

THE ROYAL MAWLID CEREMONIES IN THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE (1789-1908)

A Master's Thesis

by
ERMAN HARUN KARADUMAN

DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA
September 2016

To the memory of Mecid Sesigür

THE ROYAL MAWLID CEREMONIES IN THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE (1789-1908)

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

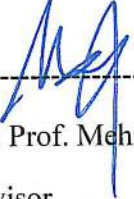
ERMAN HARUN KARADUMAN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2016

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Kalpaklı
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



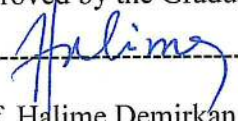
Prof. Özer Ergenç
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Prof. Hülya Taş
Examining Committee Member

Approved by the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

THE ROYAL MAWLID CEREMONIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

(1789-1908)

Karaduman, Erman Harun

M.A., Department of History

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Kalpaklı

September 2016

This study analyzes the royal mawlid ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire which are conducted by the state in the 12th day of Rabi-al-Awwal (the third month in the Islamic calendar) of each year representing the birthday of Prophet Muhammad. Along with the religious content of the ritual, the mawlid ceremony is actually one of the fundamental practices of the state protocol (*teşrifât*) and is observed to transform through the modernization phenomenon. In this context, it is aimed to resolve the problems of the present literature in terms of establishment, institutionalization and historical process of the royal mawlid ceremonies by basing the period of 1789-1908, which chronicles and archive documents containing the ceremonial intensify. By this means, the main components of the ceremonies, which are protocol, procession, patronage and music, are examined closer.

Keywords: Ceremony, Institutionalization , Mawlid, Protocol, Ritual.

ÖZET

OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NDA MEVLİD MERASİMLERİ (1789-1908)

Karaduman, Erman Harun

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Mehmet Kalpaklı

Eylül 2016

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda her senenin -İslam peygamberinin doğduğu gün kabul edilen- hicrî 12 Rebiülevvel'inde devlet eliyle düzenlenen mevlid merasimlerini incelemektedir. İçeriği bakımından dinî bir ritüel karakterine sahip olmakla birlikte, Osmanlı devlet protokolünün (*teşrifât*) temel pratiklerinden biri olan mevlid merasimlerinin, modernleşme olgusu üzerinden belirgin bir dönüşüm geçirdiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, mevlid merasimi uygulamalarının, konu ile ilgili belge ve kroniklerin yoğunluk kazandığı 1789-1908 dönemi esas alınarak, teşekkülü, kurumsallaşması ve tarihsel süreci ile ilgili literatür eksikliklerinin giderilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Mevlid merasimlerinin ana unsurları olan teşrifat, tören alayı, patronaj ve müziğe ilişkin detaylar da bu sayede kısımlar halinde mercek altına alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kurumsallaşma, Merasim, Mevlid, Ritüel, Teşrifat.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I have to express my gratitude to my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Kalpaklı in particular for his guidance. Besides, my special thanks go to Prof. Özer Ergenç who always encourages me to study history. I would also like to thank Prof. Hülya Taş, Asst. Prof. Berrak Burçak, Assoc. Prof. Cadoc Leighton, Asst. Prof. Paul Latimer, Assoc. Prof. Oktay Özel, Assoc. Prof. Eugenia Kermeli, Asst. Prof. Selim Adalı and Dr. Ahmet Beyatlı for their precious contribution and assistance during my master's degree studies.

Moreover, I owe a lot to Kudret Emiroğlu for his comments and recommendations. Above all, he has never deprived me of his heartfelt friendship and profound knowledge.

I am very thankful to my friends Pınar Süt, İsmail Kaygısız, Mehmet Yunus Yazıcı, Denizhan Ünal, Esra Mürüvvet Yıldırım, Çiğdem Önal Emiroğlu, Ali Kemal Eren, Ümit Özger, Pınar Çalışkan and Bahattin Üngörmüş for they persistently help me during the research.

Finally, I am very grateful to my mother and grandmother for their affection and incredible patience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| ÖZET | iv |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | v |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vi |
| LIST OF TABLES | viii |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | ix |
| | |
| CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 The Meaning of ‘Mawlid’ and the Earliest Mawlid Ceremonies in the Islamic History | 1 |
| 1.2 Süleyman Çelebi’s <i>Vesîletü’n-Necât</i> : Toward the Origins of the Ottoman Mawlid Ceremonies | 7 |
| | |
| CHAPTER II: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROYAL MAWLID CEREMONIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE | 16 |
| 2.1 The Establishment of the Ceremonies | 16 |
| 2.2 Public Transformation between 1789 and 1908 | 21 |
| | |
| CHAPTER III: THE PERFORMANCE AND PROTOCOL DETAILS | 37 |
| 3.1 The Performance at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: A Comparison of Two Narratives | 37 |
| 3.2 The Details of the Protocol | 43 |
| 3.3 The Items of the Ceremony | 46 |
| 3.3.1 Dresses | 46 |
| 3.3.2 Other Items | 49 |

| | |
|--|----|
| CHAPTER IV: THE COMPONENTS OF THE MAWLID CEREMONIES | 52 |
| 4.1 The Economy of the Ceremonies | 52 |
| 4.1.1 Routine Expenses | 52 |
| 4.1.2 Patronage | 58 |
| 4.1.2.1 The Social Function of the Processions | 58 |
| 4.1.2.2 Rewards Given to the Officials and the Artists | 60 |
| 4.2 Music | 62 |
| CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION | 67 |
| REFERENCES | 71 |
| APPENDIX | 75 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Dresses of the High-State Officials in the Ceremony..... | 46 |
| 2. | The List of Dresses Given As Gifts..... | 48 |
| 3. | Inventory of Items Used in the Mawlid Ceremony of 1805..... | 50 |
| 4. | Inventory of Items Used in the Mawlid Ceremony of 1887..... | 51 |
| 5. | The Expenses of the Mawlid Ceremonies Organized in the Palace in the Period of 1797-1833..... | 54 |
| 6. | Annual Payment to the Performers of the Ceremonies Conducted between 1844 and 1860..... | 56 |
| 7. | Expenses of the Ceremonies Conducted in Certain Centers of Istanbul in 1877..... | 57 |
| 8. | Monetary Assistance to the Common People in the Mawlid Processions in the Period of 1856-1859 | 59 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| A. AMD. | Bab-1 Asafi Amedi Kalemî |
| A. MKT. | Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı |
| A. MKT. DV. | Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Deavi Evrakı |
| A. MKT. MHM. | Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme Kalemî Evrakı |
| A. MKT. NZD. | Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Nezaret ve Deva'ir Evrakı |
| A. MKT. UM. | Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Umum Vilayat Evrakı |
| A. TŞF. | Sadaret Teşrifat Kalemî Evrakı |
| C. DH. | Cevdet Dahiliye |
| C. SH. | Cevdet Sıhhiye |
| HAT. | Hatt-1 Hümayun |
| HR. MKT. | Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı |
| İ. DH. | İrade Dahiliye |
| İE. HAT. | İbnülemin Hatt-1 Hümayun |
| MF. MKT. | Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı |
| MVL. | Meclis-i Vala Evrakı |
| Y. MTV. | Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı |
| Y. PRK. HH. | Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Hazine-i Hassa |
| Y. PRK. MYD. | Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Yaveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkan-1 Harbiye Dairesi |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Meaning of ‘Mawlid’ and the Earliest Mawlid Ceremonies in the Islamic History

In the Islamic literature, being derived from the root *w-l-d* (ولد), the word ‘mawlid’ (in Turkish, *mevlid*), which have lexical meanings of birth/giving birth, birth time and birth place, has almost always been used on the purpose of indicating Prophet Muhammad’s birthday (The word *mîlâd*, in Turkish, on the other hand, connotes the birth of Jesus Christ).¹ In this context, mawlid ceremony (*mevlid merâsimi*), in its broad sense, denotes certain activities of the meetings in order to celebrate the day of 12th Rabi-al-Awwal, which is accepted as the birthday of the prophet of Islam.²

First of all, with regard to emphasize on variable character of mawlid ceremonies from region to region in Islamic geography, -even if it puts only a linguistic

¹ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki* (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, A.H. 1317), 1433.

