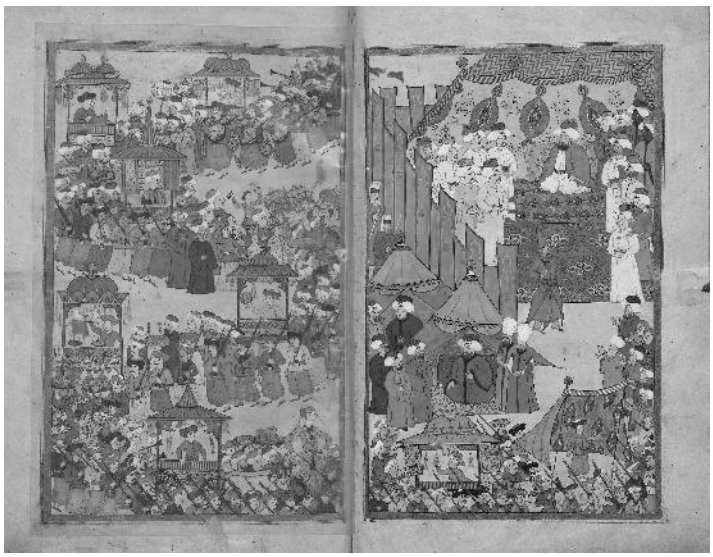

Figure A65. Levni. The eighth day of the festival. Parade of guilds with their baldachin like workshops (TSM A. 3593 fol. 118a-117b)

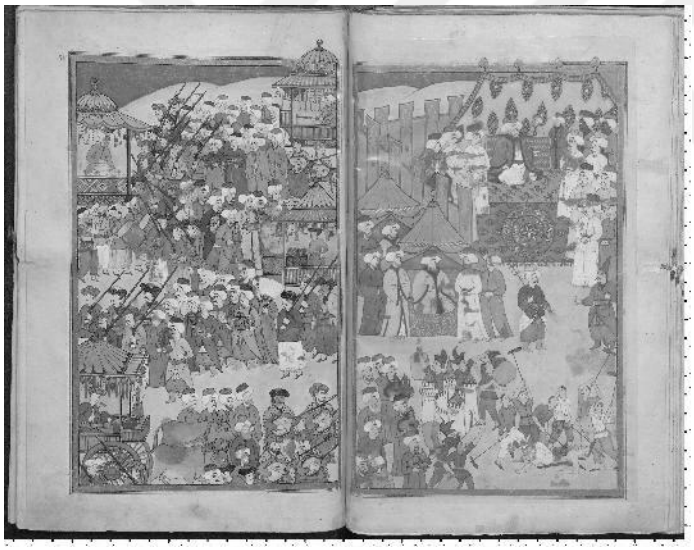

Figure A66. Levni. The ninth-day of the festival. Parade of guilds with their baldachin like workshops (TSM A. 3593 fol. 121a-120b)



Figure A67. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of fruit vendors, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 159a)



Figure A68. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, workshops of the guild of tailors and guild of boot/shoe tip makers (TSM A. 3596 fol. 160a)



Figure A69. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of shoemakers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 159a)



Figure A70. Ibrahim. The eleventh day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of *seraser* weavers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 185a)

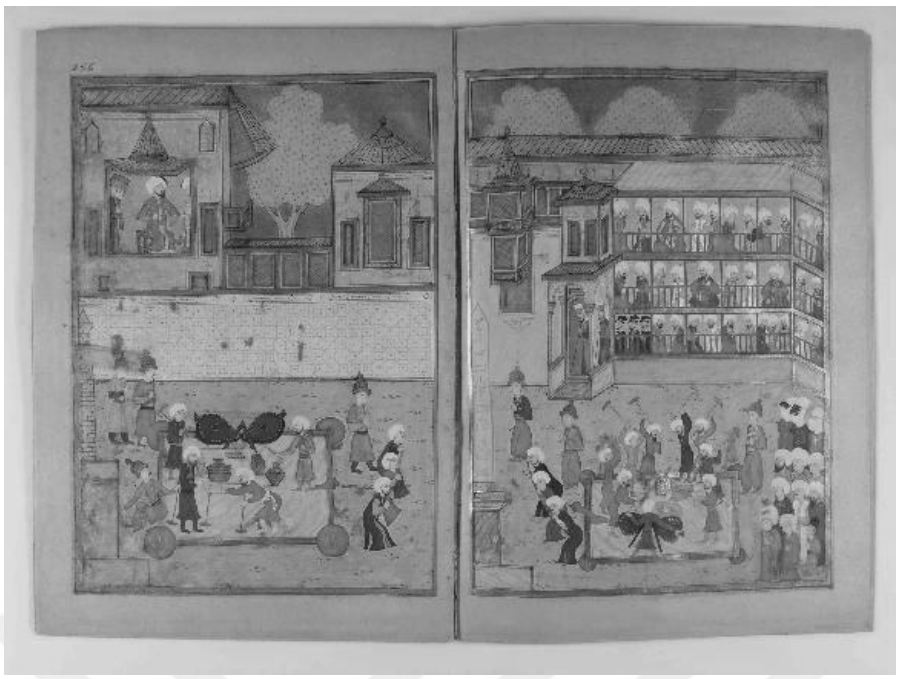

Figure A71. Nakkaş Osman. The 1582 Imperial festival, performance of coppersmiths (TSM H. 1344 fol. 255a-254b)



Figure A72. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, performance of coppersmiths (TSM A. 3594 fol. 160b)

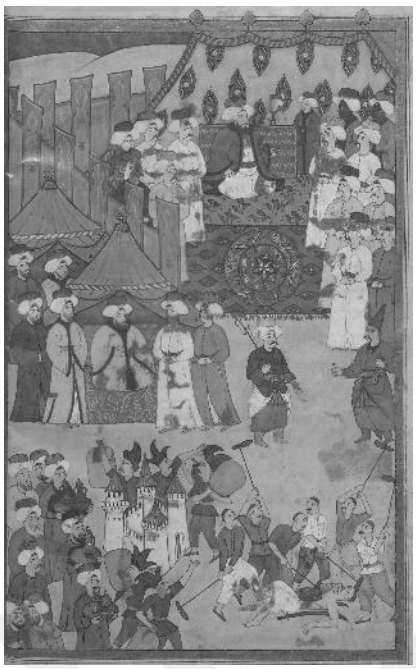

Figure A73. Levni. The ninth day of the festival, performance of coppersmiths (TSM A. 3593 fol. 160b)

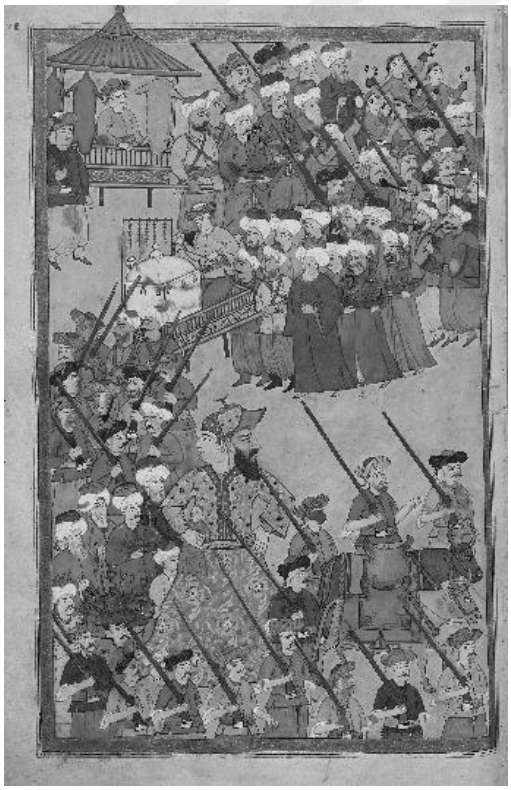

Figure A74. Levni. The sixth day of the festival, a giant two-faced puppet in the guild parade (TSM A. 3593 fol. 74a)

