

STARTING WITH FOOD

Starting With Food

Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History

Edited by
AMY SINGER



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Ahmed I's Hunting Parties: Feasting in Adversity, Enhancing the Ordinary*

TÜLAY ARTAN

Certainly in medieval and also in early modern societies, many if not all ruling elites had their origins in warfare, which eventually configured them as warrior nobilities, or at least as the “military class” (*askerîs*) of Ottoman parlance. The ethos thereby created required the warrior lord to maintain his martial and chivalric identity in peacetime, too, through activities that resembled or approximated war. Apart from the knightly tournament in Europe, hunting was the closest substitute or surrogate, because like war, it demanded expense met without complaint. One had to be well-horsed and well-armed. Moreover, the hunter had to conceal fear and be vigorous, make do with a poor bed or no bed when necessary, rise early, tolerate both heat and cold, and suffer a lack of good food and drink.¹

Of course, monarchs, princes and the upper classes hunted not only as part of a military training exercise, but also as part of their legacy—it was a birthright.² It became a rite of initiation; and it stood out as a prominent symbol and manifestation of power. Furthermore, beyond all the similarities between the hardships of war and of hunting, in the end there was venison only for the latter.

*My title takes off from: Nicola Fletcher, *Charlemagne's Tablecloth. A Piquant History of Feasting* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 2005), p. 75.

In Europe, hunting deer and wild boar was strictly reserved for the aristocracy.³ This opened up to an entire social context in which especially poetic references to the hunt assumed that the chase and the party were synonymous. All across Eurasia, hunting, eating, drinking, and making merry emerged as a common theme. In his comprehensive study on the subject, Thomas Allsen remarks that this is particularly true of the “core” area in which Sasanid and then Islamic art came to associate closely the notion of paradise, whether in this life or the next, with hunting and banqueting.⁴ Persian kings, before and after Islam, provided hunting feasts, as did Mongolian khans, Hindu rajahs, Manchu emperors, and Romanov tsars in Russia.⁵

Ottoman Hunting and Banqueting

The Ottoman royal hunt (and the accompanying banquet) figures only vaguely in this picture.⁶ Despite their wealth, primary sources have some problems. While the available narrative sources do record numbers of hunting expeditions, these are mostly in the nature of generic references which do not reflect either the actual practices or the related ceremonies in any detail. Likewise, miniatures depicting the Ottoman hunter-sultan, which emulate the constructs of the eleventh-century Persian epic, the *Shahname* of Firdausi, have mostly served as a strictly formal structure for exalting sovereignty. Furthermore, no hunting banquet appears to have been illustrated in the Ottoman versions of the book of kings.

Banqueting scenes, however, abound in Islamic miniatures, and these have been the subject of some debate. “The two motifs,” argues Dorothy Shepherd, “banquet and hunt, when taken together correspond precisely to the late classical iconography of heroization. They represent the banquet and hunt in paradise.”⁷ She goes on to insist that the scenes of celestial hunting and banqueting are accompanied by those of death and funeral (designed, perhaps, as pairs), providing positive confirmation for “victory over death,” celebrated with feasting and drinking, music and entertainment. “When the hunt—or more rarely some other equestrian activity—is added, it is only an adjunct, an embellishment, to the main subject and normally has no special iconographic features of its own.” She argues that

the courtly art of the Sasanians never existed and continues to claim that “this is apparently equally true of Islamic art”: these princely themes were intended to represent or at least to remind one of the rewards of the *afterlife*.

This argument can be tackled on several levels. For the moment, suffice it to note that, very much like an obsolete canon of the history of Ottoman literature which insists that Ottoman poetry had nothing to do with human love and was only concerned with mystic, allegorical infatuation,⁸ any purely symbolic description of Ottoman visuality solely by reference to a canon (Islamic or pre-Islamic) made up of repetitive and strictly rule-bound “medieval” formats denies the larger context of the historical processes through which paintings included in illustrated biographical histories were produced and, in so doing, limits our understanding of Ottoman culture.

Now if we go back to real life, we do know that several types of hunting were involved: hunting with prized birds of prey in the royal gardens of the capital; sedan or armchair hunting (*araba, oturak*) in the vicinity of the hunting lodges in Istanbul; the chase and the drive (battue: *sürgün, sürek*) in hunting parks that were mostly in the vicinity of Edirne or beyond. Hunting in the air required high-flying falcons and low-flying sparrow-hawks and goshawks. For the capture of both birds and small furry game, the battue involved a beating of woods and underbrush to drive game out toward hunters. For hunting with birds of prey, the sultan and his retinue moved from one royal garden to the other, mostly on the waterfront and also near springs of fresh water. This largely entailed sight-seeing, at ease and in luxury. When the Ottoman hunter-sultan participated in a large-scale chase or drive in person, he hunted only with bows and arrows. Hunting with birds of prey was still a largely pleasurable princely habit. The chase or drive often turned into an extravagant show, incorporating aggressive fighting with jolly partying afterwards.

Celalzâde Mustafa Çelebi writes, for example, that Süleyman I wanted to clear his mind and go hunting in Beykoz and then in Yalova in 1533. The hunt was accompanied afterwards with music and feasting (*gölveş safa-bahş ateşler yakub ... tanburlar 'udlar safa-agar dîlnüvâz sazlar çaldurub nev' nev' serdarlarile öyle hoş dil u mesrur oldılar*).⁹ The second volume of the *Hünernâme* (1588), too, has multiple references to hunting banquets that Süleyman I enjoyed. Once, in the hunting garden previously on the location of the Süleymaniye complex near the Old Palace, the sultan

shot a huge stag, a *tag sığın* with an arrow. Blood poured from its head, and the animal dropped dead. After a (nervous) suspense, one of the shepherds in attendance stepped in to slaughter the *sığın*, and its meat was “weighed in the scale of benevolence” and “sold with the measure of a bow”: *kefe’-i ihsânda terazu-yı kemânla satıldı*. Then, its (angel-conquered) heart was roasted (*kebab*) and served to those who had been watching.¹⁰ The accompanying double-folio miniature shows the sultan and his retinue, across from a deer with huge antlers, each with six prongs (indicating he was more than five years old), enclosed within red railings. Outside the fence is a herd of roe deer, including their young as well as rabbits, all running free.¹¹ This account concludes with the verse: “I am the one who hunts lions, I make *kebab* the deers I hunt.” The same lines were introduced earlier, at the author’s first reference to Süleyman’s absorption in the hunt.¹² In another instance, the *Hünernâme* mentions that when the sultan was hunting at Edirne, the game was so abundant that the locals were allowed to have a share of it; they overcame the grief of all the blood that had been shed by turning it into wine and were overjoyed as each one enjoyed *kebab* (*şikârât halka mübâh olup her kimesne mahzûz ve behremend oldılar ve her biri bir küşte üzerine yükleyib hûn-ı cigerden şarâb idüp kebâbdan kâm ü murâd buldular*).¹³

In addition to various references to the Ottoman royal hunt in the period *şehnames*, in 1599–1600 the Ottoman bureaucrat-historian Mustafa Âli writes about the pleasures of eating game in his *Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*.¹⁴ He notes that “it is well known to the nations, and both the humble and the respectable are agreed, that the food of hunting is a delicious, sweet morsel such as nourishes the soul, and that neither the hungry nor the satiated will ever be filled by those delicious tidbits.” He continues to name the game animals, the meat of which was licit to eat (more below).

Then, it is Mustafa Sâfi, *imam* and confidant (as well as chronicler) to Ahmed I (r.1603–17), who reveals much about various aspects of the royal hunt as it was practiced in the early seventeenth century. His *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih* abounds in accounts of banqueting. Thus immediately after his enthronement at the age of thirteen, we find Ahmed I frequently hawking in the royal gardens of Istanbul.¹⁵ In palace parlance, such hunting was referred to as *yimeklik*, which literally means “things intended as food” or

“to be eaten,” because it produced fresh birds for the sultan’s table. Mustafa Sâfi mentions *yimeklik* several times,¹⁶ and makes it clear that it sometimes involved staying overnight: *manzûr olan bağçeye yimeklik tariki üzere ki, ehl-i saray ıstılâhı üzere zehâb u iyâbı bir günlük veya bir gün bir gicelik seferden ‘ibâretdür.*¹⁷ Once, after a hunting party, the sultan entertained himself in the company of his select courtiers (*nedîmân-ı hass ve ben-degân-ı pür-ihlâs*) with exceptional conversation and revelry (*sohbet-i şâhâne ve işret-i sâlihâne*).¹⁸ The next day, after the morning prayers, the party continued with (a large amount of) good food and amity (*hân-ı nimet küşâde ve sofrâ-ı bî-nimet nihâde olub ta’âm-ı ma’a hazar tenâvülü[nden sonra]*), and then resumed hunting.¹⁹ It was spring and the sultan was at a royal garden called *Rumili Bahçesi*.

In another instance in Istanbul, when they were in the vicinity of Alem Dağı, they rested after some sight-seeing, ate delicious food (*tenâvül-i et’ime-i pâkize-i pür-lezzet*), and continued hunting yet again.²⁰ Similarly, when they visited a place called Sıra, hidden in the mountains in the vicinity of Üsküdar, they enjoyed a feast of pleasant things to swallow (*ta’âm-ı hoşgüvâr*) and sweet drinks (*şerbet-i tayyibetü’l-âşâr*). On such occasions Mustafa Sâfi admires and praises the cooks and the sweet-makers time and again.²¹

He also talks about the shortage of food and the preparation of food during hunting parties. In September 1605, slightly less than a year and half after Ahmed I’s enthronement, the royal party had set out for *yimeklik* at Haramideresi, the first way station westward.²² They did not stay there, however, and moved on to Çatalca with the intention of moving even further on to Edirne. This unplanned excursion caught the hunting organization unawares and ill-equipped, for they had taken neither enough food (*zer ü zevâd* and *zâhire/zehâir*) nor any proper clothing with them. That night, a carriage was sent back to Istanbul, and at noon the next day three cart-loads of provisions arrived. It was only then that the party moved on to Edirne. As they travelled fast, staying only in four staging stations instead of the usual twelve, the attendants did not have any time to cook or eat. They moved so fast from Çatalca to Silivri, and then to Çorlu that the sultan’s attendants found the opportunity to eat only during their fourth stop, at Burgos [Lüleburgaz].²³ This was Ahmed I’s first visit to Edirne.

Birds, Hares, Deer, and Boar

The royal hunting parties would take cock and hen pheasant, quail, partridge, wild duck of all species, wild geese and even bustard, so as to provide delicacies for the banquet as well as plumes of cranes and herons for turban aigrettes. In spring 1611, at a time when the gardens and the imperial lodge at Davudpaşa were being renovated, the sultan moved into a tent together with his boon companions. As they hunted, says Mustafa Sâfi, artists in the sultan's retinue captured the game on paper. (It should be noted that, in addition to many hunting scenes compiled in royal illustrated histories, there are also numerous single-page drawings of both hunting birds and game birds in the miniature albums of this period.²⁴) Only six birds (six "wings," as Mustafa Sâfi puts it) were taken on that occasion.²⁵ He adds that according to the registers that were kept, over the autumn and winter of 1611 altogether 110 "wings" were captured in hunting parties at Davudpaşa, Rumeli, Istavroz, Kandil, Göksu, Haramideresi, Beşiktaş, and Kağıthane.²⁶ He implies that there might have been much more, but that it was not possible to register or to capture all these in painting; he also makes an effort to justify this frustratingly meagre number by repeatedly saying that although the sultan had been out to hunt every day (in other words, although he tried his utmost), it had been a tough winter.

There are also accounts of wild boar chases in those years. The peasants of several villages in the vicinity of Üsküdar were conscripted into service as drovers, and taken to the parks at Beykoz, to the mountain water source called Kayış Pınarı, or to the commons (*ziyâretgâh*) called Ali Bahadır.²⁷ When the animals, namely rabbits, foxes, deer, wolves, bears, and wild boar (*har-gûş, rûbâh, ahû-yu sünbül-giyâh, gürg ü hırs ü hûk-ı rûy-siyâh*), were being driven into circles as the drovers kept shouting and yelling (*hâ vü hû ve nâ 're-i yâhû*), the sultan arrived with his huntsmen and ordered them to shoot with their muskets. Mustafa Sâfi immediately interjects that the sultan himself used only bow and arrow. In the end, he reports, the party succeeded in hunting a few wild boars "with spears and arrows." There is no mention of any subsequent feasts in this or other accounts of wild boar chases. No on-site pictures were mentioned either.