² According to some scholars, the birthday of Muhammed is 8th Rabi-al-Awwal. With the aim of removing such a controversy, the Atabeg of Erbil, Muzafferüddin Gökbörü (d.1232) properly organized mawlid festivals in 8th of Rabi-al-Awwal for a year and in 12th for the next year. Nico J. Kaptein, *Muhammad’s Birthday Festival*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), 41.

difference- an explanation is required: While in classical Arabic language, the word mawlid is used together with the verb ‘to act’ (عمل); in Turkish, it takes a fixed form with the verb ‘to read’ or ‘to recite’ (قراءة). The main reason of such distinctness is that, in the mawlid meetings and ceremonials arranged from Ottoman period to today, poems narrating the birth story of the Prophet have been recited depending upon certain musical principles. Accordingly, in Turkey, the word *mevlid* is said to have a spectrum of meaning which include not only a literary genre but also a musical form. In other respects, the mawlid practices of Islamic states having existed over the geography of certain Arabic societies developed as festivals based on entertaining activities; whereas in Ottoman Empire, the recitation of mawlid poem - either depending on the state protocol (*teşrifât*) or the meetings of ordinary people- has been sedately followed by the audience.³ Besides, in Turkey, even though it refers to the birth, mawlid has been recited for funeral rituals too. As it is seen in the next chapters, Ottoman royal mawlid ceremonies that develop as a ritual reinforcing protocol of the state, in spite of their grandiose and sumptuous characteristics, are never institutionalized as a festival or any kind of celebration having content of entertainment.

In Islamic history, the earliest celebrations conducted on the occasion of the Prophet’s birthday are encountered in the era of Fatimid Empire (910-1171), mostly in Egypt. Associated with the rise of wealth under their dominance over both Egypt and North Africa⁴, Shi’ite Fatimid Caliphate began to place a great emphasis on

³ Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesiletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 2-3.

⁴ For the mawlid ceremonies carrying the traces of earliest mawlid celebrations and performed by several Islamic states which existed in South Africa (Azafids, Marinids, Wattasids, Nasrids, Hafids) from the thirteenth to fifteenth century, see. Nico J. Kaptein, *Muhammad’s Birthday Festival*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993). As part of periodic limits of this thesis, archive records which are related to the

religious festivals. Nico Kaptein, in his intensive research on the origins of mawlid ceremonies, called *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, dates the last Fatimid resource which does not include birthday celebration of the Prophet to A.H. 415 and he assumes this date as an almost accurate *terminus ante quem*.⁵

Mawlid celebrations conducted in the period of Fatimid Dynasty are not formed as open to public. On the contrary, they are performed only with the participation of the caliph, high state officials, notables and religious officials. In Fatimid Empire, mawlid festivals –as distinct from other religious festivals- included the rite of caliph's short march and distribution of candy to the religious officials.⁶ The rough systematics of these ceremonies is as follows: At first, from morning to midday, trays of dessert –being the Chief Judge (*Kâdi 'l-kudât*) and the Head of the Religious propagation (*Dâi 'd-duât*) in the first place- are distributed to the Qur'an readers (*kurra*) and the preachers (*hatîb*) and the other religious functionaries in the 12th day of Rabi-al-Awwal. Following the noon prayer of the caliph, the Chief Judge and the other officials go to al-Azhar mosque and after a recitation of Qur'an performed here, they leave the mosque and take the road to the protocol place, called *manzara*. Meanwhile, the governor of Cairo goes *manzara* earlier in attempt to keep order of

mawlid ceremonies in Tripolitania of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire show that a kind of Arabic-style tradition of mawlid festivals continued in this region. According to an official document, Ottoman government request reports from the governor of Tripoli province about whether or not the city is safe, certain sufi groups run wild and disturb the other people. For instance, see. BOA, A.AMD 93/47 (28 Ra. 1277/28 Sep. 1860). This issue will be mentioned in detail in the Second Chapter; however, setting out here is that the mawlid celebrations conducted in Ottoman Tripolitania was substantially different from ones in Istanbul. The reason of this discrepancy is mainly due to the ethnic groups which constitutes large mass of people for the region maintains the festival tradition inherited from above-mentioned states. To put it short, the festival mentality of the ethnic groups in Tripoli has no correlation with the culture of Istanbul-based mawlid organizations.

⁵ Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 23-24.

⁶ As it is seen in the next chapters, excluding recitation of mawlid poem and the details of protocol, these practices can be said to be the summary of Ottoman royal mawlid ceremonies.

the ceremony and the caliph participates in the protocol with his cortege. The ceremony begins with a recitation of Qur'an and, after that, the preachers of al-Anwar, al-Azhar and al-Aqmar mosques consecutively read sermons.⁷ Lastly, the caliph salutes the attendee and the official ceremony finishes in this manner.⁸

On the other hand, it is observed that Fatimid Empire holds mawlid ceremonies not only for Prophet Mohammed but also for his family Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Huseyn (*ehl-i beyt*). Hence the tradition of mawlid celebrations originally derives from Shi'ite principles.⁹ Primary purpose of Shi'ite Fatimid Empire's arranging mawlid ceremonies is –via praising rite of Prophet Muhammad's family- fundamentally attracting notice to the fact that Fatimid caliphs are successors and tutelars of the family. Thus it can be claimed that despite of their religious content, from the beginning of eleventh century, mawlid ceremonies are instrumentalized with the aim of providing political legitimacy.¹⁰ Subsequent to that Salahuddin al-Ayyubi terminates the existence of Fatimid Empire, birthday celebrations for the family members of the Prophet are prohibited and moreover, mawlid celebration becomes an apparatus of Sunni propaganda by following states.¹¹ Kaptein asserts the idea that

⁷ In royal mawlid ceremonies of Ottoman Empire, the preachers of Sultan Ahmed Mosque and Ayasofya fulfil this duty.

⁸ Süleyman Çelebi, *Mevlid*, ed. Necla Pekolcay (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 13. For an exhaustive narration of a mawlid ceremony in Fatimid Empire, see Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 13-15.

⁹ Marion H. Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (London: Routledge, 2007), 6-7.

¹⁰ Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 67.

¹¹ Ibid., 28; Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesiletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 5. At this juncture, (as it is seen in the following parts of this chapter) in conjunction with its paradoxicality, the dialectic (*cedel*) mentioned above constitutes the main reason of producing the most dominant mawlid poem (Süleyman Çelebi's *Vesiletü'n-Necât*) in Ottoman Empire at the beginning of fifteenth century. Thereby this dialectic, which is based upon Sunni and Shi'ite

the tradition of mawlid celebrations begins to spread rapidly over broad regions in the collapse period of Fatimid Dynasty and it becomes popular especially among Sunni states. Furthermore, some Sunni scholars totally ignore Fatimid predecessors who initiate the practices of mawlid celebrations, whereas today, the approved fact is that mawlid ceremonies are created by Fatimid Empire. At this point, Kaptein implies that these Sunni scholars intend obscure the heterodox roots of the celebration deliberately.¹²

After Fatimid Empire, the tradition of mawlid celebrations prominently continues in the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Kokburi (d. 1232), who is the governor (*atabeg*) of Arbil Province, a brother-in-law of Salahuddin al-Ayyubi. The order of mawlid festivals during this period is simply as follows: Before the mawlid, Kokburi has high wooden constructions prepared for him and high state officials. In every day, he regularly watches musical and theatrical performances from these lodges, goes hunting and come back to the castle in a certain routine. Two days before the mawlid, flock of camels, cows and sheep are sacrificed at the largest square of the city and, being cooked, they are distributed to people. The day before, at night, a magnificent torchlight procession comes down from the fortress towards the city. Ultimately, in the day of mawlid, along with the military parade ceremony, preachers

contradiction, actually gives a clue –even if it is theoretical- about how *Vesiletü'n-Necât*, which is accepted as the earliest mawlid text of Anatolia region, becomes focus of Ottoman mawlid ceremonies (created in the late 16th century at the earliest) and how it has maintained its popularity even until today. Nevertheless, one of the main problems which are difficult to be enlightened is whether mawlid ceremonies penetrate into the popular culture by favor of the government, or, quite the opposite, the rituals among people are institutionalized by the state. In conjunction with not existing in the scope of this thesis, it is a fundamental problematic required to be solved by –history and anthropology are in the first place- social sciences.