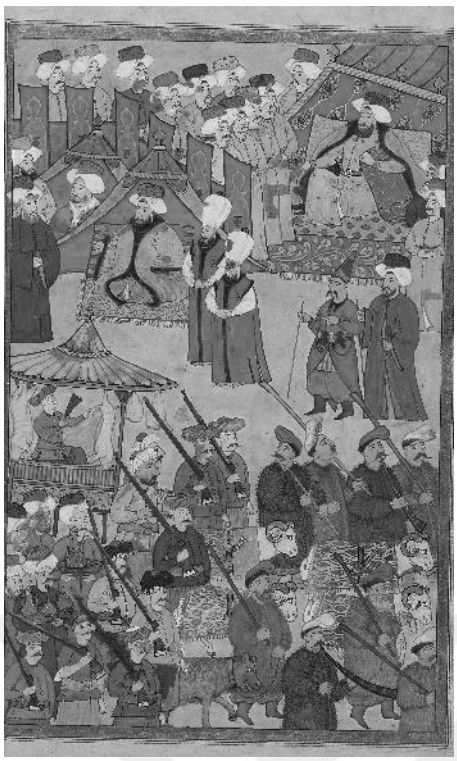

Figure A75. Levni. The sixth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of butchers (TSM A. 3593 fol. 73b)

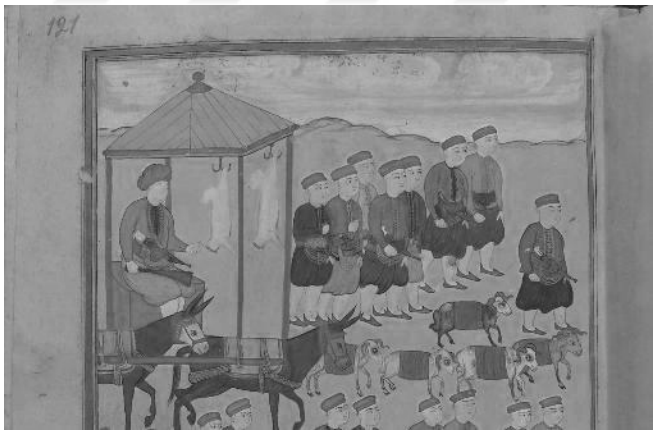

Figure A76. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of butchers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 121a)



Figure A77. Levni. The sixth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of barbers, detail (TSM A. 3593 fol. 76a)



Figure A78. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of barbers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 123a)



Figure A79. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, the workshop of the guild of cotton/wool fluffers, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 154a)

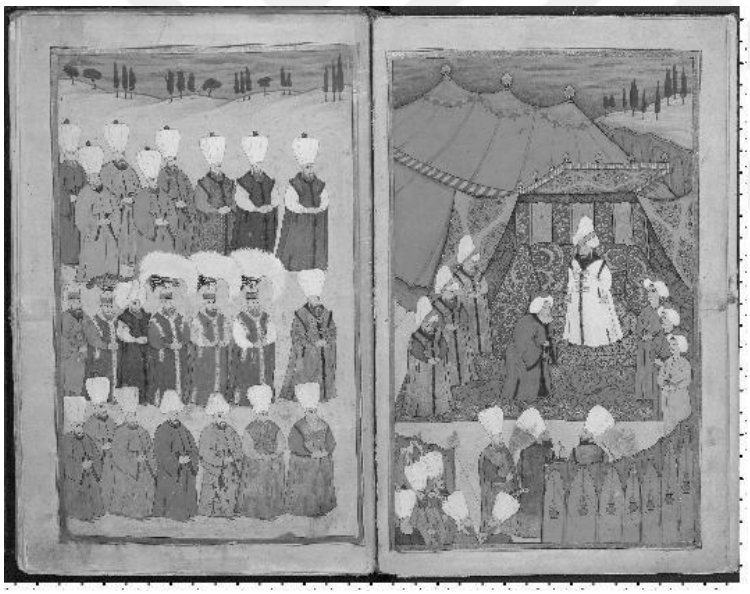

Figure A80. Levni. The first day of the festival, the greeting of the retired steward Mehmed Pasha to the grand vizier (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 18a-17b)

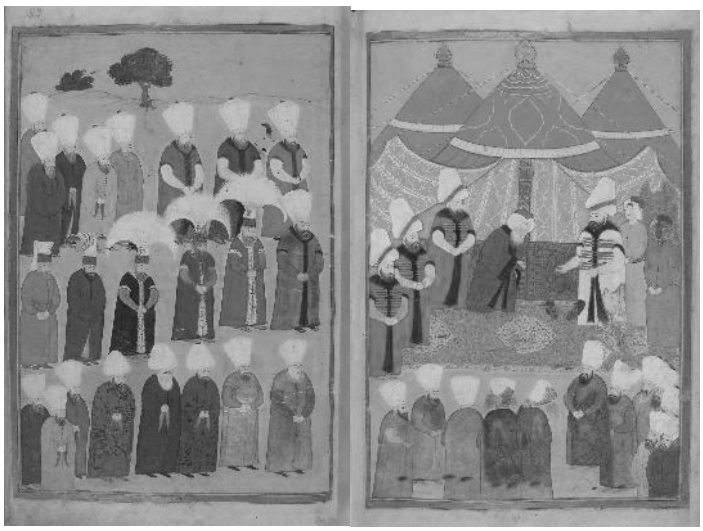

Figure A81. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, the greeting of the retired steward Mehmed Pasha to the grand vizier (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 23a-22b)



Figure 82. Levni. The first day of the festival, the procession of the sultan towards the festival space (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 16a-15b, 15a-14b, 14a-13b, 13a-12b)

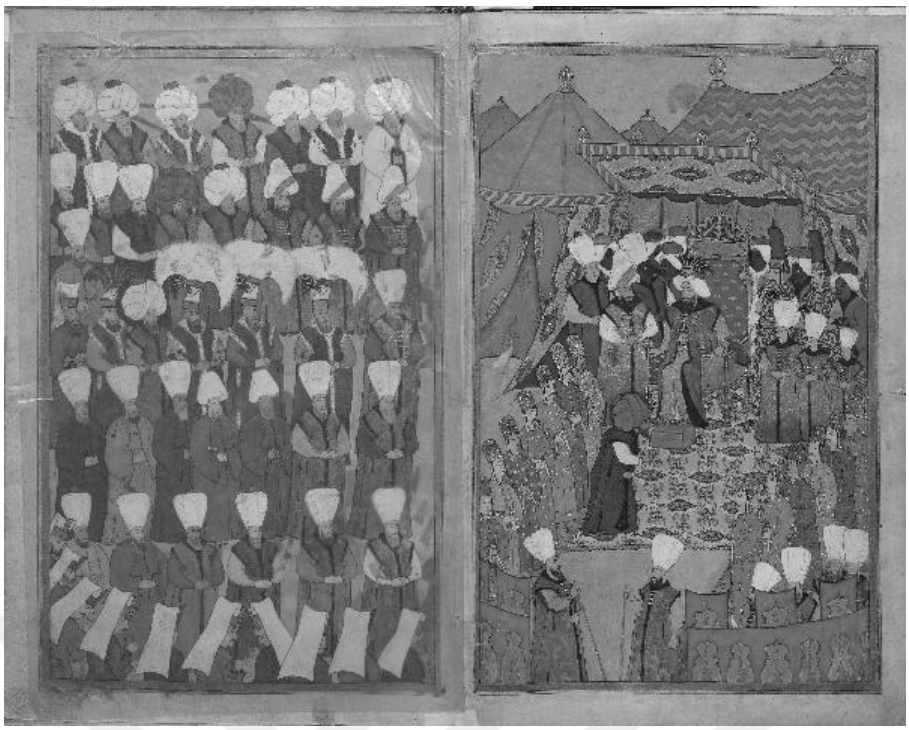

Figure A83. Levni. The first day of the festival, the greeting ceremony of the dignitaries to the sultan (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 21a-20b)