It is understood that not only an artist but also a scribe was appointed to document the game taken during special parties. Thus, 18 musk-scented

deer, 150 baby rabbits, 40 “vigilant” foxes, and a few “ferocious” wolves were recorded during a drive at Çömlek.²⁸ At another time, at Kurdkayası 12 deer, 127 rabbits, 33 foxes, and one “fierce” wolf were hunted.²⁹ Both these drives were part of a hunting spree in Edirne in the winter of 1612–13. This was the second trip that Ahmed I took to Edirne, just seven years after the first in 1605. The author notes that in the period January 12–March 31, a personal attendant of the sultan, Haseki Hüseyin, recorded in his register a total of four large-scale drives and 17 private parties.³⁰ The first drive was on February 10, 1613 (Zilhicce 18, 1022), at Çömlek;³¹ the second was on February 21 (Muharrem 1, 1022), at Kurdkayası.³² The aforementioned numbers pertain to these two drives. Although the deer, rabbits, foxes, and lone wolf bagged at Kurdkayası added up to 173, Mustafa Sâfi explains that these were only the numbers submitted to the sultan and recorded in a register, *haseki defteri*, so-called after the *bostancı* in charge.³³ The actual number of rabbits turned over to the attendants on the way to the hunting lodge at Çömlek amounted to more than 150. He added that 365 was the total number of the game captured in these two drives. The third drive was at Karaağaç, on March 9 (Muharrem 17, 1022). The total number of deer, rabbits, foxes, and wolves taken came to 144. The fourth and final drive in the winter of 1613 was again at Kurdkayası on March 21 (Muharrem 29, 1022). It yielded 60 game animals. Later, Mustafa Sâfi gives the total bag for all four drives, recorded in the official register, as 915; he also adds that including those taken away by the peasants or submitted in search of favors, this number would have reached 1,200. As noted earlier, Ahmed I also spent days hawking along the Tunca, and those birds (geese, ducks, partridge, and storks) that just the sultan himself captured came to a total of 100 wings.³⁴ Relying just on this one carefully kept register, Mustafa Sâfi does not really bother to record the numbers of game taken elsewhere—not even when he himself was an eye-witness. Only once, he counts some forty carcasses that court attendants piled up in the courtyard of the Privy Chamber.³⁵ All in all, these are quite unassuming numbers when compared to the hundreds and thousands that were recorded over the last quarter of the century.

From 1650 to 1681, Ahmed I's grandson Mehmed IV (famous as *Avcı*: “the Hunter”) participated in at least 50 hunting expeditions—mostly in the vicinity of Edirne and beyond. In several cases, huge numbers are listed by his chronicler Abdurrahman Abdi.³⁶ On one occasion in April 1666, for

example, 2,200 rabbits and eighty foxes were killed.³⁷ During a three-day span in November 1667, the sultan engaged in battue hunting, killing ninety-four deer, four stags, three roebucks, and three wolves, as well as in sedan-chair hunting, where he took eleven deer and three wild boars.³⁸ In April 1668, two battue expeditions netted seven roebucks, seventeen stags, six wolves, and two lynxes.³⁹ In February 1670, 364 rabbits were taken in five days,⁴⁰ and in April 143 roebucks in two days.⁴¹ These numbers can be compared to those for hunter-kings to the east and west. K'ang-hsi (r. 1661–1722) notes that since his childhood, with bow or gun, he had killed in the wild 135 tigers, 20 bears, 25 leopards, 20 lynxes, 14 tailed *mi* deer, 96 wolves, and 132 wild boars, as well as hundreds of ordinary stags and deer. He then says: “How many animals I killed when we formed the hunting circles and trapped the animals within them I have no way of recalling.”⁴²

It is worth noting that Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa does not record even a single hunting banquet in detail. Instead, he makes passing reference to various feasts following hunting parties. For example, he mentions the banquet (*ziyâfet*) of the grand vizier at Çardak woods.⁴³ Then at Tâvûslı, he notes that the sultan did not engage himself in any diversion whatsoever after eating (*ba'de't-tâ'âm aslâ meks ü ârâm itmeyüp*).⁴⁴ Mehmed IV is frequently reported as having his meal in his tent. It seems that these were private and fast lunches or dinners (which, apparently, were also called *yimeklik*). He enjoyed one such discreet meal on the hills known as the Ergene woods (*yimeklik olup*);⁴⁵ at another time, near Zağra-ı Atık, when the roayl party drove the woods at Sülüklü and reached the feasting camp, they ate such convenience food (*korusu sürülüüp yimekliğe gelince*).⁴⁶ On yet another occasion, when he was at Kapucıköy, we are told that the sultan chose not to eat in his tent, but in the humble dwelling of a poor man (*bir fâkirün hâneciğini teşrif... hâtırcığını taltîf... ta'âmı anda tenâvül*).⁴⁷ At Karacabeğ, we are told that the sultan ate some of the roasted partridge (*keklik kebabi*) served for him and then sent the rest to his grand vizier.⁴⁸ Only a few times was there a great hunting feast (*azîm şikâr safâsı*).⁴⁹

Hunting and Banqueting in the Winter of 1612–1613

Back in the early seventeenth century, Ahmed I's second unplanned excursion to Edirne seems to have found the sultan in a more enthusiastic mood. In December 1612, the sultan moved to the hunting parks at Davudpaşa for the winter and heart-charming spectacles (*nakl-i zimistânî ve seyr-i dil-sitânî*) and busied himself with hunting during the day as well as with pleasures at night (*gündüz şikâr ve gice serîr-i sa'âdetde karâr üzre iken*).⁵⁰ Towards the end of the month, while hunting daily in the vicinity of Davudpaşa (but sleeping in his comfortable bed in the evenings), the sultan once more on the spur of the moment decided to visit Edirne yet again, but this time with the intention to hunt in the grand manner of his ancestors. Not only the hunting establishment and his best men, his privy chamber, and his boon companions, but also the harem including the young princes, the grand vizier, and other Imperial Council members accompanied the sultan.⁵¹ All along the way, the sultan performed various deeds of chivalry (*merdlik*) and religiosity during the day. In the evenings they gathered for entertainments. However, no feasting is mentioned.⁵²

Hunting aids, including hunting dogs (*tazî, kilâb*) and cats (*pars nev'i-den Türk tazî*, which could mean cheetahs), as well as a boat (*sefine-i sebükseyr*), which moved so rapidly on the Tunca river that it was regarded as a marvel of its time (*sûrat-i hareketde misâl-i zü'l-cehâneyn bir tayr olan kâyık-ı nâdiru'l-'asr*) were brought up from the capital. The Istanbul-style hunting parties (i.e., with low-flying hawks in the royal gardens) that the sultan enjoyed in Edirne over a period of four months climaxed in four ferocious drives. Two major feasts were thrown during these parties, and they shed great light on Ottoman royal hunting banquets. Mustafa Sâfî recorded them carefully and enthusiastically, though it may be assumed that he omitted the improper, the offensive, or the provocative from his account.

These exclusive celebration feasts for elite guests may well have resulted in a certain relaxation of social mores. Perhaps precisely because of that, Mustafa Sâfî is very keen to emphasize again and again that Ahmed I did not neglect his religious obligations at any time during these hunting parties.⁵³ We also know that communal—and sometimes very heavy—consumption of alcohol was the norm in such courtly gatherings. Nizâm al-Mulk, chief counselor to the Seljuqs, speaks of Sasanian monarchs' pen-

chant for combining the chase with drinking and womanizing and warns that too much drinking in particular could bring ruin to the state.⁵⁴ But despite such concerns, and the even more basic Islamic injunctions against alcohol, many Muslim courts, including the Ghaznavids and others, took to the field well supplied with wine.⁵⁵ This was such a frequent occurrence that the royal hunt became identified with good times, even wild times; it came to be viewed as a large, outdoor, floating party.⁵⁶ For some this was something to censure, but for others such stories only added to the allure of the royal hunt.⁵⁷ As for Ahmed I, given that he had already made a reputation for himself as “the Pious,” he is likely to have been consuming only sweetened drinks; and surely, even if this included sweet wines, Mustafa Sâfi was not going to put it on record.

The Banquet at Çömlek/Çölmek

In the winter of 1612–13, the sultan and his retinue explored all the royal hunting gardens (*sebzehâr-ı şikâr*) in the vicinity of Edirne. It often seems that they moved along the Tunca by boat, possibly hawking waterfowl while sight-seeing and enjoying the view.⁵⁸ Then they wanted to organize a drive to hunt rabbits, foxes, and deer in the wild, and the sultan ordered the *bostancıbaşı* to find a likely spot with abundant game. The chief gardener was then told to gather the *bostancı*s under his command as well as peasants from villages which had previously participated in drives of this scale and to get there in three days’ advance to encircle an area of a few days’ distance in perimeter. Together with the hunting attendants, they would then drive the animals to where the sultan would be stationed.⁵⁹ The palace and park near Çömlek village, a renowned royal hunting ground (*saydgâh-ı selâtîn-i Âl-i Osman*) since the reign of Murad II, was chosen as the venue. Mustafa Sâfi adds that it had not been in use for some time. In the event, the *bostancıbaşı* did mobilize the peasants to drive all the animals into an oak grove (*mîşezâr*) like a fine sieve.⁶⁰

On the evening of February 12, the sultan and his hunting retinue set out (from Edirne) eight hours after sunset, together with all their hunting birds, dogs, and equipment.⁶¹ Chief of the privy chamber (*odabaşı*) Cafer Ağa, the sword-bearer (*silâhdar*) and simultaneously barber Muhammed

Ağa, the lackey in charge of costumes (*çuhadar*) Ahmed Ağa, and the stirrup-holder (*rikâbdar*) İsmail Ağa were serving as the sultan's close bodyguard. As they marched in the moonlight, they surveyed the area and took steps to block the possible escape routes for the animals.⁶² Once more, Mustafa Sâfi notes that Ahmed I did not neglect to perform his morning prayers. The *bostancıbaşı* reported to the sultan about the game that had been fenced in and showed him to his hunting station, where a luxurious tent had been prepared for his comfort. Then, with a *hû vü hâ*, the chase began.⁶³

First and foremost they drove the harmful animals, the wolves and foxes. The sultan himself hunted with a bow and arrow (*tîr ü keman*). Later, his companions and hunting staff were allowed to send in the dogs. Finally, the peasants were permitted in; they were to bring whatever was bagged to the sultan and receive their cash gifts in return.⁶⁴ Mustafa Sâfi asserts that the main goal of the hunt was to benefit the poor and needy. As noted earlier, the drive at Çömlek yielded 18 deer, 150 rabbits, 40 foxes, and a few wolves.⁶⁵

After the hunt, the sultan moved to the Çömlek hunting lodge (*kasr*) first built by Murad II and then rebuilt and refurbished by Süleyman I. Eulogizing the *kasr* with several couplets, the author goes on to celebrate its pool and fountain. Not only the local water but also the air is praised for its digestive qualities. About the water of the fountain, he goes on to say: "If its taste and flavor were to be described, the candy of Hama (?) has no worth [by comparison] and if it were to be praised in the presence of connoisseurs, the answer would be 'grind its sugar, drink its juice.' It is its light quality which satisfies, not its quantity! Thanks to its perfect digestive [quality] those who eat nearby [at the fountain], will never feel full."⁶⁶ Precisely at this point Mustafa Sâfi also notes that all game was brought into the hunting lodge. While writing in his ornate language about the distinctive qualities of the air and water at Çömlek, he seems to have had the impending banquet in mind.

In due order, he mentions that the royal hunter divided up his bag of game among those statesmen who were not present at the the great blood-letting (*bu melhame-i kübraya nâzır olmayan erbab-ı devlet*). This was primarily a demonstration of generosity, approval and favor.⁶⁷ It was also a virtually obligatory act of royal or lordly redistributionism (as with the

apportioning of all movable booty, as well as immovable sources of revenue, including especially the land, in the form of fiefs or prebends). Hence, too, it was ritualized into a dispensation of royal favor, an essential tool of political culture. As much as it was a valuable reward for dependants and a powerful gesture in the cycle of reciprocity, helping to develop and reinforce patronage networks,⁶⁸ it also served as a pointer to the importance of consuming game at elite tables. Venison was the most desirable of all.⁶⁹ Thus, first the grand vizier and other viziers, followed by the two military judges for Rumeli and Anadolu, all received deer (*âhû*) and rabbits (*hargûş*). Subsequently, the members of the harem and the privy chamber, the attendants of the imperial treasury, the pantry and the stores, as well as the wardrobe (*kilerli* and *seferli*), received their share of the bag.