¹² Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 69-73.

and poets displaying their performance are given robes of honor (*hil'at*) as rewards. After that, once again, tables are set for the feast to the people.¹³

These types of mawlid ceremonies, which are established by Fatimid Dynasty and, subsequently stylized in the reign of Kokburi, do not only constitute preliminary samples of the Prophet's birthday celebrations, at the same time, form a basis of two varied models which were to be adopted by later Islamic states. On the other hand, as mentioned before, certain disengagements and fractures in the tradition of mawlid celebration which mostly occur due to the fact that religious ideologies of two states are poles apart differentiate the models. Besides, the main emphasis in terms of the protocol context is that while Fatimids conduct mawlid ceremonies among dignitaries, the celebrations of Kokburi's era are performed as a feast which is open to the folks of the region and also travelers. Herein, Kaptein's very critical comment on a generalization seems significant for the reason that –along with a serious sect-rooted irony between Fatimid and Ottoman Empire- it can be exceedingly validated for Ottoman mawlid ceremonies: "(...) in some way or another there is a connection between the Fatimids and the later mawlid celebrations, because he calls the Fatimids mawlid an "anticipation" of the later mawlid festivals".¹⁴ Even so some basic principles of mawlid celebrations belonging to the age of Kokburi manifest itself in Ottoman Empire, Ottoman mawlid ceremonies are carried out as a close celebration in a fashion similar to Fatimid Empire practices.

¹³ Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesiletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 7; Süleyman Çelebi, *Mevlid*, ed. Necla Pekolcay (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları), 20.

¹⁴ Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 28-29.

1.2. Süleyman Çelebi's *Vesîletü'n-Necât*: Towards the Origins of Ottoman

Mawlid Ceremonies

The poem *Vesîletü'n-Necât* [Path to Salvation], written by Süleyman Çelebi in the genre of mathnawi (*mesnevî*) in 1409, is assumed the earliest mawlid text in Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ In substance, along with the theological issues (the place of mawlid celebrations in Islamic thought, in other words, whether they are convenient from the point of Islam's essence or not), mawlid literature is also out of this thesis' coverage. Nevertheless, since in Ottoman royal mawlid ceremonies appearing -as a systematic ritual based on state protocol and musical principles- after at least one and a half centuries from Süleyman Çelebi's death, *Vesîletü'n-Necât* is almost always recited, then it is indispensable to touch upon the context and theological element of this poem in a way to associate it with the socio-political conditions of the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ By this means, it can be possible to find a clue about why this poem –even though it is belonging to early period of the empire and its language is archaic- is preferred by the Ottoman state for mawlid ceremonies from sixteenth to twentieth century. Notwithstanding the lack of historical facts, this method will provide a perception in order to analyze archaeology of mindset which is determinative in Ottoman state ideology.

The most comprehensive study on *Vesîletü'n-Necât*, which occupies the area of Ottoman mawlid literature, and its author is conducted by Ahmet Ateş. Citing two

¹⁵ Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesîletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 30.

¹⁶ In the literature of Ottoman cultural history, almost all researchers –referring Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, don't l'une comprend la legislation mahométane: L'autre l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris: Impr. de Monsieur [F.Didot], 1788). - assume that the earliest mawlid ceremony is conducted in the late sixteenth century. This knowledge, despite of an explicit deficiency of resources, will be criticized -even if it is theoretical- at the beginning of the next chapter.

significant figures among Ottoman thinkers, Latîfî and Gelibolulu Âlî, he mentions an event from the early fifteenth century in Ulu Mosque of Bursa. According to the event, an Iranian preacher, during his sermon, expounds the verse “We make no distinction between any of His messengers”¹⁷ in the way that there is no difference among prophets so Prophet Muhammad is not superior to Jesus Christ. In response to this, an Arabic scholar makes an objection to this comment by referring another verse from the holy book, which is “Those messengers –some of them We caused to exceed others”.¹⁸ In that period, Süleyman Çelebi is the Imam of Ulu Mosque although not yet certain. He is grieved due to the sermon of Iranian preacher and writes following couplet (*beyit*) in order to defend the idea that the prophet of Islam is superior in an absolute manner and to condemn any opposite comment: “No death did Jesus die, but he ascended; To join with all Muhammad’s loyal people”.¹⁹ Because this couplet is widely acclaimed, Süleyman Çelebi extends it to a complete mawlid poem. Ateş, criticizing similar narrations of Ottoman authors, come to the conclusion that the apologia of Süleyman Çelebi is actually against heterodox and

¹⁷ *The Holy Qur’an*, 2:285.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:253.

¹⁹ Elias J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. E. G. Browne (London: Luzac & Co. 1900-1909), vol. 1, 233. The remaining part of this poem which does not place in any copy (*nüsha*) of *Vesîletü’n-Necât* is as follows:

“Ölmeyüp İsa göğe bulduğu yol/Ümmetinden olmak için idi ol
Çok temennî kıldılar Hak’tan bular/Tâ Muhammed ümmetinden olalar
Gerçi kim bunlar dahi mürsel durur/Lîk Ahmed efdal ü ekmel durur
Zîrâ ol efdalliğe elyak durur/Ânı öyle bilmeyen ahmak durur”

Latîfî, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şuarâ ve Tabsıra-i Nuzemâ*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), 63. Being based on a rumour, this poem seems a sort of legend created later in order to literalize the reaction of Süleyman Çelebi, more precisely; it is quite reasonable requital from the point of Orthodox Sunni consideration.

esoteric (*bâtınî*) streams of belief developed –and quelled after a little while- under the guidance of Şeyh Bedreddin in the fifteenth century Anatolia.²⁰

In that case, considering Sunni-centered characteristics of Ottoman state ideology, which is dominant from the transition to imperial phase in the sixteenth century especially due to the both political and religious conflict with Iran and Shi'ite movements originated from itself, the reason why Ottoman Empire determines Süleyman Çelebi's poem as literal content for the mawlid ceremonies institutionalized in the late sixteenth century becomes more clear. Ateş asserts that “This situation demonstrates that *Vesîletü'n-Necât* is written not only to depict the birth of the Prophet but also to advocate Sunni view against Shi'ite movements which sprout up in every region of Ottoman Empire”.²¹ To give an example strengthening this argument directly from the poem, in his piece, Süleyman Çelebi mentions that the Prophet designates Abu Bakr as caliph and, furthermore, performs prayer behind him, who is the appointee imam to his Islamic nation (*ümmet*).

According to Ateş, “Süleyman Çelebi, implicitly intends to show that the Prophet

²⁰ See. Michel Balivet, *Şeyh Bedreddin: Tasavvuf ve İsyân*, trans. Ela Güntekin (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000).