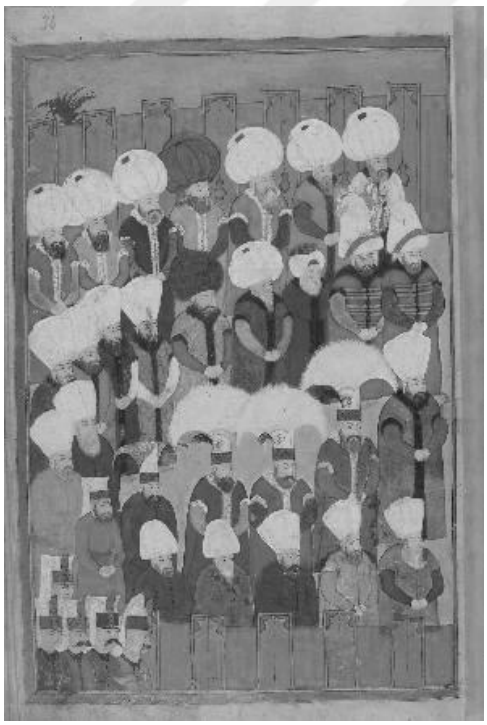

Figure A84. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, the greeting ceremony of the dignitaries to the sultan (TSM. A. 3594 36a-[missing])

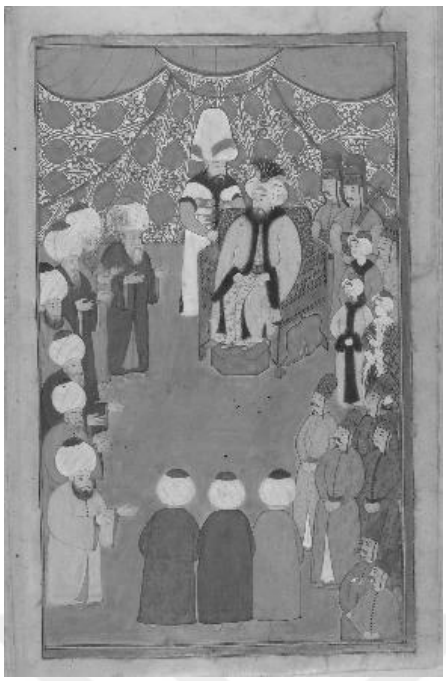

Figure A85. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, sheikhs praying at the tent of the sultan. (TSM. A.3594 fol. 35b)

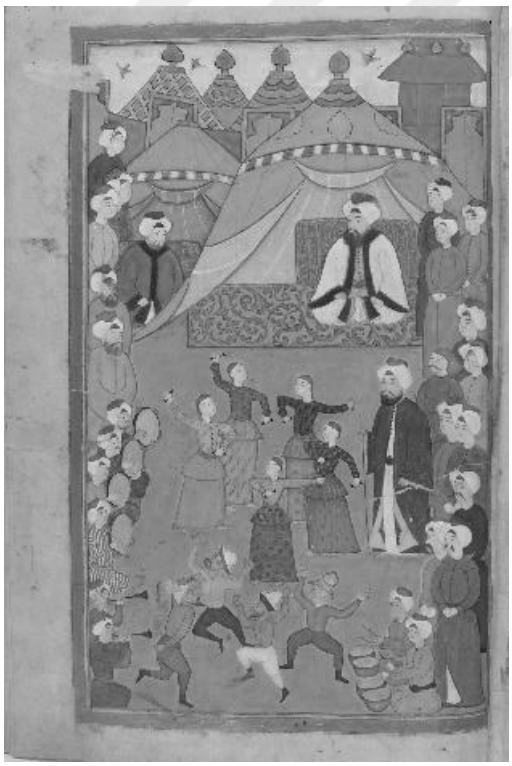

Figure A86. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, performance of dancers in front of the tent of the sultan (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 47a)

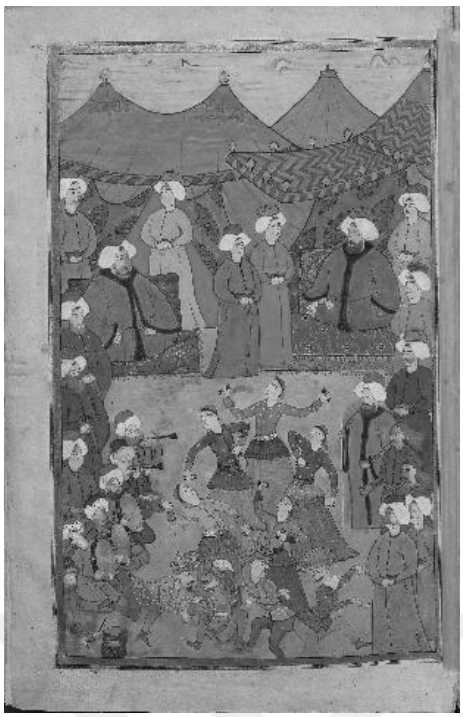

Figure A87. Levni. The second day of the festival, performance of dancers in front of the tent of the sultan (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 37a)

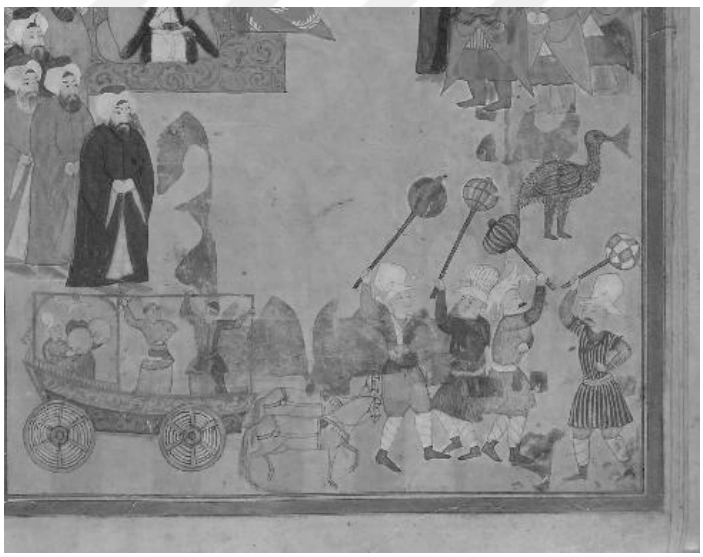

Figure A88. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, the show of moving puppets, detail (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 36b)

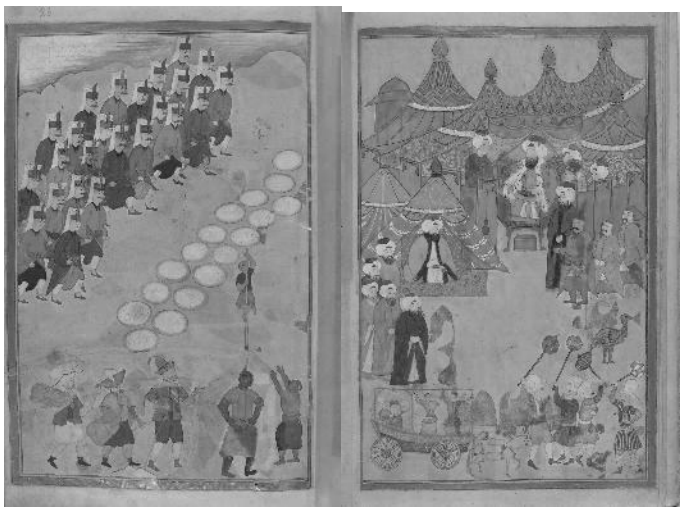

Figure A89. Ibrahim. The first day of the festival, janissaries' scramble for food and the show of moving puppets (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 26a-36b)