Finally, it was time to enjoy the food itself (*ba 'dehû vakt-i tenâvül-i ta 'âm ü gıdadân zemân-i ahz-ı kâim olmagın*).⁷⁰ Mustafa Ağa the *silahdar*—also the sultan's barber—was in command of the feast, and he himself served out the most delicious portions. The menu is not specified. It is rather generically referred to as comprising delicious dishes, sweets, and delicacies (*et 'ime-i nefise/ nefâis-i et 'ime, hulviyyât-ı nefise, nefâis-i behiyye*). A small portion of each course was tasted according to the preferences of the sultan (*meyl-i tabî'at ve kadr-ı rağbet hasebince her birinden birer mikdâr tenâvül*); however, it is not clear whether it was this style of sampling that he preferred, or the kinds of food that were actually sampled. All leftovers from such delicious plates were then served to his attendants (*ol evânî-i latîfe ve zurûf-ı nazîfe-i huddâm-ı zev' il-ihtirâm dahî ba 'de' r-ref' tedâvül idüp . . . kendülere i' tâ buyurulan nevâlelerden (211a) istîfâ itdikten sonra*). This was followed by socializing and diversions (*sohbet* and *teferrüç*) until noon prayers the next day. In the sultan's company were his long standing boon companions (*kâim-i ber-pâ olan bî-zebânân ve nüdemâ*).⁷¹

During this sumptuous feast at Çömlek, the versatile cooks and confectioners of the imperial kitchens are said to have served their most artful dishes, which they had prepared the previous night.⁷² Given that game is low in fat, a considerable time is necessary for its preparation. Whether deer, birds, or furred animals, it needs to be left hanging for a long time so that the meat becomes tender. Another method of tenderizing is marinating. Grilling or slow cooking also helps to make it more tender. It is possible

that such preparations had already been made for the feast in the sultan's tent, i.e., some game may have been previously secured and cured even before the arrival of the royal party. All along, Mustafa Sâfi continues to extol the cooks and sweet-makers. Nevertheless, the food served is repeatedly identified simply as “[main] dishes, sweets, and sweetened drinks” (*yimek, helva, şerbet*). Considerably more information is provided on protocol. We learn, for example, that when a feast was given (*yimek hediye edilirse*), it was ancient law for the chief warder (*kilercibaşı* or *ser-kâr-ı gıda*) and the *ağas* of his chamber to be in charge. Only if they were unable to take charge, was it up to the sultan's sword-bearer (who was also in charge of the gold dishes) to take over.⁷³ This was the case at Çömlek.

The sultan returned to Edirne after a day that he spent wandering around and regularly performing the *namaz* near the pool. The next section, an account of a drive at Kurdkayası, also begins with Mustafa Sâfi repeating that the sultan, absorbed in hunting, never neglected to perform the *namaz*.⁷⁴ Through such repeated references to Ahmed I's religiosity, Mustafa seems to have been trying to balance the sultan's lust for hunting and partying.

The Banquet at Kurdkayası

For the organization of the subsequent chase at Kurdkayası, the grand vizier Nasuh Paşa stepped in and asked for it to be handed over to him.⁷⁵ After all, the chase was an important component of ruling elite relations, military preparations, domestic administration, communications networks, and the search for political legitimacy. The food to be consumed on site was among the three main items on the grand vizier's agenda. In addition to general preparations and provisioning, he was to oversee the preparation of delicious dishes and countless delicacies (*et'ime-i hoş-güvâr* and *nefâis-i lezîze-i bî-şümâr*) for the sultan.⁷⁶ The *bostancibaşı* together with 300 additional *bostancıs* had moved to the hunting ground three or four days earlier. Kurdkayası was one *menzil* away from Edirne. It was a hillock overlooking the plains (*tell-i 'âlî ve püšte-i vesî'âtü'l hâvâli*). There are repeated references to the nearby oak groves.⁷⁷ Thousands of peasants from local villages, which since the days of the Ottoman conquest had repeatedly provided

manpower for such large-scale battues, drove wild bucks, hares, foxes, jackals, and other wild beasts to the hunting station. Mustafa Sâfi notes that since Süleyman I, animals in the wild (including *siğir*) had not been chased—they had not seen or heard hunters for a very long while.⁷⁸ It was icy cold, wet, and snowy in the camping area. Over and over again, Mustafa Sâfi emphasizes the harshness of the environment.

Tents were pitched at the top and the animals were gathered at the foot of the hill, after which the *bostancıbaşı* invited the sultan to the hunting ground.⁷⁹ All other viziers and commanders were gathered to watch from another station, out of the sultan's sight. This is a curious arrangement. If it was not due to lack of space at the summit, then it is possible that the sultan was singled out in an attempt at 'heroizing' him. As princely decorum was carefully maintained, the viziers and commanders stayed in their tents and waited for the grand vizier's invitation to the grand banquet.⁸⁰ It is worth noting that Mustafa Sâfi grumbles not only about the wind, snow, and frost, but also about the separation of the sultan's tent from the others—what he regards as his separation from the fire place, the "rose garden" of intimate friends. According to Mustafa Sâfi, under the prevailing weather conditions these were unbelievable orders.⁸¹ He adds a couple of words to expound on his own misery. He does not mince his words in complaining about all the hardships, yet in the same breath he also describes the grand vizier's efforts to prepare for the cooking, the talented cooks' and confectioners' energy and enthusiasm, how they mixed work with joy, and the magnificence of what was finally served, all with utmost admiration and delight. He repeatedly says that the grand vizier and other viziers had embarked on these preparations the day before the sultan's arrival.

Three days earlier, it seems, the grand vizier had sent cooking vessels, together with quick and dexterous cooks and sweetmakers, to the site, and had ordered delicious and artful food, sweets, and drinks to be prepared.⁸² At this point, the food and drinks destined for the sultan and his company are again listed generically as *nefâis-i et'ime-i lezîze*, *sanâif-i halâvat*, and *eşribe-i nefîse*, or even more generally as *envâ-ı ta'âm* and *ecnâs-ı nefâis-i lezzet hitâm*. Mustafa Sâfi then mentions the food prepared for the drovers, and in contrast to all previous generalizations, this time he is more specific. In several large cauldrons, the two staple dishes of *pilav* and *zerde* were cooked. Two others, *kalye* and *nehy-i perverde*, which were also prepared

in huge amounts, were dishes relatively rare (*nâ-dîde vü nâ-horde*), he says.⁸³ *Kalye* is a meat stew (ragout) with fruits and vegetables, while the latter, *neh-y-i perverde*, requires some explanation (see below).⁸⁴

Eight hours after sunset, the *bostancıbaşı* announced the sultan's arrival in the company of the chief of the black eunuchs Hacı Mustafa, the chief of the privy chamber Cafer Ağa, the sword-bearer Muhammed Ağa, the lackey in charge of sultan's costumes Ahmed Ağa, and the stirrup-holder İsmail Ağa. As soon as they arrived the sultan performed his *namaz*. Mustafa Sâfî celebrates the sultan's perseverance in the face of hardship with several couplets.

The description of the sultan's tent, as well as of the glittering tableware made out of gold and silver and encrusted with precious gems and pearls, is quite exceptional.⁸⁵ After resting for a while, the meal was served. The food is once more described in general terms: delicious dishes and sweets (*et'ime-i hoş-güvâr* and *ağdiye-i nefâset-medâr*). The porcelain and celadon serving sets, as many as stars in the sky, were equally dazzling.⁸⁶ The sultan, seated on a heavenly throne, sampled the various dishes and sweets set out on the lavish table and enjoyed socializing with his *agas*, *nedims*, and *musahibs* to the accompaniment of music. The grand vizier received gifts in return for his services.⁸⁷ At the same time food was sent out to the other dignitaries and commanders (*et'ime-i şehiyyesinden sofralar irsâl olunub*).⁸⁸ By then it was noon and time for prayers.

Then the grand vizier invited Ahmed I to the hunting ground,⁸⁹ but before he made a move, first the *odabaşı* and then the *silahdar* were asked to report on the approaching drovers and the game. Leaving the warmth and comfort of the tent and the delicious food waiting to be eaten, the sultan watched his entourage hunting in the blizzard. All along Mustafa Sâfî provides a running commentary on the weather.⁹⁰ The author then reflects on the cruelty and the manliness of the hunt, as well as its gifts and virtues. There follows a unique description of the hunt.⁹¹ The sultan himself did not participate in the chase. Later he distributed gold and silver to those who had presented what they had taken, dead or alive. After that it was supper time.

Mustafa Sâfî sings the praises of the cooks and the sweet-makers. He waxes eloquent about the food prepared by these talented chefs for supper. Although he still uses generic terms such as *nefâis-i et'ime-i hoş-güvâr* and

sanâif-i ağdiye-i câşnidâr, he does provide us with some crucial details. He says that these dishes were “prepared” (*ta‘biye*) with musk and ambergris, “cured” (*terbiye*) with selected other roots (*âkâkir-i muteber*), and “cooked” (slowly) over a weak fire (*âteş-i hâdiye*).⁹² This description is almost as good as a recipe.⁹³

Served on gold dishes and silver plates, the pleasant smells of these dishes perfumed the mind; the odor of pure musk (*miskiyye*) floated over the party. While the sultan sampled everything set out on the lavish table, the grand vizier watched him from a hidden corner of the royal tent, looking for signs of his satisfaction. What he witnessed was the dignified calmness of the sultan.⁹⁴ Could it be that the grand vizier was looking for more than signs of the sultan’s approval of his efforts to organize the banquet—including, perhaps, indications of whether the young and pious sultan might get intoxicated and lose his self-control? Mustafa Sâfi then highlights the sweet musky drinks that were offered,⁹⁵ together with rose-water, ambergris and other perfumes.⁹⁶ Those who ate at this sumptuous table stood up and prayed to God and for the sultan in gratitude. They then performed the *namaz*. Four hours after sunset, the sultan returned to the hunting lodge at Çömlek.

Drives at Karaağaç and Kurdkayası, and More Banquets the Following Winter

After he narrates the sultan’s return to Edirne, Mustafa Sâfi goes on to give a general account of the sultan’s hunting parties during his stay in Edirne. The two other drives, one at Karaağaç and the other again at Kurdkayası, are not described in detail. He only notes the aforementioned dates and the total number of game, which appears to have been copied from the registers kept by Haseki Hüseyin, the former *gulam-ı bostani* and *mülâzim-ı rikâb-ı sultani*. Meanwhile, he continues to relate the reasons for the royal hunt.⁹⁷ Strikingly, the views he expresses here are quite similar to the ones that I have found in an early seventeenth-century manuscript from the Topkapı Palace collection. This is an Ottoman Turkish translation of a medieval Arabic text, ‘*Umdat al-Mulûk*, under the title *Tuhfetü’l-mülûk ve’s-selatin* (The Gift of Kings and Sultans).⁹⁸ Dedicated to Ahmed I, the illustrated

manuscript comprises three sections, namely (1) Hippiatry; (2) Hippology and Horsemanship; and (3) Hunting. It seems to have been compiled and prepared around 1610, at a time when hunting was emerging not only as martial substitute, but also as a personal passion for the young sultan.⁹⁹

Back in the winter of 1612–13, the sultan kept hunting on the way to Istanbul, but no banqueting is recorded.¹⁰⁰ Next summer, he was back in his daily routine in the capital. On August 20, 1613 (Receb 4, 1022), we find him travelling from Çatalca to the hunting lodge at Halkalı, where the royal party was going to spend the night. This trip took an hour or two with the royal ladies and princes in their carriages (*harem-i muhterem arabaları ile*).¹⁰¹ The next day, after eating there (*mikdâr-ı kabûl tenâvül buyurduktan sonra*) the royal party returned to Çatalca where they were going to celebrate the holy night of *Regaib*.¹⁰² More hunting took place at the Çatalca and Halkalı hunting parks during their ten-day stay.¹⁰³ Mustafa Sâfi notes the scarcity of game and relates the sultan's positive interpretation: no hunt meant their emancipation from its sins.¹⁰⁴ The same year, in the holy month of Ramazan (October–November 1613), they moved to Davudpaşa where banquets and other entertainment took place, but no hunting.¹⁰⁵

Later that year, the sultan went on his third Edirne expedition. The royal party left Istanbul on November 22, 1613.¹⁰⁶ As usual, there was hunting at and around many of the way stations. At Burgaz a drive was organized. At lunch time (*kuşluk*), they were served abundant and delicious food, as well as bread that was soft and white; everything had been prepared by the mobile kitchen.¹⁰⁷ Arriving in Edirne on December 4, the court stayed there until February 1614.¹⁰⁸ This time Mustafa Sâfi was ordered to narrate the sultan's princely activities in verse.¹⁰⁹ He composed a *kasîde* which celebrates Ahmed's arrival in Edirne. Occasionally, it dwells on special moments of pleasure, ranging from boat trips to hunting parks to banquets. It also mentions a feast thrown by the grand vizier.¹¹⁰ The food, served in celadon dishes, was beyond description to those who did not sample it, says Mustafa Sâfi. The sweetmeats were perfumed either with musk (*mümessek*) or with anbergis (*mu'anber*). Then came sweet fruit stews, compotes which were beyond description, and various pure sherbets. Entertainments followed:

*Çü vakt-ı çâşt- oldı sadr-ı a 'zam
Çeküb ni 'met berây zayf-ı mükerrem*

*Getürdi mâide sultân önine
Ki 'akl irmez anun aslâ sonına*

*Nefâis kim anı vasf idemez dil
Anı zevk itmeyene vasf müşkil*

*Olur vasfında anun 'akl kâsır
K'anı fehm eylemekdir zevka dâir*

*Çekildi cümle sahn-ı mertebânı
Ki tefrîh eyler ol rûh-ı revânı*

*Gelüb etbâ-ı hulviyyât yekser
Mümessek kimi, kimisi mu'anber*

*Dökildi âhirinde cins-i hoş-âb
Ki kemm ü keyfi vasfı oldı nâyâb*

*İçildi gûne gûne şerbet-i nâb
Olundı teşne diller cümle sîrâb*

*Tamâm oldı çü fasl-ı pân-ı ni 'met
Açıldı bâb-ı hamd ü şükr ü minnet*

*Pes andan sonra şüst ü şûy oldı
Nedîmân içre güft ü gûy oldı*

*İdüb her biri bir dürlü zarâfet
Virür ol meclis-i inse tarâvet*

Nehy-i Perverde, the Forbidden Food

With regard to the food that was served to the hunting attendants and commoners (including both peasant and poor) who had participated in the chase as I have already noted, Mustafa Sâfi says that it consisted of *pilav*, *zerde* and *kalye*—"a dish they see very seldom" he adds—as well as something called *nehy-i perverde*.¹¹¹ Now *nehy* (A.) means "prohibited," and *perverde* (P.), which literally means nourished or cured, appears to have been a kind of sweet fruity dessert.¹¹² Since it was "prohibited," it is very likely that it was sweetened not with sugar or honey but with grape juice (*şıra*, which would acquire an alcoholic content through fermentation, eventually ending up as *şarap* [wine]).