²¹ Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesîletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 39. [The translation belongs to me.] An alternative comment made by Paul Wittek handles this dialect from the perspective of a certain anti-Christian attitude of Ottoman state. See. Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Colin Heywood (Milton Park: Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2012). Besides, in the comprehensive article of Yorgos Dedes, a parallelism between the Muslim and Christian is studiously drawn: “Moreover, it can be argued that there exists another intriguing parallel and the *Mevlid* can be best understood in the historical context of Muslim and Christian contacts typical of the early Ottoman period. In addition to that, the role that the Turkish *Mevlid* services played in the religious life of the Muslims may with reason be contrasted with the central role of Christ's death and resurrection both in the Sunday liturgy (Holy Eucharist), but more dramatically at Easter for their Orthodox Christian neighbours.” Yorgos Dedes, “Süleyman Çelebi's Mevlid: Text, Performance and Muslim-Christian Dialogue” in *Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, ed. Günay Kut and Fatma B. Yılmaz (İstanbul: Simurg, 2005), 306.

himself wants Abu Bakr to be caliph so the claims concerning Ali becomes caliph – as brought up by Shi’ites – are wrong”.²²

In addition and similar to the point of view grounded on the Sunni-Shi’ite dichotomy, in one of the main parts of *Vesîletü’n-Necât*, called *Nur Bahri*²³, the idea of the Light of Muhammad (*Nûr-i Muhammediye*), which asserts the Prophet had already existed even before he was created, is defended. Marion H. Katz, in his study *The Birth of Prophet Muhammad* which discusses mawlid writing with regard to their theological lines to high degree, establishes a relation between the belief of the Light of Muhammad and mawlid manuscripts as:

The pre-existence of the Light of Muhammad, including its origination at the beginning of creation and its migration through the loins of the Prophet’s ancestors, is an integral element of the paradigmatic *mawlid* narrative. Of the scores of authored *mawlid* texts and informally compiled *mawlid* manuscripts in existence, the vast majority begin with an account of the Light of Muhammad.²⁴

The debate of the Light of Muhammad is old in Islamic tradition of thought. In the canonic hadith compilation of Al-Tirmidhi (Tirmizî), there exists one including the

²² Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesîletü’n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 39. [The translation belongs to me.]

²³ MacCallum, in his translation of *Vesîletü’n-Necât*, describes the sections or cantos (*bahir*) “usually separated by a couplet and response which serve as chorus” as follows:

- I. A song of invocation and praise to Allah
- II. A brief request (always carefully observed in recitals) for prayers for the author, “Süleyman the lowly”
- III. A discourse on the ‘Light of Muhammed’, or the prophetic succession
- IV. The birth of Muhammed
- V. The ‘Merhaba’, a triumphant chorus of welcome to the new-born Prophet
- VI. Further recital of the marvels attending the birth
- VII. The miracles of the Prophet
- VIII. The ‘Miradj’, or heavenly journey of the Prophet
- IX. Concluding confession and prayer”

Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 8.

²⁴ Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad*, 15.

Prophet's answer to the question about the beginning of his prophecy mission as "when Adam was between the water and the mud".²⁵ According to another common belief, he describes himself as "the first of the prophets to be created (*khalqan*), and the last of them to be sent".²⁶ Being associated with such comments, the system of thought basing the belief that the Prophet Muhammad is created even before the creation of universe, namely the Light of Muhammad, is asserted.²⁷ Hence, it can be alleged that the belief of the Prophet's superiority, is deepened by referring the verse of "And We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds".²⁸ Among the discussions of Islamic theology, this one has a significant place. For instance, one of the marginal theologians throughout the history of Islam, Ibn Taymiyyah (İbn-i Teymiye, according to Turkish transliteration, d.1328) comes up with the idea that the other prophets were not created by Muhammad but were given birth through their own parents and God blew their souls in order to refute an argument of Light of Muhammad. Therewith, he was harshly criticized by lots of scholars.²⁹

In this context, the comment that *Vesîletü'n-Necât* is created due to the controversy on the sermon of Iranian preacher probably seems to be blended with the fundamental debates based on the classical dialectic (*cedel*) of Islamic theology, most particularly considering the narrators, namely Latîfî and Âlî, come into the world at least two generations after Süleyman Çelebi's death. Stated in other words,

²⁵ Ibid., 13.

²⁶ Ibid., 14.

²⁷ Ibid, 15.

²⁸ *The Holy Qur'an*, 21:107

²⁹ Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad*, 15.

when the intensity of the contrast between Sunni and Shi'ite beliefs in the literature is taken into account, the question whether the narrations of Latîfî and Âlî add something from themselves to the life story of Süleyman Çelebi is worthy of verification. It is quite interesting that in modern Ottoman literature, this issue has almost never been touched upon. As a matter of fact, apart from the study of Ateş, researches on Süleyman Çelebi and his mawlid do not criticize chronicles of Ottoman authors; on the contrary, they present these pieces cumulatively to readers. Accordingly, the comments on Süleyman Çelebi and the writing of *Vesîletü'n-Necât* along with gaining its popularity in the eyes of both the state and the people suggested by Ottoman authors –despite of their relatively legendary narratives- are mostly accepted without questioning by mawlid researchers.

Clarification of this literature gap helps to understand the reason why *Vesîletü'n-Necât* is the main text of mawlid ceremonies institutionalized in the sixteenth century at the earliest; however, since this thesis focuses on the period between the years of 1789-1908, it will not enter into that discussion. Nevertheless, with respect to grab the historical veins of the sermons or poems narrating the birth and whole life of the Prophet which are at the center of royal mawlid ceremonies, following theorization established by Katz is explanatory:

Despite the existence of a number of scholarly works focusing on the birth of the Prophet, the growth and circulation of narratives on this subject may not have been most fundamentally shaped by the titled works of identifiable scholars. There is reason to believe that the *mawlid* tradition drew from a rich and extensive body of narrative material that probably originated with popular preachers and storytellers and never achieved the level of formal authentication required for acceptance by the scholarly elite. Some of this material, while decried by many authorities, achieved a level of standardization and dissemination constituting a form of *de facto* canonicity. As we shall see, some narratives rejected by scholars working within the classical paradigm of textual

criticism nevertheless remained strikingly stable and widely circulated over a period of many centuries.³⁰

Excluding the narration of Evliya Çelebi, which describes Süleyman Çelebi as a saint called Sarımsakçızâde Süleyman Efendi whose corpse stands without burying in his mausoleum; for instance, Latîfî and Âlî represents the author of *Vesîletü'n-Necât* as a relative of certain high state officials or a poem, a preacher and even the imam of Ulu Mosque of Bursa patronized by ministers and top officials. However, Ateş ascertains that –even if he is the imam of Ulu Mosque- Süleyman Çelebi is not patronized as much as the poets or any scholars of the era and he is highly-likely an anchorite. Therefore, especially from the perspective of Katz, mythic/legendary mawlid literature –different from the literature of *siyer* which exhaustively portrays the life of Prophet Muhammad- based on the ground of storytelling, in the personality of Süleyman Çelebi and his mawlid has maintained its existence among both rituals of the palace and the people. Thus *Vesîletü'n-Necât*, which has overshadowed all of other mawlids in the Ottoman literature³¹ and has been partially memorized even by ordinary people, according to Emiroğlu, is canonized and furthermore, supposed Qur'an by rural society.³² From the point of view suggested by Katz and Emiroğlu, it seems possible that Ottoman state turns this poem into a cult and takes advantage of it in invented ceremonies in order to legitimate them.

³⁰ Ibid., 8-9

³¹ Fatih Köksal, in his very recent study, claims that totally 76 poets who write *mevlid* in Turkish throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire are found. He gives places the full texts of some of the poems from fifteenth to twentieth centuries. These mawlid poems belong to Zaîf, Recâî, Nasîb(î) and Muhyî in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Sıdkî, Ref'et, Nâimî, Rüşdî-Mes'ûd, Fatma Kâmile in the nineteenth century; and finally, Zeynî, Muhyî-i Mekkî and Ziyâ(î) in the twentieth century. For the other mawlid poems written throughout Ottoman history, see Fatih Köksal, *Mevlid-nâme* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2011).

³² Kudret Emiroğlu, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 43.