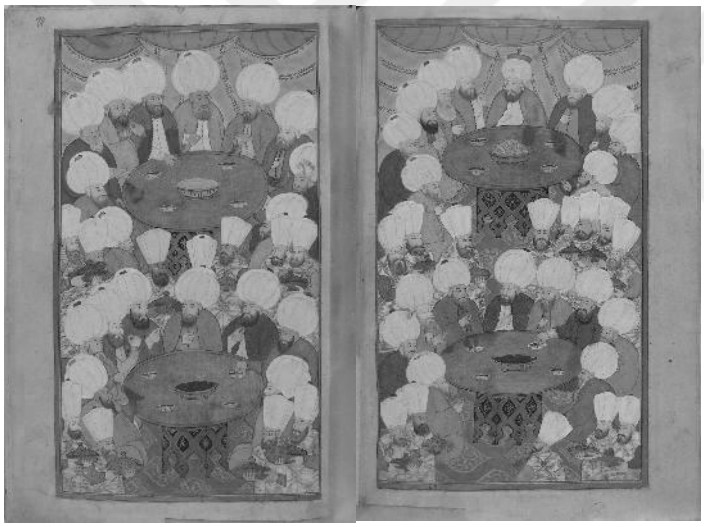

Figure A90. Ibrahim. The third day of the festival, the banquet of the professors of Islamic law (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 74a-73b)

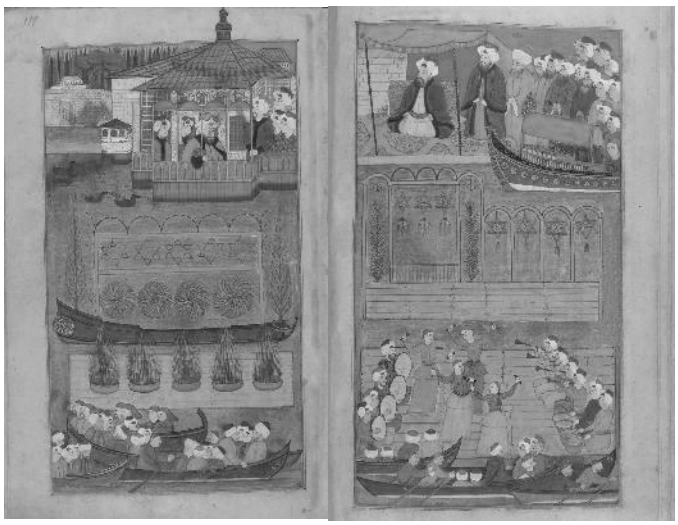

Figure A91. Ibrahim. The fifth night of the festival, shows at the Golden Horn (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 117a-116b)

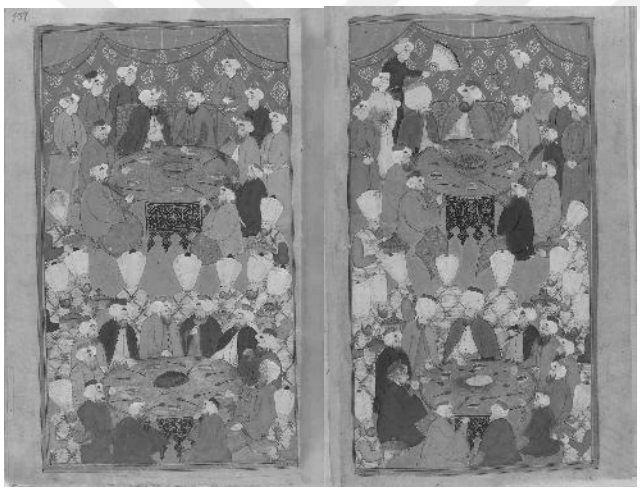

Figure A92. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, the banquet of the court officials including also the *müteferriḳas* (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 157a-156b)

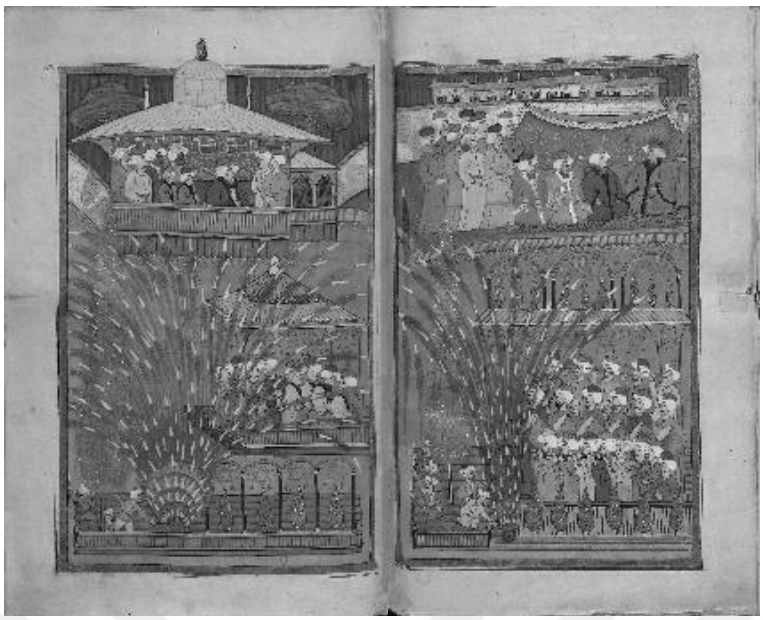

Figure A93. Levni. The ninth night of the festival, shows at the Golden Horn (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 126a-125b)

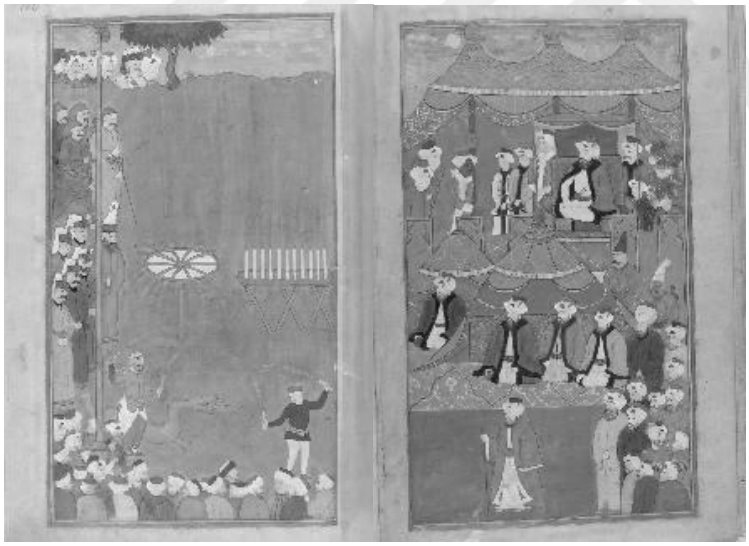

Figure A94. Ibrahim. The ninth night of the festival, shows at Okmeydanı (TSM A. 3594 fol. 168a-167b)