What, then, was this thing that they ate, and which Mustafa Sâfi sees fit to refer to (in quasi-biblical terms) as "forbidden food?" Did wine really have something to do with it? Why should it have been *nehy* if indeed it was only unfermented grape juice that went into it? And was it only the hunting attendants and drovers to whom it was served, or could the sultan's *imam* and confidant have been passing over its presence at the royal table? Unfortunately, that is all that Mustafa Sâfi has to say about the rare and the extraordinary, that is to say both the *kalye* and the *nehy-i perverde*.¹¹³

A clue for the *perverde* comes from a fifteenth-century medical treatise, Tabîb İbn-i Şerîf's *Yâdigâr. Perverde-i hısrım*, a cure for the eyes, is explained in the text as an amalgam of spices diluted in sour, unripe grape juice (*koruk*).¹¹⁴ It is understood that garlic may also have been an ingredient of such a mixture (*perverde-i sevm*). A menu of the 1539 circumcision festival provides us with another clue. Among the twenty tables of desserts and sweets that were served after dinner on the night of the henna ritual, *perverdes* of carrot [jam], squash, and quince were listed together with marmalades, jams, puddings, preserves, and condiments.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, *kalye* made with quince (*ayva kalyesi*) was listed among the main servings.¹¹⁶

Some of the dishes listed in the 1539 banquet book are to be found in the cookbook of Muhammed bin Mahmûd Şirvanî, written in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁷ Based on Al-Bağdadî's *Kitabü't-tabih mine 'l-et'ime fi kable't-tibb* of 1226–27, it includes two dishes, *tuffahiye* and *seferceliye*, the recipes for which mention *perverde* as a term denoting fruits cooked with sugar.¹¹⁸ (Both of these medieval cookbooks were once part

of the Topkapı Palace collections.) The dishes in question differ only by their main ingredient: the first is a dish prepared with apples and the second with quinces. For every two *okkas* of apples or quinces (pure and sweet), 300 *dirhems* of sugar, 150 *dirhems* of almonds, 100 *dirhems* of dates, and an *okka* of mutton, lamb, or poultry were added. First the meat would be cooked to become *kalye*, then 250 *dirhems* of sugar would be melted in a pot, and 200 *dirhem* of fruits would be cooked in this sugar (*ol şeker içinde perverde bişüre*) to reach a certain consistency. Rose water would be gradually added to dilute the mixture and then cooked again to reach *perverde* thickness. This would be repeated three times. Then the fruits would be taken out of the dish one by one. The meat, taken out of its juice and added to the sugary mixture, would be caramelized and then left to rest. The remaining *okka* of apples or quinces would be pounded in a wooden mortar, squeezed, and then drained through a cloth (*astar*). The pot used to cook the meat would be cleaned, and the apple or pear juice poured in. All the almonds would be finely chopped, one hundred *dirhems* of them placed in the pot, and the meat and sugar paste (still called *perverde*) added. Then the remaining fruits would be cut into pieces and added, as well as some saffron, diluted in rose water, plus fifteen *dirhems* of starch, also diluted in rose water. Dates, halved and seeded, and half a seed of musk, diluted in rose water, would also be added, and the whole dish would be salted. Fifty *dirhems* of sugar would be pounded, added to chopped up almonds, some more musk would be diluted in rose water. The meat would be topped with apples or pears and sprinkled with rose water and sugared almonds.

Mustafa Sâfi's repeated references not to *kebab* (skewered meat) or *külbastı* (grilled meat) but to *kalye*, a meat stew with vegetables and fruits, suggest that they were eating "marinated" meat. Furthermore, the stew in question was not *yahni* (also a meat dish but cooked only with onion or garlic and sometimes with chickpeas), but *kalye*.¹¹⁹ This further reinforces the idea that there was an emphasis on curing meat in fruit juices. An eighteenth-century cookbook by a Mevlevî dervish gives recipes for marinating.¹²⁰ Certainly wine or any other liquid containing alcohol is an impermissible medium for marinating meat. Neither could it be used to cook with or in. However, unripe grapes or their juice or reduced juice would all be used as souring agents. In contrast, grape molasses, produced by boiling down grape juice, served as a sweetener.

The pious Muslim believer was enjoined to avoid alcohol completely, but those who wanted to consume it could resort to a variety of excuses. Thus for some, wine that was diluted or boiled was acceptable. Hence there could be yet another explanation for *nehy-i perverde*. There is the possibility that *nehy-i perverde* referred to some red wine punch marinated with fruits and flavored with spices which they drank warm at the Ottoman court.¹²¹ It would certainly be welcomed in the bitter cold that prevailed during some of these hunting parties. Elsewhere, Mustafa Sâfi refers to various royal sherbets, made from fruit juices, extracts of flowers, or herbs mostly combined with sugar and water to form a syrup that was later thinned with water, ice, or even snow. He notes that when consumed, such sherbets prepared those of manly posture for freedom (towards pure love). Could this be a euphemism for intoxication? Food and drinks being consumed, happiness prevailed, he says, and they moved on:

*İçildi gûne gûne şerbet-i hâss
Ki ihzâr eylemiş ol merdi ihlâs*

*Yenildi et'ime şerbet içildi
Sa'âdetle turub andan göçüldü*¹²²

There is more than a sense of innuendo to these verses about playful relaxation. In some sherbet recipes the ingredients are diluted in wine vinegar, suggesting intoxicating qualities.¹²³ The whole complex field of Islam and wine consumption cannot really be tackled within the limits of this study.¹²⁴ I can only conclude this section by pointing to a reference to “uncooked” and therefore also “cooked” wine in a story in Firdausi’s *Shah-name* (Book of Kings), the monumental epic written around AD 1000, and repeatedly copied and adapted also by the Ottomans. It recounts the conflict between Esfandiyar, a king’s son, and the champion and hero, Rostam.¹²⁵ Prior to battle they converse, and Esfandiyar says:

“There is no point in our boasting any more
About our countless victories in war;
Enough of who won what, and who was killed;
The day’s half done, we need our stomachs filled!

Let them bring food for us, and while we eat
 No one's to talk of victory or defeat!"
 As Rostam ate the lamb they brought him there
 His appetite made all others stare;
 Esfandyar said, "Serve him with uncooked wine,
 Let it affect him while we sit and dine,
 And when the wine has made his tongue grow loose
 We'll hear him chatter about King Kavus!"
 The steward brought a cup in which a boat—
 Or so it seemed—could have been set afloat.

This takes me to another problem area, the relationship between game and canonically lawful eating. The Hanafî *madhhab* followed by the Ottomans recognized a relatively straightforward list of *halal* and *haram* animals for purposes of consumption.¹²⁶ We also know that the royal hunters were keen to set free all *haram* game that was captured alive (*me'kûlü'l-lâhm olmayan şikârları âzâd itmeğile*).¹²⁷ The observations of Julien Bordier, squire to the French ambassador to Istanbul (Baron de Salignac, 1604–12), regarding the fate of wolves and jackals (and more generally of all hunted game) are interesting because the author touches upon an issue that is known to have confronted Muslim hunters since the time of the Prophet. "Some wild animals are distributed among the non-Muslim slaves," Bordier says, "for the Turks only rarely eat venison, and then mainly of such animals that have been [have had their throat] cut by human hands, so as to allow their blood to flow, following in this the rules of Judaism."¹²⁸ So according to this interpretation of Koranic law, the hunter was (is) subject to rules regarding the ritual slaughter of captured game in order to preserve the lawfulness, the *halal* nature, of his consumption.

Furthermore, while Europeans hunted with muskets, as already indicated the Ottoman elite did not go shooting with firearms. In fact, Bordier notes not only that the game in Turkey was very abundant, but also that it was almost domesticated because Muslims did not hunt by shooting.¹²⁹ According to Mustafa Sâfi, and also as witnessed by Bordier, Ahmed I (like his predecessors) was dedicated to the low-flying bird-hunt even during a chase for larger game. To preserve the lawfulness of consuming the hunted animal, they had to refrain from killing the game on the spot and then pick-

ing it up dead. Instead, its throat had to be cut ritually. Clearly, it was much more difficult to refrain from killing any animal outright in the case of hunting by shooting (with muskets), than if the game was hunted with dogs or raptors. Consider the following *fatwas* by Ebussud:¹³⁰ Is game shot with a musket or trapped lawful [to eat]? Yes. If the hounds (released with a *besmele*) should happen to kill the game and to eat a bit of it, is the rest lawful [to eat]? No. If the hound should somehow be distracted on its way to the catch, if it should first hide and crouch down in ambush, and then catches up with and kills the animal, is it lawfully edible? No, not if crouching and prowling is not in its nature. If it is a leopard that has been released to a *besmele*, and then the leopard crouches and prowls in ambush prior to killing the prey, is the game lawfully edible? Yes, because crouching is part of the leopard's nature. —These *fatwas* fully reflect the difficulties and complications of Islamic belief and law in the face of the material realities of hunting. Such difficulties may be said only to have grown with the increasing spread and ascendancy of firearms. Thus Muslim debates about the legitimacy of hunting by shooting did not immediately disappear with the passage of time. In Tunis in the nineteenth century, for example, Sheikh Muhammad Bayram wrote a whole treatise devoted to this issue.¹³¹

We also need to consider the season in which hunting took place. From the *fatwa* point of view, questions such as “Can we hunt birds and animals at any time?” have tended to be assimilated to the (further) question of “Without any need for food, just for pleasure and enjoyment?”¹³² What was especially at issue was the reproduction cycle in the wild. In Europe, June was traditionally the “fence month” for red deer, when hinds dropped their calves and the herds of deer were left undisturbed by hunting or any other interference. This period was the medieval equivalent of a closed season.¹³³ Aristocratic hunting differed from commoners' hunting in observing the “fence month,” the season of non-hunting or not disturbing the red deer. It could be argued that the imposition of a closed season is not a technique of hunting, but that it is certainly part of an aristocratic approach, ethos, or methodology in a wider sense. The other side of the coin is just as much a class-based notion of the best seasons for hunting specific animals.¹³⁴

Visualizing the Banquet

Despite some fascinating puzzles that remain, Mustafa Sâfi's descriptions of the feasts, and especially of the second one described above, remove all previous uncertainties regarding the consumption of game (other than birds) at the Ottoman royal table. As for the manner of cooking and presentation, might we be permitted to assume that it differed little from European practice? There, game birds, such as wild goose, wild duck, wood pigeon, pheasant, partridge, and black and red grouse, were generally cooked whole. It is furred game (including all types of deer, chamois, wild boar, rabbit, and hare) that is likely to have been both prepared for roasting and also (with the flesh removed and chopped up) used in stews (ragouts). The most popular roasting joints were the saddle (or the back), the leg (the haunch), and the shin (or shank). For stews, cuts from the neck, the breast, the head, and the belly, as well as the heart and liver, were preferred. Chopped small(er), lower grade raw meat, as well as any leftovers of already cooked meat, were used together with the bones to make soups. Cutlets were taken from the haunch, shank, sirloin, or the boned saddle. Larger game animals provided juicy spare ribs or chops. The sirloin and the saddle provided good medallion pieces. Offal—the heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, and tongue—could all be made into stews and pies.¹³⁵

I would argue that these vivid textual descriptions were increasingly reflected in a growing dimension of realism in Ottoman miniatures. Thus, whole cooked fowl and stews, grills, and roasts (with great variations in rice dishes) come to be depicted frequently in Ottoman miniatures showing outdoor banquet scenes. Appearing more often from the turn of the seventeenth century, such miniatures start employing an innovative iconography.¹³⁶ For example, a remarkable miniature reflecting the social setting of the royal hunt is dated to the last decades of the sixteenth century and bound in a *muraqqa* made in Istanbul for Ahmed I's grandfather¹³⁷ (Figure 1). It is a tripartite painting, composed of three horizontal bands, featuring a hunt at the top, a princely garden party in the middle, and a feasting and frolicking group at the bottom.¹³⁸ The middle panel depicts an outdoor entertainment with an enthroned young prince and royal lady—perhaps his mother (she appears larger than the prince)—who are being offered food and drink in the company of musicians and dancers. This princely gathering