Finally, sufism phenomenon nourished by movements of thoughts in Anatolia and Iran, and constitutes a collective ground for fifteenth century Ottoman poetry does not place in Süleyman Çelebi's text.³³ The only part of the poem involving sufi signs is *The Merhaba*, a triumphant chorus of welcome to the new-born Prophet (*Merhabâ Bahri*); however, this part was not written by Süleyman Çelebi but was, in fact, written by a poet of nineteenth century whose name is Ahmed. The fact that this part was added to *Vesiletü'n-Necât* afterwards is proven by Ateş³⁴ and apart from this part, it is almost impossible to encounter the terms of sufism or its traces in the poem. For this reason, as well as that mawlid of Süleyman Çelebi is not considered in the extent of the literature of dervish lodge (*tekke edebiyâtı*), as a musical form created after a long time, it takes a place in the categories of mosque music (*câmi mûsikîsi*), not in the music of dervish lodge (*tekke mûsikîsi*). In this context, the comment made by Fuat Köprülü³⁵ on the characteristics and the function of mawlid ceremonies is factually mistaken because, firstly, even if mawlid ceremonies are functionalized by the way of music, as mentioned before, they are not exact continuation of ancient festivals. As a second, they do not come into existence in the mentality of the literature of dervish lodge which has been developed as production of mystic pleasure. Thirdly, the musical instruments of the music of dervish lodge are not used in the mawlid ceremonies and even these ceremonies are conducted *a capella*.

³³ Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesiletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, ed. Ahmed Ateş (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 42-43.

³⁴ Ibid., 80.

³⁵ "Dinî şiirin mûsikî ile imtizâcı demek olan mevlid cemiyetlerinin bilhassa Türkler arasında o kadar mergub olması eski şölenlere, yâni bedi'î içtimalara müştak olan halkın bu husustaki ihtiyâcından mütevellid idi. Medresenin temsil ettiği zühd ü takva taassuba karşı tekke bedi'î ve fikrî serbest hava alınacak bir menfez hükmünde idi." Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1966), 342.

Thus far, in conjunction with the origins of mawlid ceremonies in Islamic history, the causality of that they are invented in Ottoman Empire in respect to the ideology of the state –emphasizing the importance of the main text of Ottoman mawlid ceremonies, *Vesîletü'n-Necât* and its poet- has been examined. The absence of resources between the writing date of the poem (1409) and formation period of mawlid ceremonies (from beginning the second half of the sixteenth century) necessitated a theoretical approach over history of mindset. Via this methodology, the assessments which are mostly deficient and even incorrect in the literature were tried to be revised. Another disconnection which is equivalent the previous one shows up between the period of invention and the history of the first elaborative mawlid narrations, namely chronicles and archive records. After making a short analysis on this gap in its very first part, in the first chapter, Ottoman royal mawlid ceremonies will be researched within the time period 1789-1908.

CHAPTER II

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROYAL MAWLID CEREMONIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1. The Establishment of the Ceremonies

Eric Hobsbawm, in his introductory article written for *The Invention of Tradition*, states that one of the things in the history of the world seeming to be primeval and directly related a very old past is presumably grandiose ceremonies of Britain's Monarchy with their public appearances. According to him; however, most of these ceremonies are the products of late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and as the roots of these traditions which appear like archaic are actually based on the recent past, in a similar way, it is obvious that they are invented. In this regard, the term 'invented traditions' includes constructed and institutionalized ones in formal ground, in addition to the ones which emerge in a period of time –maybe within few years- and establish expeditiously.³⁶

³⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-2.

This concept should be considered a set of practices that are conducted by certain rules approved openly or implicitly, display a kind of ritualistic or symbolical feature and impose some definite values or norms via their repetitions in order to evoke a so-called natural continuity with the past. As a matter of fact, these practices have a tendency to found continuity with the historical past and their distinctness is based on some implications of such a historical continuity. At this point, these practices adapt themselves to the new conditions and, in the meantime, they create their own past through the repetition so that they gain acceptance.³⁷ Therefore ‘invention of tradition’ appears a formalization and routinization procedure which gain specificity by referring the past. In this process, it is fundamental that historical tools are utilized for the formation of tradition in the direction of recent purposes. Every society has a rich stock composed of these tools and, besides, has already a comprehensive symbolical practices and languages.³⁸ In this way, the term ‘invented tradition’, which is conceptualized by Hobsbawm, offers a theoretical framework not only for the formation of royal ceremonies arises in Britain, but also for institutionalization of mawlid ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire but under the condition that it is criticized.

At this juncture, the subject which should be initially regarded is the fact that the primitive celebration practices of Prophet Muhammad come in sight in the eleventh century, in other words, minimum four centuries after his death. In this circumstance, considering formation periods of mawlid ceremonies in the history of Islamic civilizations, theorization of ‘invented tradition’ may solely be suitable for this period. Accordingly, it must be noted that this thesis does not have a claim

³⁷ Ibid., 2-3.

³⁸ Ibid., 7.

intending royal mawlid ceremonies are formed during the Modern Age. However, the facts related to the alternation of mawlid celebration forms within certain periodical disconnections verify that the tradition is differentiated and even reproduced/reinvented in the course of time. From this point of view, Ottoman royal mawlid ceremonies begin to gain continuity and take their final forms in the Modern Ages.

On the other hand, historical gaps mentioned above, taking into account all of these temporal sequences of mawlid practices in Ottoman State, manifest themselves. To exemplify, as it is discussed in the *Introduction* part of this thesis, the main mawlid text, written by Süleyman Çelebi, at the beginning of fifteenth century is used for the first time at the end of sixteenth century as a ceremonial material. In today's literature, the general view in reference to the beginning of mawlid ceremonies in Ottoman State protocol is the fact that they are formed in the reign of Murad III towards the end of sixteenth century. With regards to constitute an evidence, an Ottoman chronicle belonging to the this century, *Târîh-i Selânikî* of Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, which mentions mawlid meetings for the first time among Ottoman chronicle, can be asserted. According to the chronicle, during the Siege of Szigetvar (1566), in an atmosphere which commanders try to hide the death of Süleyman I from the soldiers, a mawlid recitation is done in 12 Rabi-al-Awwal, and it is repeated in the tent of Grand Vizier a day later.³⁹ In the chronicle, moreover, it can be learned that Murad III orders burning oil lamps (*îkâd-ı kanâdil*) in the minarets and recitation

³⁹ Selanikî Mustafa Efendi, *Târîh-i Selânikî*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 36: "Mâh-ı rebî'ulevvelün on ikinci gicesi otak-ı hümâyûnda hâfızlar istenüp ve Hâfız Mahmud Çelebi mevlûdu'n-Nebî okuyup, bezl-i ni'met olunup ihsânlar oldu. Ve irtesi gice dahi Sadra'zam hazretleri çadırında mevlûd okunup, du'âlar ve senâlar olundu. Ve "Cum'a gün kal'ada namaz kılınur, cem'iyet-i azîm olur, Şeyh Nureddin-zâde Efendi va'z u nasîhat ve du'â ider" diyü nidâlar olundu. Ve lâkin, "Pâdişâh-ı âlem-penâh hazretleri çıkamaz mübarek ayakları incindi" diyü söylendi."

of mawlid poem in the mosques of Istanbul in 10 February 1588 on the occasion of Muhammad's birthday.⁴⁰

The two cases stated above are individual examples of mawlid rituals appearing a sort of elegy or a celebration, or, by using the terminology of Mustafa Selânikî, they represent mawlid assembly practices of the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. In addition to these, in the chronicle, there exists a narrative proving the fact that mawlid rituals are involved Ottoman State protocol (*teşrifât*) even at the end of sixteenth century. According to this record, Grand Mufti (*Şeyhülislam*) Sunullah Efendi interprets the distribution of fruits, candies in ornamental trays and various kinds of beverages with crystal glasses to the government officers in the mawlid ceremonies conducted in the great mosques of Istanbul as an injustice against poor people. Due to this, he describes royal ceremonies as “an ugly innovation” in terms of Islamic circle and since he is not contented such kind of wastage, he gives fatwas against the ceremonies.⁴¹ Starting from this case, the fact mawlid ceremonies performed in the sixteenth century have also some deluxe characteristics seems to be acceptable. Nevertheless, considering the ceremonial understanding of the nineteenth century with its protocol systematics and historical progress, it is suspicious to

⁴⁰ Ibid., 197-198: “Ve sene 996 rebî‘ulevvelinde sa‘âdetlü Pâdişâh-ı âlem-penâh hazretlerinden tezkire-i hümâyûn çıkup, “On ikinci gice isneyn gicesi, ki Server-i kâ‘inât ve mefhar-ı mevcûdât – sallal’llâhu aleyhi vesellem- hazretleri dünyâya gelüp arsa-i sahn-ı cihânı teşrif idüp, nûrânî kıldığı gidcedür, ta‘zîm u ihtirâm eylemek vâcibdür, cümle minârelerde kanâdil yanup ve cevâmi‘ ve mesâcidde mevlidler okunup, günâhkâr ümmet yanup yakılup, şefâ‘at taleb eyleyüp, salavât ve teslîmât ile tesbîh ü tehlîle iştigâl göstürsünler ve şehr-i recebde Regâ‘ib gicesi ve şehr-i şa‘bânda Berât gicesi gibi, minâreler kanâdil ile münevver olmak âdet olsun” diyü fermân olundu.”