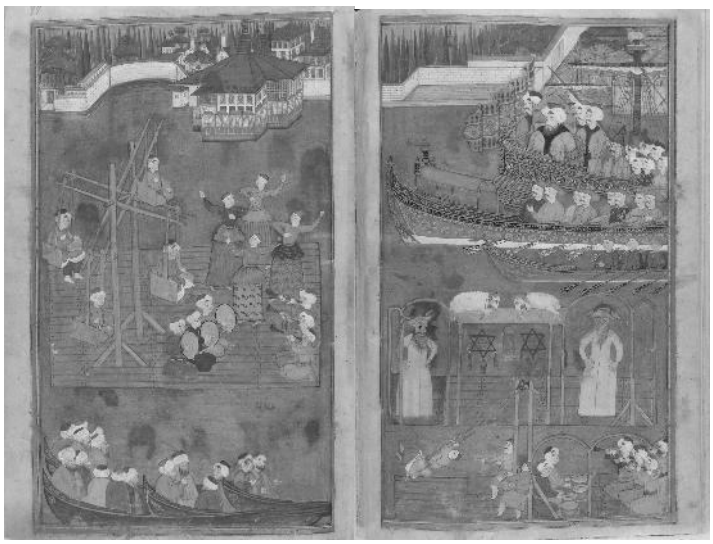

Figure A95. Ibrahim. The third night of the festival, performances at Golden Horn (TSM. A.3594 fol. 77a-76b)

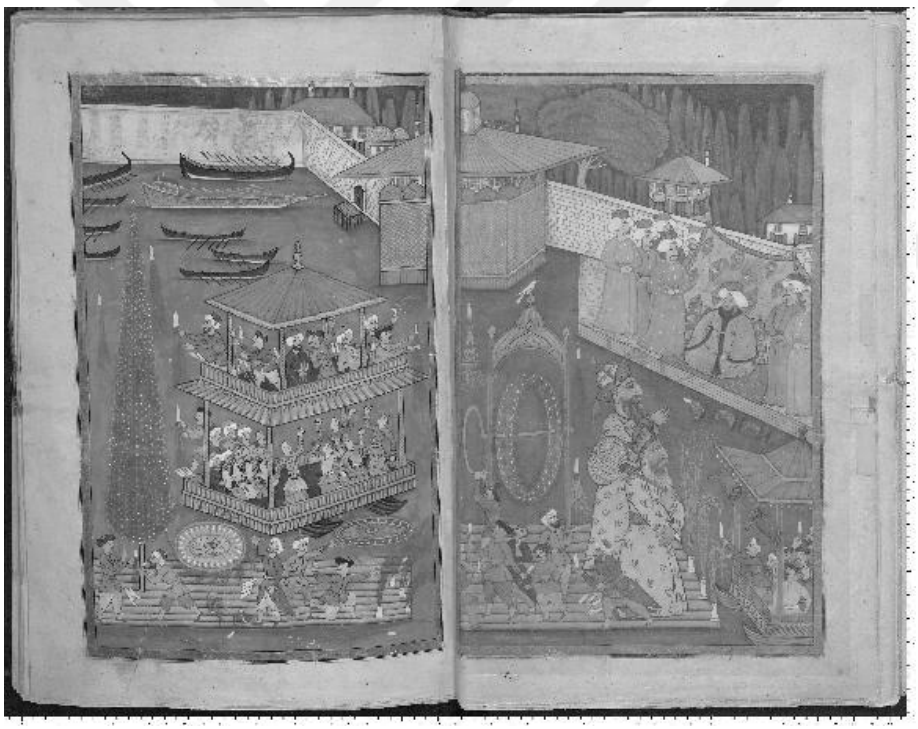

Figure A96. Levni. The third night of the festival, performances at Golden Horn (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 56a-55b)

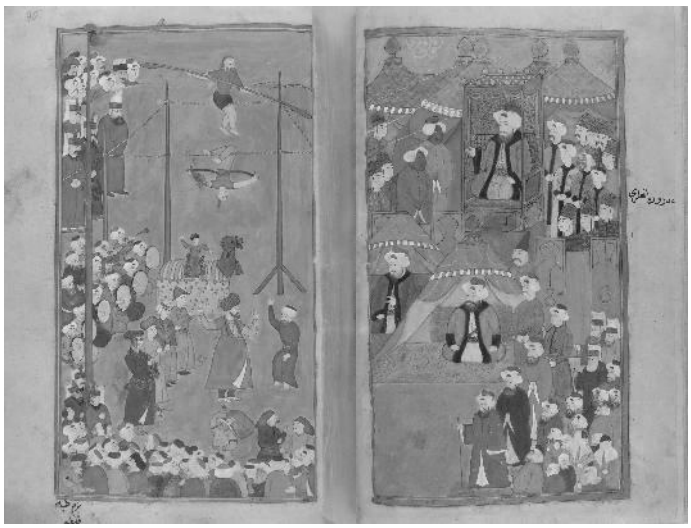

Figure A97. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, daily performances at Okmeydanı (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 90a-89b)

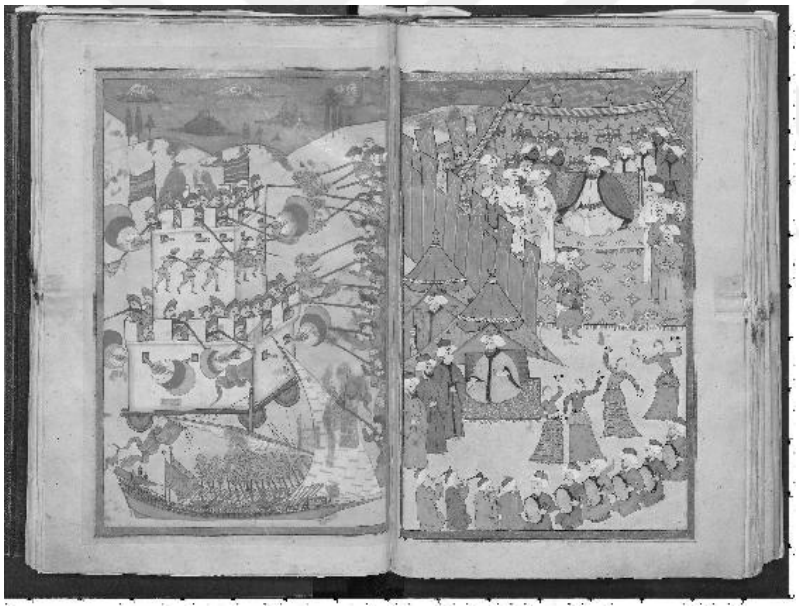

Figure A98. Levni. The seventh day of the festival, performances of dancers, musicians and mock battle games at Okmeydanı (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 98a-97b)

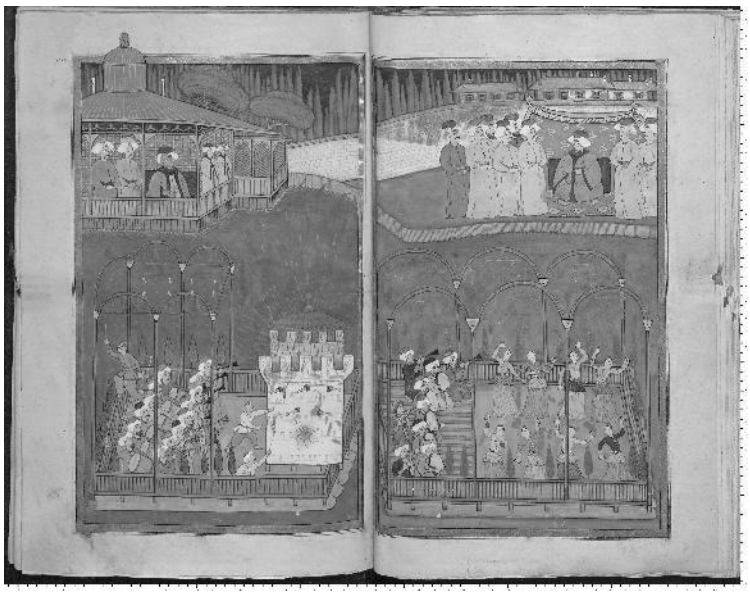

Figure A99. Levni. The eighth night of the festival, floating rafts passing along the Golden Horn (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 113a-112b)