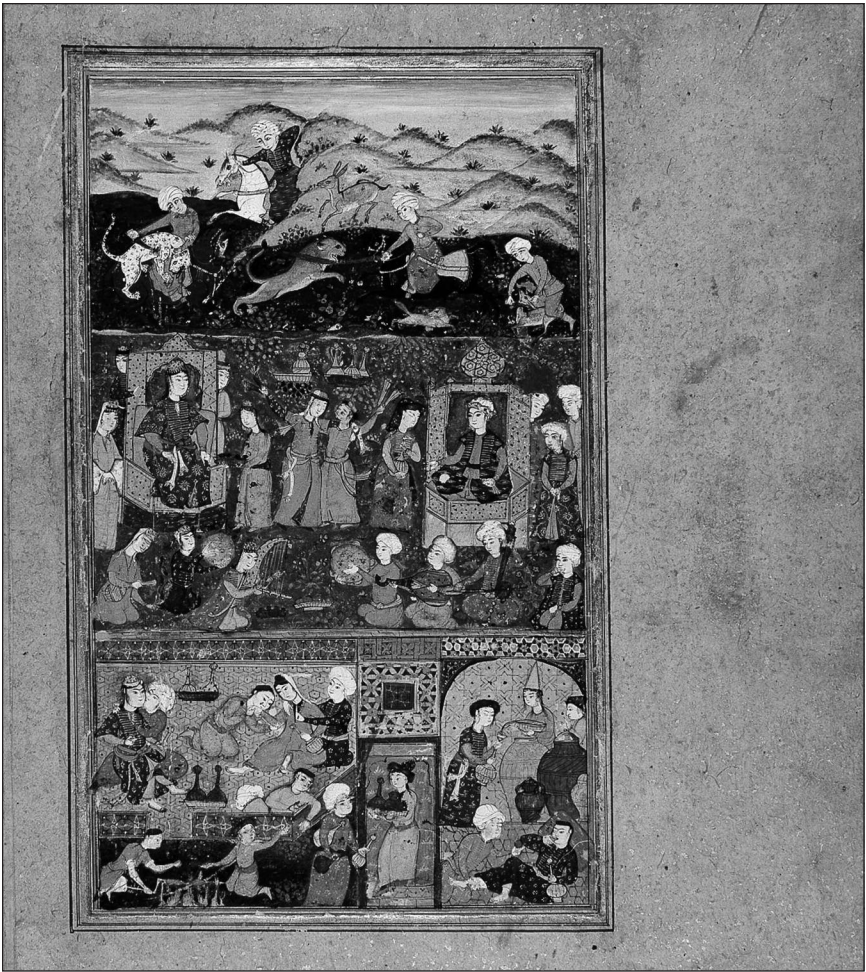


Figure 1. *Muraqqa* of Murad III : Vienna, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Codex Mixtus 313, 28b. Hunt, a princely party, and feasting.

conforms to the prevalent iconography of banquet scenes in Persian *shah-namas*. What is below it, however, is an imaginative genre scene. In a tavern- or brothel-like setting, servants are filling pitchers of wine from large vats and serving amorous couples. On one side, meat is being roasted on a spit.¹³⁹ Other seventeenth-century miniatures featuring outdoor



Figure 2a. Tercüme-i Miştâh Cifrü'l-Câmî :
İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library B. 373 (1597-98), 243b.
Men and women feasting in a garden under trees.



Figure 2b. Tercüme-i Miştâh Cifrü'l-Câmî :
İstanbul, İstanbul University Library, T. 6624.
Men and women feasting in a garden under trees.

banquet scenes, very similar in composition to the middle panel, were mostly compiled in albums (such as the one known as the *Ahmed I Album*), and were possibly made to match with hunting scenes.¹⁴⁰

This is not a unique occurrence; too many other examples exist for it to be attributed to non-realistic symbolism. Two copies (perhaps a decade apart) of a contemporary manuscript on the occult, *Tercüme-i Miftâh Cifrü'l-Câmî*, also contain miniatures which depict leisurely royal parties where the sultan, the sultana, and her ladies-in-waiting figure prominently. These banquet or outdoor entertainment scenes, based on Persian (and Sasanian) prototypes, may be interpreted so as to support only that part of Shepherd's argument (referred to at the beginning of this article), that has to do with the origins of such scenes in a religious, rather than a secular, iconography. Thus one of the scenes in *Tercüme-i Miftâh Cifrü'l-Câmî* relates to the Apocalyptic punishment, the sending of the wind that, it is believed, would kill all true believers so that in the end only the sinful would suffer the Apocalypse. It is represented by a group of people in frivolous entertainment outdoors, that is to say "in nature"¹⁴¹ (Figure 2). In the earlier copy, while two women playing a *def* and a *çeng* accompany a third who is dancing, yet another woman serves a drink to a youth seated cross-legged on a throne. In the later copy, the female figures are replaced by males, and the cup-bearer is replaced by a young man reading a book. The second copy was prepared in the reign of Ahmed I. This change may have been introduced to please the pious sultan, or perhaps some in his immediate retinue, on the assumption that he might not have tolerated representations of women, especially in such a setting.

In the *Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selatin*'s section on hunting, there are several more princely scenes depicting a ruler enthroned and carrying his royal insignia (notably the Persian-style crown), occasionally with a falcon on his wrist. These representations of the royal hunter in the company of his attendants were apparently made to match with representations of ladies partying¹⁴² (Figure 3). These miniatures where the sultan, the sultana, and her ladies-in-waiting figure prominently remind one of those found in the *Tercüme-i Miftâh Cifrü'l-Câmî*.¹⁴³ In one group are shown only the sultana and her attendants shooing away flies, while the entertainers are depicted in a separate group. It is possible that the depictions of the sultana (participating in hunting parties) were originally meant to be put together, face to



Figure 3a. *Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selâtin* : İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library H. 415 (ca. 1610), 240b-241a. Women's outdoor entertainment and hunters.

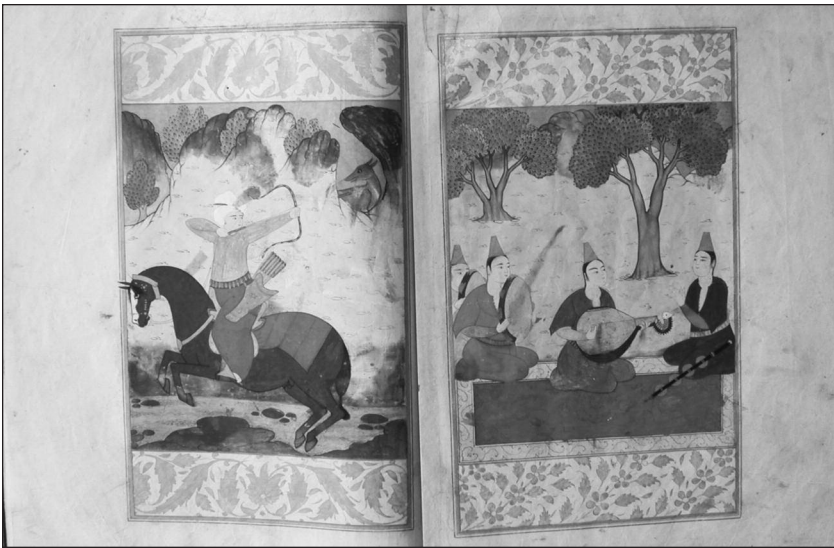


Figure 3b. *Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selâtin* : İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Library H. 415 (ca. 1610), 241b-242a. Women's outdoor entertainment and hunters.

face, with compositions comprising musicians and dancers, so as to create a more impressive double-folio of playfulness. Unfortunately, all these are in disarray, and there is no way of telling how they were intended to be coupled.¹⁴⁴

Shepherd identifies three motifs as evidence that such representations do not reflect an earthly feast. These are a diadem, a (wine) cup and a flower (or bowl of fruits, particularly pomegranates). All three are missing from all these various Ottoman miniatures. The Ottoman adoption and translation of established canons of Islamic visual culture into a new representational language cannot be denied or mistaken for anything else.¹⁴⁵ More fundamentally, there is no reason why real-life scenes should not have been fitted into a religious, legitimating framework. Hence, the hunting and banqueting of Ahmed I materializes as a product of culture with an organic relation to the society in which it was produced.

In the *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, Mustafa Sâfi seems to have been preparing himself to write a history of Ahmed I's reign, perhaps in the form of an illustrated book of kings. The format of the *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih* is fairly standard and takes after the earlier *şehnames*. It is a format developed by Arifi, who was appointed to the post of *şehnameci* by Süleyman I around 1550, and enhanced by Seyyid Lokman (in office: 1569–96) as well as by Talik-izâde Suphi Mehmed Efendi (1596–99).¹⁴⁶ In the manner of earlier *şehnamecis*, Mustafa Sâfi incorporates a wealth of anecdotes narrated by those who accompanied the sultan on various hunting occasions. Also in the manner of previous writers of Ottoman official histories, Mustafa Sâfi cites his informants' positions and praises their deeds, thereby underlining the reliability of his own account. The persona of Ahmed I is constructed so as to bring out his prowess, righteousness, or piousness, that is to say, his regal attributes. It is worth noting at this point that Mustafa Sâfi seems to have been quite keen to give a balanced account of the sultan's qualities—hence he represents him as one who never failed to perform *namaz* even during the most strenuous and/or the wildest hunting parties.

Where the author becomes really innovative, however, diverging from previous models and patterns, is when he chooses to narrate Ahmed I's hunting banquets in some detail as part of his efforts to exalt his sovereign. He chooses to reflect on Ahmed I's passion for the hunt not by mimicking the constructs of Firdousi's *Shahname*, but by relating what he himself witnessed.

Perhaps this is also why, when it comes to the banquets, it is not the sultan's customary generosity, but the skills of the cooks and sweetmakers or the organizational talents of the grand vizier that Mustafa Sâfi praises. In this way, these banquets are immediately situated outside pure convention and lifted (or lowered?) to a more realistic plane. Furthermore, the amount of detail that he incorporates on both hunting and feasting practices, including the preparations, the setting, the weather, and the staff employed, is all capable of being easily translated into visual imagery. I would argue that this was actually what he intended. The text as we have it is like a first draft of a *şehname*, needing, apart from more secondary reorganization, only the miniatures of the verbally described scenes to make it explicitly into a genuine book of kings. It is possible that if he had had the time, eventually such images, too, might have been prepared and included.

Notes

1. Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003), p. 16. Almond refers to King Alfonso of Castile (r. 1312–1350) who was echoing the ideas of Xenophon about the similarities between war and hunting. See: Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, *Pisanello: Painter to the Renaissance Court* (London: National Gallery Co Ltd, 2002), p. 85.
2. *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa Âli's Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idü'l-Mecâlis "Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings"*, annotated English translation by Douglas S. Brookes, *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* 59 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2003), p. 38. See also: Muhammed b. Ali b. Süleyman er-Ravendî, *Râhat-üs-Sudûr ve Âyet-üs-Sürûr* II, tr. Ahmet Ateş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1960), p. 398.
3. There is an impressive literature which deals with topics ranging from the history of leisure and sports to honor, poaching, woodlands, forest laws, popular politics, and hunting. See for example: Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. chs. 1 and 5; Dan Beaver, "The Great Deer Massacre: Animals, Honor, and Communication in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 38 (1999): pp. 187–216. The latter, a study of the massacre of several hundred deer in a Gloucestershire chase belonging to the Earl of Middlesex in October 1642, illustrates the social and cultural significance of hunting and of venison in order to emphasise that

the slaughter was a calculated insult to the earl and an attack on his status. This was revenge for the earl's aggressive pursuit of poachers and woodcutters.

4. Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 196–97.
5. Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, pp. 196–97.
6. For a bibliography on Ottoman hunting: Tülay Artan, “A Book of Kings Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting,” *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): pp. 299–330.
7. Dorothy G. Shepherd, “Banquet and Hunt in Medieval Islamic Iconography,” in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 79–94 (see p. 80 in particular).
8. At other times, this canon either persists in identifying the gender of the beloved as always female or altogether ignores those texts with an explicitly sexual content. For a recent example of this approach see: Ahmet Atilla Şentürk, “Osmanlı Şiirinde Aşka Dair,” *Doğu Batı* 7/26 (2004): pp. 55–68. For a critical evaluation of the prevalent conventional approaches: Kemal Sılay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court: Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change*, Indiana University Turkish Studies Series: XIII (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1994); Selim S. Kuru, “Naming the Beloved in Ottoman Turkish Gazel. The Case of İshak Çelebi (d. 1537/8),” in *Ghazal as World Literature*, vol. 2, *From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition: The Ottoman Gazel in Context*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Hess, Judith Pfeiffer, and Boerte Sagaster (Beirut: Ergon Verlag, 2005–2006), pp. 163–73; Selim S. Kuru, “Sex in the Text: Deli Birader’s Dâfi’ü’l-gumûm ve Râfi’ü ‘l-humûm and the Ottoman Literary Canon,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 10/2 (2007): pp. 157–74. Also see a recent study which compares the gendering tactics in Ottoman texts with those in European examples: Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).
9. Celalzâde Mustafa, *Tabaqât ül-memâlik ve derecât ül-mesâlik*, in *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557*, ed. Petra Kappert (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), fol. 205a. For the *Tabaqât* and other primary sources relating to Süleyman I’s hunting parties: Melis Taner, “‘Power to Kill’: A Discourse of the Royal Hunt during the Reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I” (MA thesis, Sabanci University, 2009).
10. The two volumes of the *Hünernâme* (Book of Talents) contain many references to and several miniatures depicting the hunter-sultan: Topkapı Palace

- Museum Library, H. 1523 and H. 1524 respectively. Zekeriya Eroğlu, “Şehnâmeçi Lokmân’ın Hüner-nâme’si” (2. cilt, 1–154. varak) (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 1998), fol. 88b: *ve melek ü mülükden âvâze’-i âferin güş-ı câne irişüp ve sine’-i virânî kebâb kılınup erbâb-ı nezzâreye takdim ve tenâvül buyurdular*. Eroğlu suggests *sağan* for the deer in question, but this is not correct; see: Mesut Şen, “Geyik,” in *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Hilal Oytun Altun (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008), pp. 75–88. In his transliteration of Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa’s *Vekâyî’-Nâme*, Fahri Derin, too, has preferred *sağan*: Fahri Ç. Derin, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî’-Nâmesi (Osmanlı Tarihi [1648–1682])* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2008), p. 217 (fol. 70b), p. 273 (fol. 86a), p. 282 (fol. 88b), p. 288 (fol. 90b), p. 321 (fol. 99a), p. 345 (fol. 106a). Only thereafter does he express his doubts, preferring *sıgın* and putting *sağan* in parentheses: pp. 346–47 (fol. 106b), p. 353 (fol. 108b).
11. For the miniature: fols. 87b–88a; see: Nurhan Atasoy, *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı Kültüründe Bahçe ve Çiçek* (İstanbul: Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım, 2002), p. 231.
 12. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1524, fol. 70a.
 13. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1524, fol. 81a. The accompanying miniature shows the hunt, not the banquet: fol. 80b.
 14. *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 39–40.
 15. November 4, 1604, hawking at Rumili Bahçesi: *Zübdetü’-Tevârih* II, fols. 28a–29a.
 16. *Mustafa Sâfi’nin Zübdetü’-Tevârih’i*, ed. İ. H. Çuhadar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), vol. 1, fol. 145a. Mustafa Sâfi mentions a short hunt coupled with picnicking (involving *yimeklik*): *Ol şehin-şâh-ı cihân, ol pâdi-şâh-ı barr ü berr/ Hazret-i Sultan Ahmed Hân-ı pür-fazl ü hüner hazretleri bir gün kasd-ı şikâr ve ‘azm-i geşt ü güzâr ile bir rahş-ı safâ-bahşe-süvâr ve bir kûhe-i bedü’-n-nakş üzre üstüvâr olub sarây-ı ‘âmir istilâhınca yimeklik diyü tâ’bir olunan hareket vechi üzre beytüye niyyeti ile ‘azîmet idüb*.
 17. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 164a.
 18. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 145b.
 19. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 145b.
 20. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 155a.
 21. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 155b: *anda tabbâhân-ı pâkize dest ü rû ve aş-pezân-ı tâhir-i bâ vuzû ihzâr itdikleri ta’am-ı hõş-güvarı tenâvül ve kâsehâ-yı şerbet-i tayyibetü’-l-âşârı tedâvül buyurub*.
 22. *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 164b. The 1605 Edirne expedition is briefly mentioned also in: *Zübdetü’-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 183b–184a. See also:

Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), p. 610.

23. Documents pertaining to the hunting parties of Mehmed IV that I have studied reveal that the high-ranking hunting attendants received a regular bread allocation. These reflected their rank and status. Likewise, each one received a variety of other foodstuffs. For two such documents, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BAO) DBŞM 351 (1089) and DBŞM 210 (1070). The latter lists not only bread and meat, but also rice, chickpeas, (broken) wheat, and onions; clarified butter and sesame oil; salt and black pepper, yoghurt, honey, vinegar, and almonds; beeswax.
24. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B. 408, fol. 24a. A sparrow-hawk (*atmaca*) standing on a perch, H. 2153, fol. 98a; a golden eagle on a perch, H. 2153, fol. 109a; a white falcon (*akdoğan*) on a cushion perch, H. 2154, fol. 17b. See also British Library, Or 2709: p. 21, a goshawk standing on a perch; p. 22, a partridge on a rock. There were also those compiled in albums: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1263, fol. 17a, H. 2164, fols. 7a, 9b, 10b, 13b, 22b, 44a, 52b.
25. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 151b: *bâz-ı 'âli pervazlar ile aldıkları altı cenâh şikârın keyfiyyet-i saydın ve anların sûret-i zabt u kaydın ahsen-i ta 'bir ile beyân ve ebyen-i tefsir ile takrîr u 'ayân idüb.*
26. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 148b.
27. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 156a ff.
28. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 208b: *onsekiz re's âhû-yı müşk-bû ve yüz elli hargûş-ı rübûde-hûş ve kırk rübâh-ı bâ-intubâh ve birkaç gürg-i sütünrg bulunub.* This last adjective has elsewhere been mistakenly transcribed as *sütrük* or *setürğ*.
29. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 223a: *on iki re's âhû ve otuz üç rübâh ve yüz yigirmi yedi hargûş ve bir gürg-i sütünrg alınmışdur.*
30. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 225b–226a.
31. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 204a–211b.
32. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 211b–229a.
33. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 223a.
34. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 227a.
35. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, 203a. For the numbers of animals captured during the third hunting trip to Edirne: *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, 359a.
36. Fahri Ç. Derin, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, pp. 224, 273, 288, 336, 337.
37. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 72b.

38. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 86a.
39. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 90b.
40. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 103b.
41. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 104a.
42. Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 9.
43. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 38a.
44. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 54b.
45. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 62a.
46. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 85b.
47. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 61a.
48. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 66a.
49. *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyî'-Nâmesi*, fol. 87a.
50. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 184b–185a.
51. The *Dârü's-sa'âde* unit under their chief el-Hâc Mustafa Ağa moved two days before the rest of the sultan's retinue. On 31 December (Zilkade 8, 1021), the sultan started on his way. Included in his entourage were palace attendants such as the taster (*çâşnigîr*) as well as some of his royal guards, the *sipâhiyân* and the *silahdârân*. Among those dignitaries, both in office and retired, who accompanied him were the *şeyhülislam* Mevlânâ Muhammed Efendi, the instructor (*muallim*) of the princes Mevlânâ Ömer, the chief royal physician Mevlânâ Musa, as well as Davud Paşa, (Nakkaş?) Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa, and Halil Paşa. Also present was the military judge of Rumeli Damad, Mevlânâ Muhammed, together with his predecessors Mevlânâ Es'adu'd-dîn, Yahya Efendi, Mevlânâ Mustafa, Mevlânâ 'Abdü'l-'Azîz, and Taşköpri-zâde Mevlânâ Kemâlû'ddîn. The military judge of Anadolu, Ganîzâde Mevlânâ Muhammed, was similarly accompanied by his predecessors Bostanzâde Mevlânâ Muhammed and Ahîzâde Mevlânâ Hüseyin. They all arrived in Edirne on January 8 (Zilkade 16). See *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 184b–186a.
52. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 189a–189b and 190a–190b: (1) At Florya, the first halting station after Davudpaşa, the Sultan's party stayed at the royal hunting lodge: *anda karârgâh-ı selâtîn ve neşîmen-i şikârgâh-ı havâkîn olan bağçe-i pür-behce kasr-ı 'âlisinde nüzûl buyurdu. Ve ol gice anda havâss-ı mukarrebîn ve nedîmân-ı edeb-âyn ile hakânî sohbet ve gicenin bir bahşi geçince müfâveza ve müsâhabet idüb;* (2) at Büyükçekmece, they stayed in a convent house: *serîr-i saltanat-masîr üzre ârâm ve ol dâr u diyârı didâr-saadet-âsârı ile şâdgâm eyledi.*

53. In their first stop at Florya, past Küçükçekmece, Ahmed I was keen to perform his prayers: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 188b–189a.
54. Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, pp. 196–97.
55. Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, pp. 196–97.
56. Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, pp. 196–97.
57. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 204b.
58. Various hawk species that are mentioned are *sunkur*, *şahin* or *balaban*.
59. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 203b–204a: *hergün bir sebzezarı şikâr ve ah-yânen taraf-ı nehârda bir küşe vü kenârı ... sürgün şikârını arzû ve meyl-i sayd-ı hargûş (204a) ve rûbâh u âhû eylemeğin, bostancıbaşı kullarına bu vechile emr-i 'âlî-kadr sâdır oldu ki, mahmiye-i Edrene havâlisinde olan şikârgâhlardan saydı çok ve vühûş-i behâiminin hadd ü pâyânı yok bir mahalli teaharrî itdikten sonra hizmetinde olan bostancılar ve kadîm-i eyyâm ve ezmân-ı selâtîn-i 'ızâmdan bu mekûle şikârlarda istihdâm ve bunun emsâli kârlarda kıyâm üzere oligelen reayâdan bir nice karye ehâlisi ile üç gün mukadden varub, etrâf ü cevânibinden bir kaç günlük mesâfe-i ihâta vü zabt ve medâhil ü mehâricini sedd ü rabt ba 'dehû ol kadar mesâfe içinde âremide olan vühûş ü canverânı manzar-ı pâdişâhî ve mahall-ı nazar-ı şehinşâhî olacak yere sevk tarîki ile remide idüb.*
60. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 205a: *ol şikârgâhın etrâf u cevânibîn tutub kûh ü hâmûn ve ol mîşezâr-ı bî-çend ü çün hılâlinde sükûn iden vühûşî çî rûbâh ve çî har-gûş ve çî âhû ve çî gürg-i pür-hûrûşî sürüb, ol sahraları ince elekten süzüb.*
61. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 205b.
62. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 206a.
63. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 207a.
64. Compare with: Ebba Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting*, Occasional Papers (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998).
65. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 208b.
66. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 209a: *Çâşni ve lezzeti vasf olunsa nebât-ı hamavînin kadr-i pest ü hiç ve ehl-i mezâk huzûrunda zikr olunsa, cevâbı "şekerin ez, suyun iç" olur. Keyfiyyet-i hıffeti kemmiyet-i kesretini toyurmaz ve kemâl-i hâzimiyyeti kenârında ekl-i ta 'am edeni asla toyurmaz.* Even the most reliable dictionaries do not yield any information on *nebât-ı hamavî* (misspelt in the current edition as *hamevî*). The other references that I was able to find are in Evliyâ Çelebi. It appears as *Hamavî katr-ı nebât/ Ham[e]vî kandü 'n-nebât* (vol. 1, pp. 278, 289, 360; vol. 2, pp. 206, 171, 190; vol. 3, p. 142; vol.

4, pp. 76, 159, 172; vol. 10, p. 250); *katr-ı nebât-ı Hamavî* (vol. 1, p. 289; vol. 2, pp. 206, 171; vol. 3, p. 142; vol. 4, p. 159; vol. 5, pp. 125, 313; vol. 7, p. 110; vol. 8, pp. 45, 294; vol. 9, pp. 59, 96; vol. 10, p. 179), and *kand-i nebât-ı Ham[e]vî/kand-i nebât-ı Ham[e]viyyât* (vol. 1, pp. 278, 289, 360; vol. 2, pp. 206, 171, 190; vol. 3, p. 142; vol.4, pp. 76, 159, 172; vol. 10, p. 250): *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini. 1-10 kitap, ed. O. Ş. Gökyay, Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007). See also: Robert Dankoff, *Evlîya Çelebi in Bitlis 1655–1656: Relevant Section of the Seyahatname 1655–56* [Leiden: Brill, 1999], p. 310 [fol. 278b)]. Still, *nebât-ı hamavî* can be identified as some kind of sugar from Hama, a town near Aleppo. (Syria had some of the best sugar cane reserves in the Middle Ages.) It appears to have consisted of large crystals of pure sugar that were given to people needing a jolt of energy. Apparently, this special sugar from Hama also had excellent digestive properties. Crystallized sugar is regularly listed in the daily or monthly kitchen allocations of the royal family and high-ranking dignitaries, and it was also used as an ingredient in traditional remedies for coughs and colds. Hence it seems to fall somewhere between a placebo and a homeopathic cure. It is a reminder of a time when sugar was a luxury and was accorded miraculous qualities. *Nebât-ı hamavî* was considerably more expensive than other kinds of sugar. See Ömer Lütfî Barkan, “İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri,” *Belgeler IX/13* (1979): p. 90.*

67. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 210a.
68. Felicity Heal, “Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England,” *Past and Present* 199, (May 2008): pp. 41–70.
69. Gelibolulu Âli gives priority to venison. “Second in order,” he says, “are the cranes, geese, pheasants, partridges that fly like the *hüma* bird—all the foods of manifest superiority belonging to the category of game birds.” Thirdly, he lists the beasts and quadrupeds the eating of some of which is permitted, and “whose fresh meat yields a delicious taste unequalled anywhere.” Included are gazelles and hares. Fourthly, he lists fish, the consuming of which he finds manifestly delectable. (It should be noted that Gelibolu alludes to attractive young males as also game.) Sixteenth-century palace account books studied by Barkan, as well as Evliya’s numerous references to hunting parties and banquets, help to identify the game animals consumed by the Ottoman elite in the environs of İstanbul: Ömer Lütfî Barkan, “İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri,” *Belgeler IX/13*, (1979), pp. 1–380; *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdad 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu-Dizini I*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), pp. 194, 196, 208, 254. In Europe, it is venison that also appears most regularly in literature about food giving. We are told that “even the physicians, who were uneasy

that the timorous nature of the deer might infect its eaters, often swallowed their dietary doubts when faced with the food of lords. Andrew Boorde, a doctor, confessed somewhat hesitantly to an affection for venison, adding ‘I am sure it is a lordes dysshe, and I am sure it is good for an Englysshe man, for it doth animate hym to be as he is; whiche is stronge and hardye’” (Andrew Boorde, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge made by Andrew Borde, of physycke doctor. A compendyouy regyment; or, A dyetary of helth made in Mountpyllier*, ed. Frederic James Furnivall, Extra Series [London: published for the Early English Text Society, 1870], pp. 274–75), after Heal, “Food Gifts,” p. 57. Heal also notes the contrast here with the pattern revealed for a slightly earlier period in Chris Woolgar’s study of three East Anglian households of the fourteenth century. No gifts of venison were recorded, indeed it is not mentioned in any of the accounts, and, beyond the ubiquitous capons, the most common offerings were swans and fish, including salted herring (Chris Woolgar, “Diet and Consumption in Gentry and Noble Households: A Case Study from around the Wash”, in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss*, ed. Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker [London: Hambledon Press, 1995], pp. 17–32).

70. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 210a.
71. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 210b–211a.
72. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 210a: *âş-pezân-ı sebük-dest ve helvaciyân-ı şeker-şikest ahşâmdan tabh u ihzâr ve tertibinde san'atlar ihzâr itdikleri nefâis-i et'ime ve hulviyyât-ı nefîse-i mütenevvi'ayı nazar-ı iksîr nazîrlerine getirilüb.*
73. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 210a–210b: *çün kânûn-ı hümayûn-ı Osmanî ve töre-i meymûn-ı sultânî bu vech üzredir ki, hazret-i padişâh-ı 'âlî-câh içün sarây-ı 'âmîr-i sultânîden hâne-i hâss-ı hâkânide veya büyük yimekliklerde (210b) bast-ı mâide-i ta'âm ve ferş-i süfîre-i mahz-ı in'âm olunsa, ser-i kileri-yân ve ser-kâr-ı gîdâ-yı hazret-i hüdâvendigâr olan ağa kulları ol hidmete mütesaddî ve hazret-i pâdişâh-ı saltanat-penâh müşarûnileyh elinden müte'aşşî ve müteğaddî olurlar. Ve mûmâileyh hâzır olmaduğı mevâtında sofrâ-ı ta'âm ve mâide-i berekât-encâmı silâhdarlık hîdmetine kıyâm ve ol hîdmet-i şerîfe makâmında devâm üzre olan bende-i hâss ve mukarrîb-i bâ-ihlâs kulları bast ve evâni-i zehebîyye vaz' u ref'î maslahatını rabt ider.*
74. For the assiduous piety of the sultan: Artan, “A Book of Kings,” pp. 299–330.
75. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 212a.
76. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 212b.
77. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 214a.
78. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 213b.

79. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 214a.
80. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 213a: *vüzerâ ve kuzât-ı 'asker meclis-i ârâya dahî geliüb, saydgâhdan pâdişâh-ı 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinin manzarı olmayan birer mahallden temâşâ ve ol me'dübe-i 'azime tenâvülünde müşâreket-i ehillâ itmek için da 'vet ve vezîr-i a'zam tarafından işâret olunub.*
81. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 214a.
82. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 215a–215b: *âlât-ı tabh-ı ni 'am ve esbâb-ı 'iş-i safâ müdgam ile tabbâhân-ı tîzkâr ve helvâ-pezân-ı sebük-kirdârı ol cây-ı ma 'hûd ve mahall-i mev'ûde gönderüb, hassâ-ı pâdişâhî olan mâide-i sehenşâhi için nefâis-i et 'ime-i lezîze ve sanâif-i halâvat ve eşribe-i nefîse ihzârın sipâriş itdiklerinden .*
83. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 215a–215b: *çeşm-i harîsân ve zahâmet-i vüs 'atde mi 'de-i gedâ-çeşmân gibi olan müte 'addid kazganlar içinde pilâv ü zerde ve nazîr u mislin nâ-dîde vü nâ-horde oldukları kalye vü nehy-i perverde tabhın işâret eylediler.*
84. It is wrong to take *kalye* as a vegetarian dish. For nearly two dozen recipes, see: Muhammed bin Mahmud Şirvani, *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı. Muhammed bin Mahmûd Şirvanî*, ed. Mustafa Argunşah and Müjgan Çakır (İstanbul: Gökkubbe Yayınları, 2005), pp. 75–89.
85. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 217b: *zer ü sim ile çeşm-i kâni 'veş memlû ve nukra-ı mazrûb ve ibrîz-i meskûk-ı keder meslûb ile misâl-i derûn-ı ganîyyü 'l-kalbi dâmen-keş toptolu kîsehâ-yı müte 'addid ve hemyânâ-yı müteceddide ile zînet ve nazîr-i esdâf-ı dürr, zer ü sîm ile pür-tabakhâ-yı sîm ve rakîbehâ-yı 'azîmden mâ 'adâ mücevher mebrahalar ve murassa 'gülâbdan ve maşrabalar tertîbi ile misâl-i erîke-i cennet olmuş.*
86. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 218a: *et 'ime-i hoş-güvâr ve ağdiye-i nefâset-medâr ile a 'dâd-ı nücûm-ı âsmânî tabakhâ-yı lâhûr u mertabânî ve sahanhâ-yı çînî-i zümürre-sânî çekilüb.*
87. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 218b.
88. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 218b.
89. The tent reserved for the sultan is called *hayme* or *bâlâ-yı püştede nasb olunan hargâh-ı şâhî* (*Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 220a).
90. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 219b–221a. For another pictorial weather report: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 1, fol. 150a.
91. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 221b–223b.
92. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 223b–224b.
93. As with most low-fat game animals, modern cookbooks require venison to be cooked very slowly (less than 300 degrees) to keep from drying out. While

vegetables and fruits help to keep moisture in, a nineteenth-century Ottoman cookbook suggests that after being marinated in onion juice and salt, large chunks of deer, roe deer, and chamois meat should be skewered alternatingly with fatty ram meat and moisturized with fatty bouillon while on the fire (Ayşe Fahriye, *Ev Kadını*, tr. Leman Erdemli and Zeynep Vanlı [İstanbul: Ofset Yapımevi, 2002], p. 43; original Ottoman edition: Dersaadet: Arif Efendi Matbaası, 1323 [1905/6]).

94. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 223b.
95. The word *miskiyye* crops up yet again, suggesting a kind of sweet drink prepared from the musk glands or any other parts of *Viverridae* family, comprising civets, mongooses, and meerkats.
96. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 223b–224b: *.vezîr-ı a 'zam ... bendeleri tertîbinde tekellûf ve tabh u tehzîbinde telattuf eylediği nefâis-i et 'ime-i hoş-güvâr ve sanâif-i ağdiye-i çâşnidâr ki, tabbâhân-ı pâkîze-dest ve âş-pezân-ı çâşnîbest, tamâm-ı san 'at ve kemâl-i hikmet ile nâr-ı leyyine ve âteş-i hâdiye üzre tabh idüb, her birine misk ü 'anber ta 'biye ve 'akâkîr-i mu 'teber ile terbiye etmegin revâiyih-i tayyibeleri dimâğ-ı rûhânîyânı ta 'tîr ü tervîh ve fevâiyih-i miskiyye-i zekiyyeleri meşâm-ı mele-i a 'lâyı tetyîb ve sudur-ı nûrânîyânı tefrîh u teşrîh ider idi. Sahanha-yı zerrîn ve tabakha-yı sîmîn içine mevzû 've ekvâb-ı merfû 'a (224a) misâl-i meclis-i 'âlî-i şâhîye merfû olub nazar-ı iksîr eserlerinde mebsûta olan mâide-i zer-kûb ve sofrâ-i berekât-ı mashûbe nihâde ve ser-pûş-ı zerrîneleri küşâde olacak her bir ta 'âm-ı lâtifeden hazların musîb ve her kısım gıdâ-yı nefis ü şerîfden âhiz-i nâsib oldılar. Ve çün sadru 'l-vüzera bendeleri hayme-i zer-kâr ve ol har-gâh-ı pür-kârdan verâ-i perde bir mahallde vâkıf u hâzır ve ol metâ'im-i lezîzenin keyfiyyet-i vaz 'ına bir küşeden nâzır idügin hazret-i pâdişâh-ı bâ-vakâr ihsâs u istiş 'âr eylemiş idi. Kasd-ı ta 'zîm ve irâde-i tekrîm ile mâide-i pür- 'âideden anlara hissa ve pes horde-i şeref-bürde-i bâ-fâideden behre irsâli ile kadrini i 'lâ ve şe 'nini tenvîh ile ref-i mertebe-i 'ulyâ eylediler ve çün emr-i ta 'âm itmâm (224b) ve münâvele-i eş-ribe-i miskiyyetü 'l-hitâm ikmâl olunub imâl-i âfitâbe vü ibrik ve isti 'mâl-i gülâb ü 'anber ile meşâmlar teşîk olundu. Ol sofrâ-ı pür behreden nevâlehor ve zelle-ber olan nüdemâ istifâ-i kadr-ı iştiâ eyleyecek her biri ayağ üzre gelüb devâm-ı devletlerine duâ ve cenâb-ı hazretlerine senâ idüb.*
97. *Zübdetü 'l-Tevârih* vol. 2, fols. 227b–229a.
98. For *Tuhfetü 'l-mülûk ve 's-selatin* see: Tülay Artan, “A Book of Kings.” For the original: Topkapı Palace Museum Library H. 415; 385 mm by 250mm; 253 pages; 164 miniatures and 2 illuminated pages. See also: Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: TSM Yayınları, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 574–75. For other Ottoman hunting treatises, see: Halûk Aydın, “Ebû Bekr İbnü'l-Hacî Mustafa Kızıllhisârî'nin

- Avçılıkla İlgili Bir Eseri: Hidâyetü's Sayyâd,” in *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Hilal Oytun Altun (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008), pp. 653–96; and Fahrettin Coşkuner and Sait Okumuş, “Av ve Avcılığa Dair XV. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Bir Av Risâlesi: Sayd-nâme,” in *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Hilal Oytun Altun (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008), pp. 697–707.
99. Recently, Marc Baer, too, has underlined that hunting demonstrated the Ottoman sultans' (in particular, Mehmed IV's) bravery and courage, hence manliness (*merdânelik*), and was a training for warfare. Baer is mistaken, however, in saying that in the opinion of the chroniclers he studies there was nothing pathological about hunting, and that the perception of hunting as a frivolous activity is a modern construction. See: Marc D. Baer, *Honoured by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 180–81. Compare with: *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 38; and Tülay Artan, “A Book of Kings.”
100. For the return trip: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 229b–247a.
101. For the princes: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 310a.
102. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 301b–303a.
103. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 303b–309a.
104. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 305a.
105. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 309b–312a. Compare with a banquet in İstanbul: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 320b–321a.
106. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 326b–336a.
107. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 332b: *vakt-i câşt ve ta 'âm-ı gıdâ için zamân-ı fûru-daşt olmağın....ta 'âm-ı kerem ve nân-ı sepîd-nerm hâzır olmak için te 'lîf olunan matbah-ı revândan pişgâh-ı sultânîye hân-ı firâvân çekilüb, hazret-i şâh-ı nâmdâr ol et 'ime-i lezîze-i hoş-güvârdan*. Later, Mustafa Sâfî eulogizes this expedition with a *kasîde* and refers to this banquet. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 340a:

*Kıldı nüzul haymeye şâh-ı cihân o dem
Geldi miyâne et 'ime-i hób-ı hoş-güvâr*

*Etrâf-ı meclise dikilüb turdı sad-nedîm
Her biri bezle kûy-ı sahun-senc ü nükte-bâr*

*Destur oldu söylediler çok letâîfi
Güldi açıldı gül gibi ol gonca-i bahâr*

*Çünkü ta'âm emri temâm oldı hamd idüb
Oldı süvâr-ı esb-i sebük-rev o şehsüvâr*

108. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 345a.

109. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 338a–360b. For a banquet at Çömlek: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 352b:

*O şâhın makdemi kevn-i subh u şâma
İdeler sa'y-ı ihzâr-ı ta'âma*

*İdeler tabh-ı envâ '-ı nefâis
Ki, idrâk idemiye fikr-i kâyis*

*Pîşe envâ '-ı hulviyât-ı ra'nâ
Lühûm-ı berre vü mürğ-i murabbâ*

*Bunu vasf'eyleşem ta'bîre gelmez
Ki, zevkidir belî takrîre gelmez*

*Ve ger hem güfte bûdeş sâhib-i şâh
Ki, ez-behr-i havâss u 'âmme-i râh*

*Pezed yekpâre çendân gûsfendî
Ki, yâbed behre zû sad müstemendî*

*Bi kazgan-ı ferâhî çendî hem aş
Pilâv u zerde ni mencû vü ni mâş*

*Şüid puhte berây-i merdüm-i 'âm
Hörend ü hoş berend ân kavm-i nâ kâm*

110. Respectively: *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fols. 364a–365a and 353b–354a.

111. *Zübdetü 't-Tevârih* 'i, vol. 2, fol. 215a.