⁴¹ Ibid., 806: “Ve Müftilenâm ve Şeyhülislâm Sun‘ullâh Efendi – sellemhu’llâhu te‘âlâ dâmet fezâ’iluhû- hazretleri “Selâtîn-i izâm câmi‘lerinde mevlûdu’n-Nebî okundukta mütevellîler ekâbir ü a‘yâna münakkaş siniler ile nebât u akîdeler ve sırça maşrabalar ile envâ‘-ı eşribeler çeküp, halkun üstünden geçüp, fukarâ vü müsâfirîn ve mücâvirînin hakk-ı nazarı kalup, bir çirkin bid‘atdûr” diyü vakfun böyle itlâf u isrâfâtına rızâ göstermeyüp, “Hasbeten li’llâh medreselerde ve tabh-hânelerde fukarâ vü mesâkîni it‘âm eyleyüp, şart-ı vâkıfı yerine getirürsenüz hoş ve illâ gitdükce bid‘at-ı seyvi‘e izdiyâd bulup, evkâfa sakîl bahâlar ile muhâsebe yazmak nâ-meşrû‘, fâsîd nesnedür” diyü men eylediler.”

examine the sixteenth century mawlid ceremonies with the frame of institutionalization. In this respect, Cannadine explains reinvention processes of royal ceremonies in different periods of Europe as follows:

Of course it is true that the monarchy and some of its ceremonies are, genuinely, thus antique. Nor it can be denied that in England, as in much of Europe, there was a previous period in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when lavish and splendid royal ceremony abounded. But, (...) the continuity which the invented traditions of the late nineteenth century seek to establish with this earlier phase is largely illusory. (...) In Britain, as in Europe generally, there seem to have been two great phases of royal ceremonial efflorescence. The first was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was centred on absolutism in pre-industrial society. By the early nineteenth century, after a last gasp under Napoleon, this phase of development was past, and was succeeded by a second period of invented, ceremonial splendour which began in the 1870s or 1880s, and lasted until 1914.⁴²

Only frequency of chronicles and archive documents including mawlid ceremonies can prove that the Ottoman Empire periodically shows a quite similar tendency to ceremonial continuity and progress.

At the end of eighteenth century, most particularly beginning from the reign of Selim III, records of royal mawlid ceremonies regularly take place among archive documents. For instance, in The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, the documents produced in series are dated to the late eighteenth century and they increase within detailed items in nineteenth century. On the other hand, considering Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, until eighteenth century, ceremonial records are found infrequently. In that case, even though the chronicle of Selânikî involves some indications which can be assumed formation of the ceremonies in the sixteenth century, exhaustive narrations of them are encountered with the chronicles of nineteenth century, especially in Mouradga d'Ohhson's and Mehmed Esad Efendi's

⁴² David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c.1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 161.

depictions. Thus, institutionalization stages of mawlid ceremonies as a type of the empire's ritual and a state protocol can be suggested to coincide with Modern Ages.

Before starting the next section which examines the institutionalization of Ottoman mawlid ceremonies between the years of 1789 and 1908 in the context of publicity phases, a point should be emphasized. Apart from the royal ceremonies conducted in the Inner Palace (*Enderûn*) and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, there exists a small scale type of customary mawlid rituals performed by ordinary people in the other mosques and dervish lodges (*tekke*) and whose financial organizations are carried out by the incomes of charitable foundations (*vakıf*) in the form of management duty regarding foundation's estates (*tevlîyet*). They lie outside the scope of this thesis since it particularly aims to study publicization phenomenon of mawlid ceremonies instrumentalized by the empire. In this regard, even while investigating the institutions and the regions outside the palace and the mosques built by the name of dynasty members (*selâtin câmiileri*), whether they are in a position related to the governmental organizations directly or not is paid attention to.

2.2. Public Transformation between 1789 and 1908

Professor Hobsbawm categorizes the invented traditions of the Modern Ages into three overlapping types with regard to their purposes and functions as follows: (a) “those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities”, (b) “those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority” and (c) “those whose main purpose was socialization, the

inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior”.⁴³ This categorization, at the same time, seems to be quite applicative to classify the public transformation phases of nineteenth century royal mawlid ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire.

On the other side, the term ‘representative publicity’ offered by Habermas describing publicity phenomenon for pre-modern periods of European civilizations stands, at the same time, an explanatory concept in order to apprehend the beginning of the publicity of royal mawlid ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire. According to him, the meeting of lords along with high-level priests or the member of city councils does not mean a delegation assembly which each one represents a social group; on the contrary, because prince and these groups (subject to him) are the state itself, they actually represent their own supremacy. Therefore, the figurativeness of this ‘representative public’ manifests itself in distinct marks, for instance, clothes, demeanors, rhetoric and so on. Consequently, this kind of publicity form which explicitly reveals itself in church ritual, liturgy, mass or processions is not a political communication area, rather refers a social status as a nimbus of authority.⁴⁴

At this juncture, (a)-type tradition category asserted by Hobsbawm and ‘representative publicity’ concept by Habermas are such as to describe early practices of mawlid ceremonies which continue to develop in the nineteenth century of Ottoman State. Considering in detail, at the beginning, royal mawlid ceremonies does not include the participation of ordinary people; contrarily, they are conducted

⁴³ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.

⁴⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), 7-8.

with the participation of high-level administrative staff as Mouradgea d'Ohsson states, "This celebration is for the court only, not for the people. The ceremonies observed there, a mixture of religious practices and political display, are far from the spirit of the public cult of Islam".⁴⁵ The platform of the ceremonies (inner place of the great mosques, especially Sultan Ahmed) which is a micro stage representing the whole empire via symbols of the political power designs aristocratic hierarchy in a specific order. Each of these groups representing the power of the state with different aspects is located as an element of the hierarchy and, stated in other words, each of them symbolizes an authority provided by the Sultan in a group belonging.

In spite of their symbolic characteristics in the ceremonial, the power which is identified and legitimated by the sultan, group/community belonging developing over a sense of allegiance and the hierarchical structure appear statically and without being noticed under normal conditions; however, they become concrete for extraordinary circumstances. To exemplify, the mawlid ceremonies organized in the first years of Selim III's reign witness a serious disturbance between the janissaries (*yeniçeri*) and the religious scholars (*ulemâ*) arising from the quarrel on the matter of candy and beverage which are customarily distributed in the ceremonial. According to an Edict (*Hatt-ı hümayun*) dated to 20 September 1789, due to the same controversy happening a year before Selim III's ascending to the throne in Sultan Ahmed Mosque, the sultan orders his officials to send mawlid candies to the houses of participants instead of distributing them with the trays in the mosque.⁴⁶ A very similar event is to be repeated in the ceremonial conducted a year later, 1790; however, in this instance, penal sanction is relatively severe. The sultan commands

⁴⁵ Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sherif*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 9.