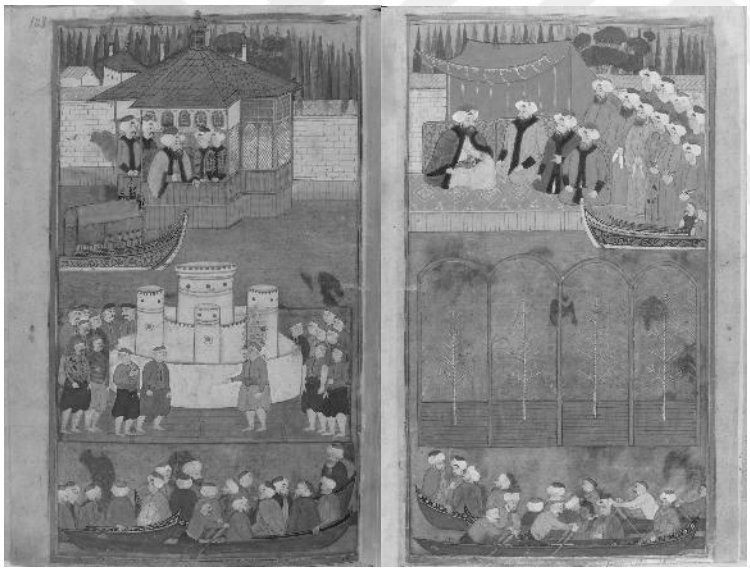

Figure A100. Ibrahim. The eighth night of the festival, floating rafts passing along the Golden Horn (TSM. A. 3594 fol.103a-158b)

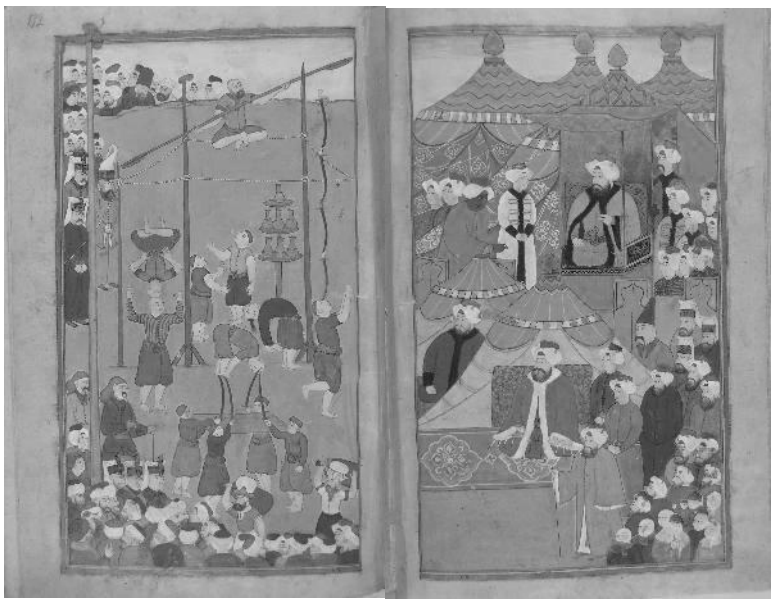

Figure A101. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, the performance of the Egyptian acrobats (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 132a-131b)

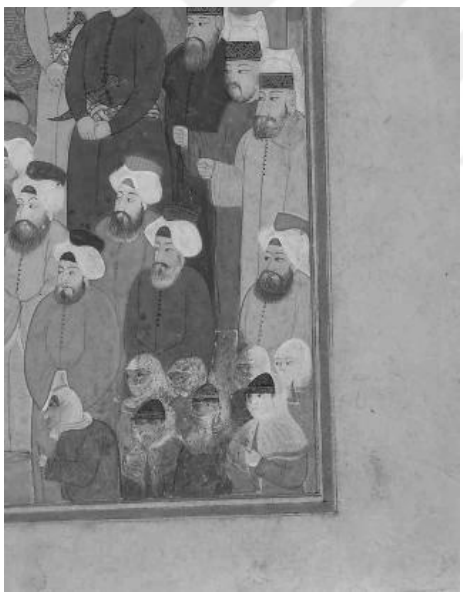

Figure A102. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, the spectators at the festival space, detail (TSM. A 3594 fol. 93b)



Figure A103. Ibrahim. The fifth day of the festival, the spectators at the festival space, detail (TSM. A 3594 fol. 86b)



Figure A104. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, mustached men with a big earring among the audience, detail (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 60a)



Figure A105. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, mustached men with a big earring among the audience, detail (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 168a)

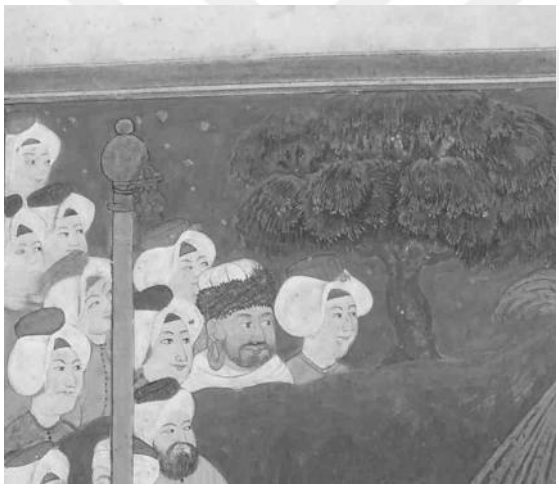

Figure A106. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, bearded men with a big ear-ring and man with hooked nose among the audience, detail (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 69a)



Figure A107. Ibrahim. The sixth day of the festival, old woman with hooked nose among the audience, detail (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 89b)

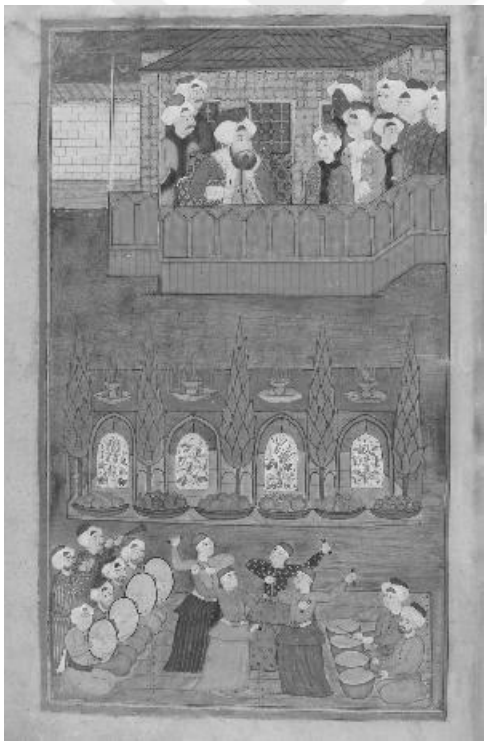

Figure A108. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, fruit figures in the floating raft (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 85a-84b)



Figure A109. Ibrahim. The eighth day of the festival, fresh fruits at the portable workshop of fresh fruit sellers (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 159b)