112. A modern translation, “fruits cooked in sherbet, marmalade”, is provided by Stefanos Yerasimos, *Sultan Sofraları: 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı* (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2002), p. 145.

113. There is no mention of *neh-y-i perverde* in the translation by Ahmed Cavid (d. 1803) of Mevlânâ Ebû İshak Hallâcî Şirâzî (d. 1423 or 1427), *Tercüme-i Kenzü'l-İştihâ: 15. Yüzyıldan Bir Mutfak Sözlüğü*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Priscilla Mary Işın (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006). In the section “*Terkib-i tuffâhiyye ve seferceliyye*,” *perverde* is referred as a cooking process: *ol şeker*

- içinde perverde pişüre*. In modern recipes, the equivalent might be boiling fruits or dried fruits until they reach a certain viscosity. Then fresh butter and walnuts would be added.
114. Tabîb İbn-i Şerîf, *Yâdigâr: 15. Yüzyıl Türkçe Tıp Kitabı. Yâdigâr-ı İbn-i Şerîf*, ed. M. Yahya Okutan, Doğan Koçer and Mecit Yıldız (İstanbul: Yerküre Yayınları, 2004), p. 248: *tâze koruk suyun üzerine koyub havân içinde sahk idüb adetce perverde idüb*. In the dictionary section of *Yâdigâr*, there is another reference to *perverde* which, in this case, is marinated garlic, *perverde-i sevm*: pp. 442 and 446 (fol. 304b).
115. Semih Tezcan, *Bir Ziyâfet Defteri* (İstanbul: Simurg Yayınları, 1998), p. 9 (fol. 43b).
116. Tezcan, *Bir Ziyâfet Defteri*, p. 13 (fol. 44b), p. 15 (fol. 45a).
117. Şırvani, *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı*.
118. For recipes of *tuffahiye* and *seferceliye*: Şırvani, *15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mutfağı*, pp. 59 and 242 (fols. 11a–11b and 127b–128b). See also the new translation of Muhammad b. Al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Al-Karîm, the scribe of Baghdad, *A Baghdad Cookery Book: The Book of Dishes (Kitâb al-Tabikh)* tr. Charles Perry (Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2005), pp. 34–35 and 55–56. While *tuffahiyya* is listed under “sour dishes and their varieties,” *safarjaliyya* is listed among “fried and dry dishes.”
119. For a *kabak kalye* recipe, cooked in unripened grape juice and sweetened with grape juice (if in season; if not, with honey or sugar): M. Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri: XVIII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir Yemek Risâlesi* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1985), p. 59.
120. Feyzi Halıcı, *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1992).
121. I am grateful to Ms. Nacmieh Batmanglij who has kindly brought this possibility to my attention (Montreal, November 20, 2007). As Batmanglij notes, Muslims who wished to consume alcohol had a variety of excuses: wine was being drunk as a medicine; it was alleged that the Koran only forbade overindulgence in wine; the ban applied only to wine and not to arak, beer, or fermented mare's milk. See her recipes with wine: Nacmieh Batmanlij, *From Persia to Napa. Wine at the Persian Table* (Washington, DC: Mage Publications, 2006).
122. *Zübdetü'l-Tevârîh*, vol. 2, fol. 358b.
123. Elif Ayla, *Şerbet ve Hoşaf: Hatıralarda Kalan Yudum Yudum Lezzetler* (İstanbul: Hayy Yayınları, 2009). The following succinct summary is from Juliette Rossant, “The World's First Soft Drink,” *Saudi Aramco World* 56/5 (September–October 2005): pp. 36–39: “One variant, Arabic *sharbah* (essentially

“a drink”), has given us Turkish *şerbet* (and Persian and Hindi *sharbat*) and our [Western] sherbet. Another, *shurb* (literally “a drinking”), followed trading ships back west with Portuguese *xarope*, giving Medieval Latin *sirupus* and our own rather Greek-looking *syrop*. More recently, *sharaab* came west from India and by 1867 had entered such dictionaries as Smith’s *Sailor’s Wordbook*, which lists “Shrab, a vile drugged drink prepared for seamen who frequent the filthy purlieus of Calcutta. The spelling in the American colonies crystallized as shrub.”

124. For a recent study on visual narratives with the theme of wine–drinking: Meera Khane, “The Wine-Cup in Mughal Court Culture. From Hedonism to Kingship”, *The Medieval History Journal* 8 (2005): pp. 143–188.
125. Batmanlij, *From Persia to Napa*, 45. Firdausi’s *Shahname* abounds in hunting and drinking scenes. For more examples: Ehsan Yarshater, “The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry,” *Studia Islamica* 13 (1960): pp. 43–53.
126. *Halal*: goat, sheep, cattle, buffalo, buck, fish, camel, gazelle, onager, rabbit, fowls, ducks, pigeon, sparrow, partridge, crane, locusts, bustard, owl, swift, giraffe, magpie, quail, lark, starling, sand grouse, nightingale, ostrich, peacock, goose, turtle dove, stag, swan, dolphin, shark. *Haram*: insects, snake, lizard, gecko, mice, rats, hedgehog, jerboa, weasel, frog, lion, wolf, jackal, leopard, tiger, lynx, cheetah, panther, fox, cat, squirrel, fennel, sable, bear, monkey, ape, elephant, dog, falcon, hawk, saker, kite, eagle, vulture, bat, tortoise, crocodile, mongoose, ferret, raven. Note, incidentally, that all the weasels, ferrets, and mongooses of the *Viverridae* (source of *miskiyye*) are classified as *haram*. See Gelibolulu Âli on game animals the eating of which were permitted: *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 38–40. See also: Yusuf Ziya Keskin, “Hadislere Göre Avlanma Kuralları,” in *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Hilal Oytun Altun (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008), pp. 497–514.
127. *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, vol. 2, fol. 223b.
128. Elisabeth Borromeo, “The Ottomans and Hunting According to Julien Bordier’s Travelogue,” in *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Istanbul: Eren Yayınları, forthcoming), pp. 215–31. I am grateful to my colleague for allowing me to consult her manuscript. Julien Bordier, mss.cit, fol. 186v: “Sy ce prend quelque bestes fauve elles distribuée aux esclaves chretiens car les Turcs ne mangent de venaison que rarement principalement des animaux quy nonts esté saigné que de main d’hommes tenent en cela du judaisme.” Sonnini, too, makes the same point at the end of the eighteenth century, when the royal hunt was abandoned for good: C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage en Grèce et Turquie*, 2 vols. (Paris : Buisson, 1891), vol 2,

- p. 163: “La seule précaution qu’ils prennent, lorsqu’ils ont abattu une pièce de gibier, est de se hater de la saigner au cou, afin de ne point contrevenir à une autre loi qui leur defend de faire usage de la chair d’un animal qui n’auroit pas été saigné, et cette precaution nuit à la saveur du gibier.”
129. Julien Bordier, mss.cit, fol. 495r.: “Le gibier nest surbatu comme il est en Crestienne, les turcs nstant eusitez à la chasse de l’Arquebuse, qui est ce qui espouvante le plus le gibier.” If it happened that the Turks (only *acemiog̃lans* and janissaries, Bordier writes) went shooting, it was because they had seen the (French) ambassador and his suite hunt. Julien Bordier, mss.cit, fol. 495v: “Il est bien vray que quelque Janissaire du pays à nostre imitation sen vouloit escrimer sur le lac (Küçükçekmece) où ne sentendoit qu’arquebusade de bout à autre, mais pour ester de deux grand lieu de long, & une du large, le gibier avoit beau sesgayer & les gibayeurs aussy. ”
130. Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), p. 190.
131. François Viré, “Jurisprudence en matière de gibier tué à plomb. *Risâla tuhfât al-hawass fî hill sayd bunduq al-rasâs*,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 30 (1978): pp. 289–305.
132. From a *fatwa* point of view, hunting for pleasure is permissible if one does not become unmindful of his obligations, for example, performing the *namaz*, which is generally among the consequences of hunting. The Prophet is accepted to have said: “Whosoever follows an animal of the hunt, (generally) becomes unmindful.” Life is extremely short and cannot be wasted on futilities, i.e., activities that are neither a worldly need nor of any benefit in the hereafter. It is best to abstain. This is an all-encompassing principle.
133. Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, p. 20, and especially chapter 3.
134. Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, p. 85.
135. All this information comes from Sonja Freifrau von Müffling, “Cooking with Game,” in *Game and Hunting*, ed. Kurt G. Blüchel (Cologne: Könnemann, 1977), pp. 586–613.
136. For formal banquet scenes: (1) Lala Mustafa Paşa throwing a banquet for the high officials at İznikmid during the Eastern campaign of 1578–80: *Nusret-nâme*, TSM H. 1365 (1584), fol. 34b; (2) Ferhat Paşa giving a banquet in honour of Prince Haydar in Erzurum during the 1588 eastern campaign: *Kitâb-ı Gencine-i Feth-i Gence*, TSM R. 1296 (1590), fol. 48b; and (3) the sultan’s banquet at the Hippodrome during the 1582 circumcision festivities for his son Mehmed (the future Mehmed III): *Surnâme-i Hümâyûn*, TSM H. 1344 (1587), fols. 74b–75a.
137. Vienna, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Codex Mixtus 313, fol. 28b. The

- muraqqa* album was made in Istanbul in 980 AH/1572–73 AD): Aimée E. Froom, “Collecting Tastes: A *Muraqqa*’ for Sultan Murad III”, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (2001).
138. Aimée E. Froom, “A *Muraqqa*’ for the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595): Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Mixtus 313” (PhD. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, NY, 2001), p. 437; Aimée E. Froom, “Adorned Like a Rose: the Persian Connection in the *Muraqqa* for the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (Austrian National Library, Cod. Mixt. 313),” *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006): pp. 137–54.
139. Emmy Wellesz, “Die Miniaturen im Album Murad III,” *Wiener Beiträge Zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* 10 (1936): pp. 55–67; G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London: British Museum Publications, 1963), pl. VIII; Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa CA: Mazda Publications, 1990), fig.42. An eighteenth-century miniature showing ladies picnicking along the Bosphorus also depicts the attendants roasting meat on a spit: Tülay Artan, “Boğaziçi’nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları,” *İstanbul Dergisi* 3 (1992): pp. 109–18.
140. *Ahmed I Album*, Topkapı Palace Library B. 408, fols. 14a, 19a.
141. İstanbul University Library T. 6624, fol. 100b. Compare also with a slightly earlier copy of the *Tercüme-i Miftâh Cifri’l-Câmî*. Topkapı Palace Library B. 373 (1597–98), fol. 243b.
142. See fols. 232v, a garden party with a lady and four attendants; 232r, a king (in a garden kiosk?) with a falcon, a guest, and three attendants; 241v, a garden party, with a dancer, a *ney* player, a *çeng* player, and a *def* player; 241r, a garden party, with two *def* players, an *ud* player, and a *zil* player; 245v, a king with a guest and two attendants; 245r, a lady with three attendants; 249v, a lady (in a garden kiosk) with five attendants; 249r, a king in a kiosk with a guest and three armed attendants; 250v, a lady in a garden with four attendants; 250r, a king in a garden with a guest and three armed attendants; 251v, a king in a kiosk with a falcon, receiving a guest and attended by two armed attendants; 251r, a king in a garden with a falcon, receiving a guest and attended by three armed attendants; 252v, a lady in a garden with four attendants; and 252r, a king in a garden with a falcon, receiving a guest in the presence of three armed attendants.
143. Tülay Artan, “Art and Architecture,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. III, *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 408–80.
144. It should also be noted that in the early seventeenth-century Ottoman minitures to which we have been referring, there would always be a person of status seated to the right of the throne, recalling Asaf ibn Barkhiya, the wise and the

learned vizier of Solomon. This goes back to a very common model in Islamic painting: the depictions of Solomon and Bılqıs, the Queen of Sheba, enthroned outdoors, in “nature,” and surrounded by animals, birds, and supernatural creatures.

145. Serpil Bağcı, “From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated Şehnâme-i Türkî Copies,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): pp. 162–76.
146. Secondary literature on the Ottoman *shahnâmas* claims that the chain of continuity was broken during the term of Talikizâde. First, *Şehnâme-i Talikizâde* misses out the final years of Murad III’s reign, 1593–95. Furthermore, what Talikizâde penned down for Mehmed III is rather a campaign book: *Fetih-nâme-i Eğri*. With no illustrated history eulogizing the reign of Ahmed I located, it has been argued that the tradition was resumed by the *Şehnâme-i Nadirî*, narrating also just a single military expedition—Osman II’s Hotin campaign in 1621–22. See: Christine Woodhead, “An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnameci in the Ottoman Empire,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983): pp. 157–82