⁴⁶ BOA, HAT 191/9282, (29 Z. 1203/20 Sep. 1789).

that three members from the religious scholars are imprisoned and so many of them are exiled or dismissed.⁴⁷ Even if the tension which distinguishes itself between the janissaries and the religious scholars in the ceremonial reflects on the language of Ottoman documents as a usual conflict due to the distribution of candy and beverage, it actually seems to be structural considering the changing conditions of the era in terms of modernization in state organization. However, Selim III, in order to eliminate such kind of disturbance within the dynamics of the ceremonial, in the short-term, pragmatically revises the tradition of distributing candy and beverage.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ BOA, HAT, 1388/55234, (29 Z. 1204/ 9 Sep. 1790): “Şevketlü Kerâmetlü Mehâbetlü Kudretlü Velî-nîmetim Efendim Pâdişâhım. Mevlîd-i Şerîf günü bâzı bî-edebâne şeker ve şerbet gavgâsı iden suhte makûlelerinin te’dîb olunmaları bâbında beyâz üzerine şeref-yâfte-i sudûr olan mübârek hatt-ı hümâyûnları semâhatlü şeyhü’l-İslâm efendi dâ’îlerine irsâl olundukda meğer Mevlîd-i Şerîf’in irtesi günü ale’s-seher ânlar dahî o makûle edebsizlik idenleri tashîh için müte’addid âdemler ta’yîn itmiş olmalarıyla cümlesini tashîh ve defter itdirdiklerini ifâde ve merkûmların ele getirilmesiçün baş kapıkethüdâsı irsâl olunmasın matlûb itmişler Derhâl baş kapıkethüdâsı kulları ta’yîn olunub şimdiye dek mezkûrlardan üç neferi ahz olunub habs olunmağla kûsûru dahî bi’l-cümle ahz olundukda iktizâsına göre kimini nefy ve kimini vech-i âher ile te’dîb husûsunda müşârü’l-ileyh efendi dâ’îleri gereği gibi ihtimâm idecekleri ve bugün cum’a olmak hasebile mülâzemet için efendi-i dâ’îlerine gelen müderrisîn efendilere dahî müderrisi oldukları medreseler odalarından o makûle bî-edebleri tard ve ihrâc ve fi-mâbâd yerlerine ehl-i ‘ırz ve tâlib-i ‘ilm âdemler komalarını ve müderris efendilerden bu husûsda her kim ihmâl ve iğmâz ider ise lâ-muhâlihi te’dîb olunacağını başka başka her birine tenbîh ve te’kîd itdikleri ma’lûm-ı hümâyûnları buyuruldukda emr ü fermân şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velîni’metim efendim pâdişâhım hazretlerininidir.” and the response of the Selim III as follows: “Kâim-i makâm paşa, güzel eylemişsiniz ki ele gireni nefy ve te’dîb itdiresin. Müderrisden dahî öyle iş idenleri te’dîb eyleyesin.”

⁴⁸ BOA, HAT 210/11321, (29 Z. 1205/29 Aug. 1791) : “Şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velînîmetim efendim pâdişâhım; Beyâz üzerine şeref-yâfte-i sudûr olan hatt-ı hümâyûnlarında “Mevlid-i Şerîf geliyor, geçen sene sùhteler ile Yeniçerilerin itdiği nizâ’ ma’lûm; sebep şeker oluyor, herkesin şekeri evlerine doğru gitsün câmi’e tablalar ile şeker konmasun, Galata Voyvodası’na tenbîh idesin, ben de Dârü’s-sa’ade Ağası’na tenbîh iderim” deyu fermân buyurulmuş. Li-eclî’l-ihbâr hatt-ı hümâyûnları semâhatlü efendi dâ’îlerine gönderildikde, “Fermân şevketlü efendimizin, lâkin Mevlid-i Şerîf’e mevâlînin cümlesi da’vet olunur, içlerinden yirmi beş-otuz neferi ancak gelüb şeker yalnız gelenlerine virilür, gelmeyenlere virilmez, şimdi câmi’de virilmeyüb evlerine gitsün denildikde gelecekler kimler idüğü bilinmez ki gönderile, cümlesine gitsün dinilse başa çık(ıl)maz, bundan mâ’adâ câmi’de şeker tevzi’i gelenlere ikrâm için olmayub kıra’at olunan Mevlid-i Şerîf’e hürmet için idüğü ve hattâ esnâ-yı kıra’atde teberrüken ve ittîbâ’en şeker ve şerbet ekl ve şerbetin vakt-i mu’ayyeni dahî olduğu ma’lûm-ı hümâyûndur, bu sùretde ya hiç şeker verilmeyüb evlerine dahî gönderilmemeli yâhud â’det-i dîrine terk olunmamak için Mevlid-i Şerîf’e hürmeten yine virilüb sùhtelerin ve Yeniçerilerin gereği gibi zapt ü rabtlarına dikkat olunmaludur, Yeğen Paşa ve Silahdâr Mehmed Paşa ve Halil Paşa sadâretlerinde güzel zapt ü rabt olunmuş idi, bu def’a dahî eğer hiç virilmez ise fermân efendimizindir, eğer virilmesi irâde buyurulur ise câmi’-i şerîfin kapuları sedd

Herein, it is significant to remind that the royal ceremonies of this period are group rituals arranged for the benefit of the aristocracy rather than majority of people and aim to intensify the collective superiority sensation of the administrators rather than imposing a feeling of obedience to the subjects.⁴⁹ By this means, actually, some groups are promoted to feel intimate with other ones which are above in terms of their status.⁵⁰ However, on the other hand, the degree of sharing potency and the balance of power among the groups –as in the borders of hierarchy experienced in the reel world- are expected to maintain in the ceremonial. In this case, as a conflict among the groups in the ceremonial brings with a penal sanction, at the same time, it is inadmissible that the participants break the norms of the protocol. To give an example, in an archive document belonging to the late eighteenth century, the Chief Admiral (*Kaptân-ı Deryâ*), which has a distinguished position in the Ottoman state protocol,⁵¹ apologizes from Selim III for he cannot attend the mawlid ceremony since he has to go to the Black Sea a day after for military purposes; however, the sultan does not accept his excuse and commands “he should catch the ceremonial even if he

olunub ulemâ meyyit kapusundan girmek üzere tarafımızdan büyük kavuklular ve İstanbul Kadısı tarafından kendüye me’ mûr orta neferâtı ta’yîn ve ricâlin gireceği meydân kapusunu dahî sekbânbaşı muhâfaza eylediği hâlde sühtelerden edebisizlik zuhûr idemeyeceğine tarafımızdan ikdâm olunur” dimişler, bu sûretde virilmek ve virilmemek husûsı manzûr-ı re’y-ı ‘âlîleri idüğü ma’lûm-ı hümâyûnları buyuruldukda fermân şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velî-nîmetim efendim pâdişâhım hazretlerindir.” and the response of the sultan to this hatt-ı hümâyûn is as follows: “Kâim-i Makâm Paşa, ben Dârü’s-sa’ade Ağası’na tenbih itdim, şeker şerbet verilecek, içeri tabla ile konmayacak, evlerine gidecek yine tenbîh ve ihtimâm idesin takrîr mücebince.”

⁴⁹ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c.1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 131.

⁵⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 12-13.