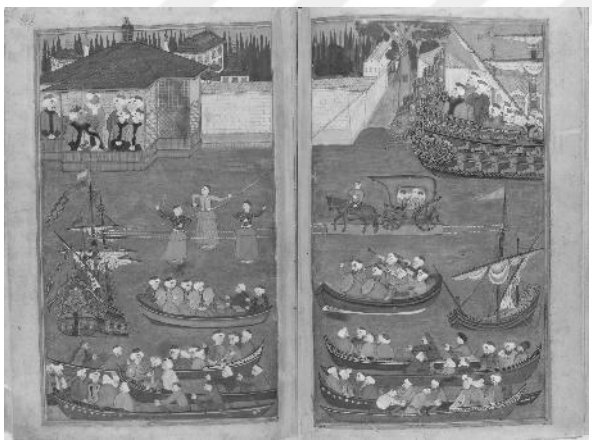

Figure A110. Ibrahim. The seventh day of the festival, the depiction of Tersane Palatial Complex (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 142a-141b)

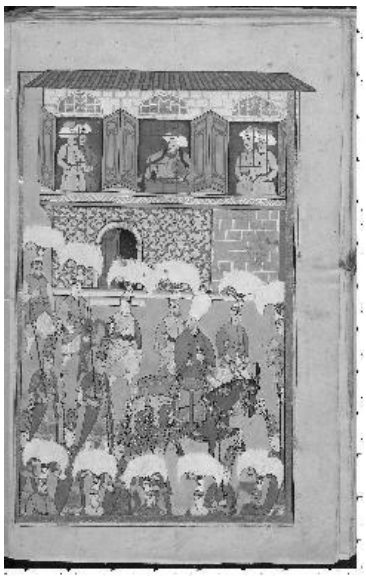

Figure A111. Levni. The sultan watching the circumcision procession from the *naḳḳāşḫāne* (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 168b)

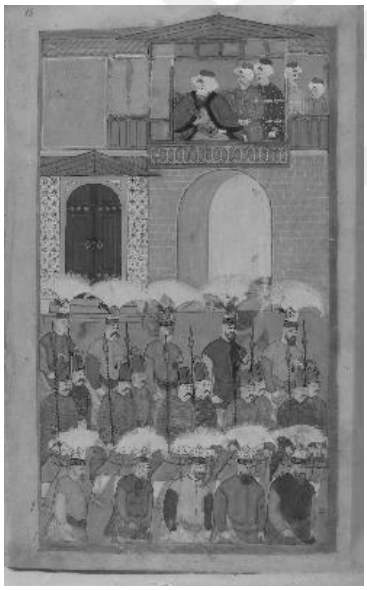

Figure A112. Ibrahim. The sultan watching the circumcision procession from the *naḳḳāşḫāne* (TSM. A.3594 fol. 16a)



Figure A113. Ibrahim. The eighth day's guild parade, the parade of tent makers (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 102b)

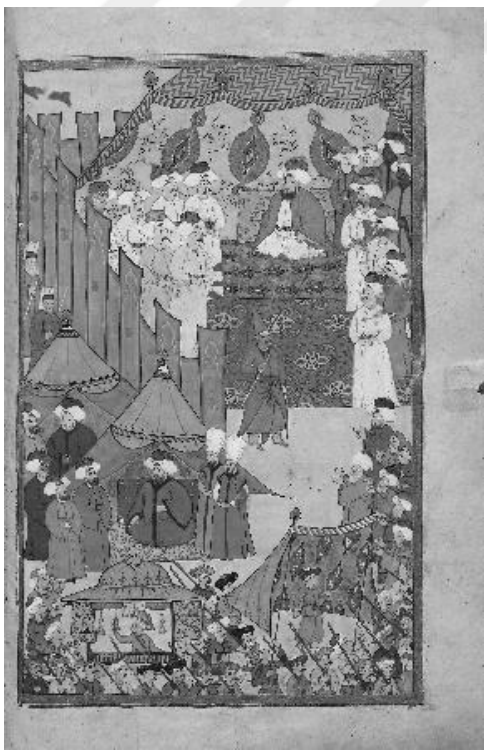

Figure A114. Levni. The eighth day's guild parade, the parade of tent makers (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 107b)

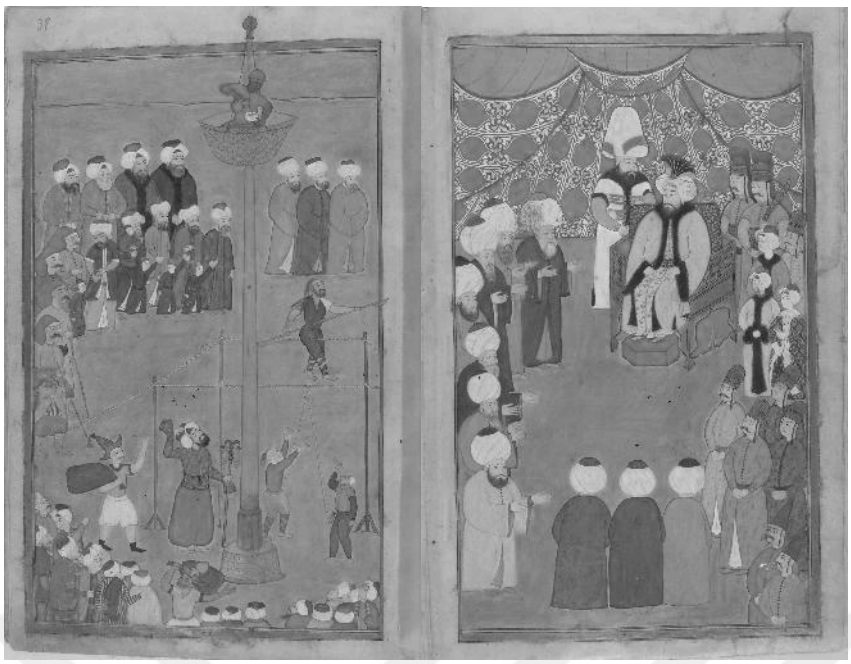

Figure A115. Ibrahim. The fourth day of the festival, the Egyptian acrobat drinking a cup of coffee at the top of the pole (TSM. A. 3594 fol. 37a-35b)

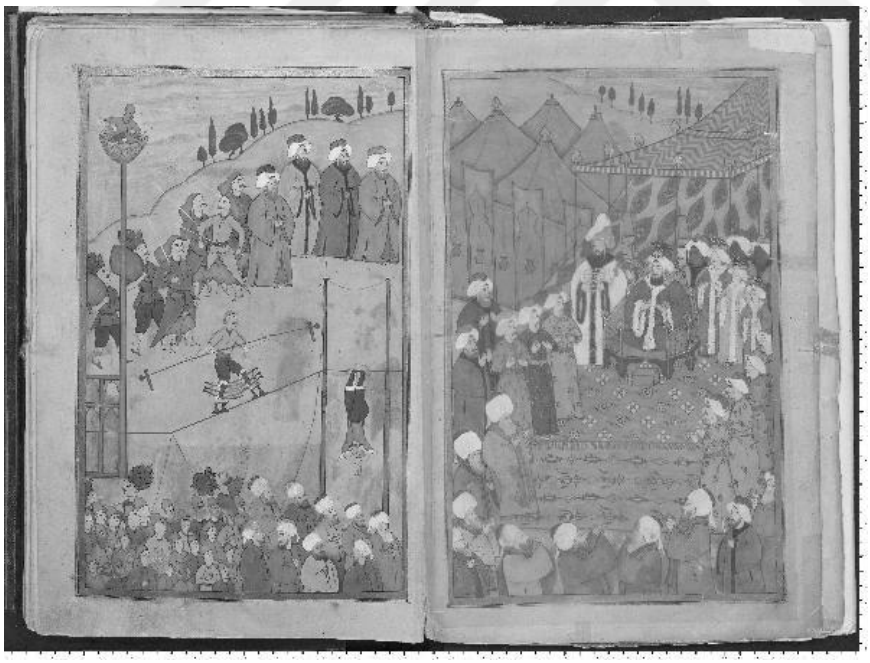

Figure A116. Levni. The fourth day of the festival, the Egyptian acrobat drinking a cup of coffee at the top of the pole (TSM. A.3593 fol. 29a-28b)

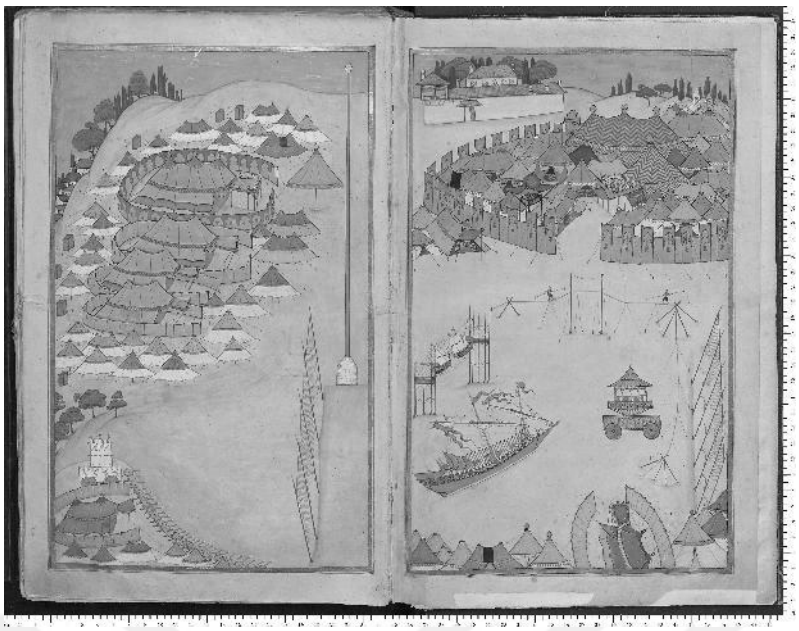

Figure A117. Levni. The preparations at the festival space (TSM. A3593 fol. 11a-10b)



Figure A118. Levni. The fourth day of the festival, a man trying to climb up to the long pole (TSM. A. 3593 fol. 60a)



Figure A119. Levni. The second day of the festival, successive performances of the Egyptian acrobats (TSM. A.3593 fol. 39a-38b)

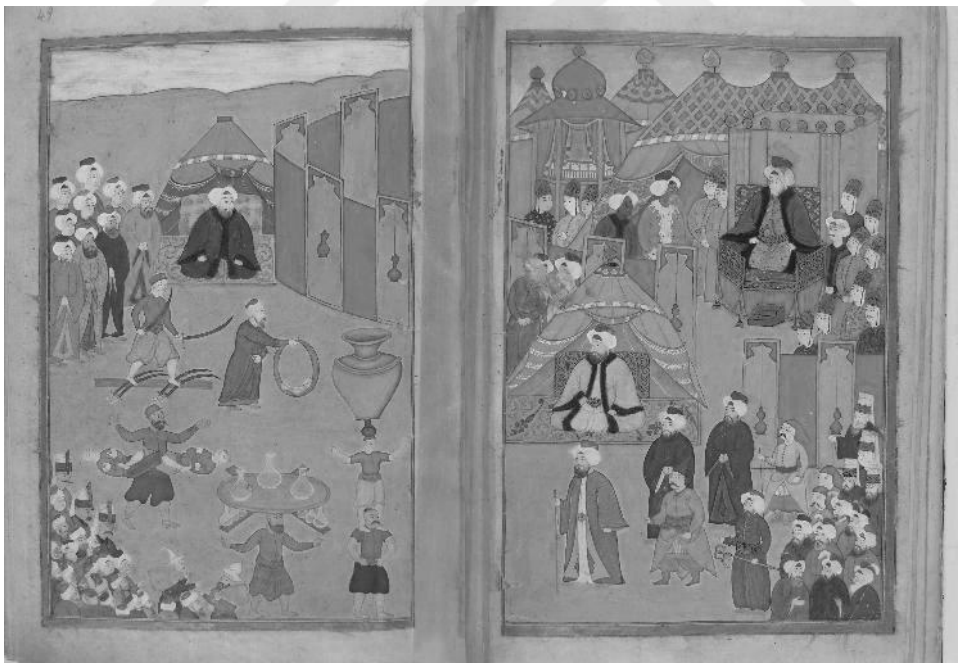

Figure A120. Ibrahim. The second day of the festival, successive performances of the Egyptian acrobats (TSM. A.3594 fol. 49a-48b)



Figure A121. Levni. The first day of the festival, the procession of the sultan towards the festival space, detail (TSM. A.3593 fol. 15a-14b)

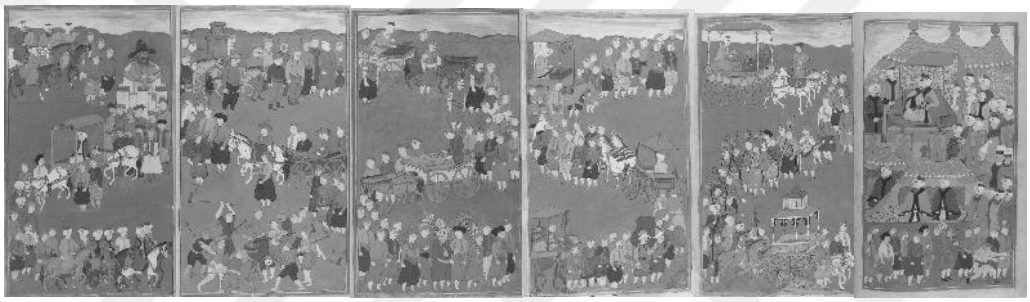

Figure A122. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, the guild parades depicted in serpentine movement (TSM. A.3594 fol. 162a-160b, 160a-161b, 161a-113b)



Figure A123. Unknown artist. The Procession of New Pope to Lateran Palace, *Nouveau Theatre d'Italie au Description Exacte de ses Villes, Palais, Eglises* (TSM. H. 2751 Plate LXX)

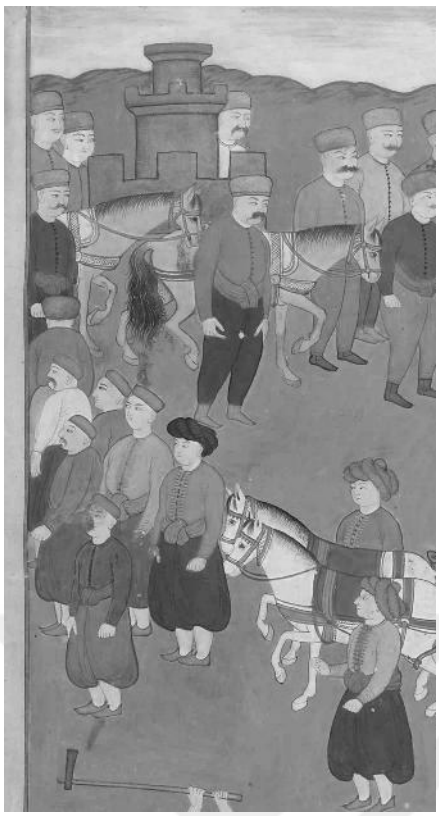

Figure A124. Ibrahim. The ninth day of the festival, the parade of guilds, detail (TSM A. 3594 fol. 160b)

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