⁵¹ For the importance of the role of *kaptân-ı deryâ* in Ottoman *teşrifât*, See. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Osmanlı Donanması ve Kapudan-ı Derya ile İlgili Teşrifat Hakkında Belgeler,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 12 (1981): 25-84.

comes at the end of it because even though there is an urgency case, it is inconvenient not to be present at the protocol”.⁵²

A critical point with regard to the publicity of the mawlid ceremonials manifests itself in the first half of nineteenth century. For the first time, in the period of Mahmud II, the royal ceremony shows a spatial alteration and transfers into other great mosques of Istanbul for a few times. For instance, in 1827 the sultan prefers Nusretiye Mosque to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet while, after a year, the royal ceremonial is conducted in Beylerbeyi Mosque. In order to legitimate such a change with respect to the continuity of the tradition, Mahmud II only implies that mawlid practice is customary –but using the terminology of Ottoman archives, performance of the ceremonial in Sultan Ahmed Mosque is accepted as an ‘very old custom’ (*âdet-i kadîme*) too- and he continues his decree with “it can be done in Nusretiye Mosque for this time”.⁵³ Nevertheless, two years later, in 1830, he decides ceremonial to be conducted in Eyüp Mosque and in the ceremony of that year, the letter written by the Emir of Mecca, Muhammed bin Avn concerning pilgrims finalized their duty of Hajj is recited along with the mawlid text.⁵⁴ When examining

⁵² [The translation belongs to me.] BOA, HAT 409/21262: “Şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velî-ni‘metim efendim pâdişâhım; Teşrifâtıdan muhrec pusulada kapudân paşa kullarının dahi Mevlid-i Nebevî alayında beraber bulunması munderic olduğundan pusulanın ‘atebe-i ‘ulyâ-i husrevânelerine takdîmde izn ü ruhsatı şâmil hatt-ı şerif-i şevket-redif-i şâhâne-i şeref-efzâ-yı sudûr olmuş idi. Resm-i mezkûrun icrâsıçün yarınki gün Sultan Ahmed Hân -tâbe serâhû- hazretleri Câmî’inde beraber bulunması müşârun ileyhe ihbâr olundukda yarınki gün li-maslahatihî Bahr-i Siyâh Boğazı’na ‘azîmet ideceğini ve binâenaleyh resm-i mezkûr icrâsına vakti müsâ‘id olmayacağını beyân birle ‘afvını iltimâs etmiş olduğu muhât-ı ‘ilm-i ‘âfîleri buyuruldukda emr ü fermân şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velî-ni‘metim efendim pâdişâhım hazretlerininindir.” and the decree of Selim III is: “Manzûrum olmuşdur, resm-i mezkûrun tekâmîlde ‘azîmet eylesün, her ne-kadar müsta‘cel mâdde ise de bulunmaması enseb görünmez, ne gûne maslahat olduğu izâh ol(un)arak takrîrde zikr olunmamış.”

⁵³ [The translation belongs to me.] BOA, HAT 1438/59110, (29 Z. 1243/12 Jul. 1828): “icrası mu‘tad olan Mevlid-i Şerif’in bu def‘alık dahi Câmî-i Nusret(îye)’de icrâ olunmak (...)”

⁵⁴ BOA, HAT 558/27556, (29 Z. 1245/ 21 Jun. 1830).

archive documents, it can be predicted that the letter of Emir or Sheriff of Mecca about pilgrims is recited in the mawlid ceremonies appears in that period. Therefore, as an insertion to the ceremonial, such kind of practices need to be discussed in the context of invented of tradition in particular. Spatial alteration of the ceremonial proceeds in the reign of Abdülmecid too. Mawlid ceremonial of 26 January 1850 is performed in Beşiktaş Mosque and among invitees; there exists the Emir of Mecca, Sheriff Abdülmuttalip Efendi.⁵⁵

Royal mawlid ceremonies regularly continue in Sultan Ahmed and some other great mosques of Istanbul in the first half of nineteenth century; on the other hand, they gradually start to penetrate into the public realms of the city through the agency of particular symbols. In this regard, (b)-type function of the tradition asserted by Hobsbawm which makes institutions legitimate begins to show itself in a certain degree. To illustrate, from an archive record dated to the last year of Mahmud II, 21 May 1839, it is understood that the tradition of burning lamps on the minarets of the mosques expands into the seaside residences of high state officials. According to the document, a year before (1838), ministers and top officials burn candles in front of their mansions and wait for the procession of the sultan but the procession does not occur, still this procedure is expected to be repeated at least by eager ones.⁵⁶

Furthermore, in the same year, Mahmud II orders lighting (*tenvîrât*) in front of the gate of Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne*).⁵⁷ After that, in 1840, in a mawlid ceremony on the occasion of Abdülmecid's ascendance to the

⁵⁵ BOA, İ.DH. 208/12025, (08 Ra. 1266/ 22 Jan. 1850); BOA, A.AMD. 16/54, (08 Ra. 1266/ 22 Jan 1850); BOA, İ.DH. 208/12060, (11 Ra. 1266/28 Jan. 1850).

⁵⁶ BOA, HAT 1620/12, (7 Ra. 1255/21 May. 1839).

⁵⁷ BOA, C.SH. 6/269, (7 Ra. 1255/21 May. 1839).

throne, the tradition of burning candles on the minarets and other public places in addition to the artillery shooting for five times.⁵⁸

Cannadine states “In many other spheres of activity, too, venerable and decayed ceremonials were revived, and new institutions were clothed with all the anachronistic allure of archaic but invented spectacle”.⁵⁹ From this point of view, with the aim of sanctification of the institutions transformed by the nineteenth century modernization phenomenon, -educational institutions being in the first place- mawlid ceremonies start to be arranged in certain institutions of Ottoman Empire different from the mosques and the palace. Among the series of archive records, the first of these is dated to 1845. According to that document, a small-scale mawlid ceremony is conducted in the School for Secular Learning (*Mekteb-i Maarif*), on this wise, the amount of 15,000 piasters (*kuruş*) are distributed among the student and, moreover, one of the teachers of the school, Rusçuklu Ali Efendi is decorated (*nişan ittâsi*).⁶⁰ These kinds of examples will be analyzed particularly in the Third Part of the Thesis under the title of ‘Patronage’.

⁵⁸ BOA, İ.DH. 31/605, (01 Ra. 1256/3 May. 1840). Alongside the main protocol in the great mosques of Istanbul consisting of the sultan’s procession from the palace in 12th Rabi-al-Awwal of every year, royal mawlid ceremonies, at the same time, involves the – as a relatively simple- imperial ritual performed in the Palace (*Enderun*) on the same day. Beginning from the *Tanzimat* era, transformation in the bureaucratic organization reflects on the ceremonial procedures in different ways. For instance, in the very first years of Abdülmecid’s reign, subsequent to a mawlid ceremonial held in the Inner Palace, the Chief of the Scribes (*Reisülküttâb*), the Minister of Foreign Affairs (*Hâriciye Nâzırı*) and some officials of the Council of Judicial Ordinance (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*) pray all together first in the Office of the Grand Vizier (*Sadâret Dâiresi*) and then in Ayasofya Mosque for the lifetime and the reign of Abdülmecid. BOA, İ.DH. 85/4286, (13 Ra. 1260/2 Apr. 1844).

⁵⁹ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c.1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 138.

⁶⁰ BOA, A.MKT. 20/93, (29 Z. 1260/9 Jan. 1845).

The third stage of royal mawlid ceremonies' public transformation matches up to the (c)-type category of Hobsbawm, "whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior".⁶¹ As a first step, this kind of transformation, with regard to the society of Istanbul, comes into sight in a practice -similar to the Friday divine service parade (*Cuma selâmlığı*)-, which contains gathering petition (*arzuhâl*) from people during the procession in the pre-ceremonial. This practice is encountered in the documents of 1851-1852 at the earliest.⁶² Petitions, requests of people from the sultan, gathered during the procession (*mevlid alayı*) are going to be examined in the Fourth Chapter of the Thesis. However, it should be emphasized here that, by this means, ordinary people – even though from outside- become participants to the ceremonial. At this point, another question rising is whether these ceremonies are open to foreign spectators or not. Related to this subject, the only identified record of the series of nineteenth century dates back to 18 December 1856. According to this document, a group of foreign people demands to watch the procession.⁶³

As mentioned before, ceremonies which are conducted outside of Istanbul and expected to be patronized by the government constitute the second step in terms of including a sense of community. For example, according to an archive record of 6 June 1813, one of the retired officials, Ahmed Paşa asks the sultan's permission of a mawlid ceremony in behalf of his subjects for celebrating the restoration of the mausoleum of Mehmed I in Bursa. In the document, it is expressed that the scholars,

⁶¹ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.

⁶² BOA, A.AMD. 40/24, (1268/1852).

⁶³ BOA, HR.MKT. 166/21, (10 Ra. 1273/8 Nov. 1856).

sheikhs and subjects desire the permanence of Mahmud II's life and sultanate.⁶⁴ As an another example, in 1852, in Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, a mawlid recitation is organized in order to sanctify the shrine of John the Baptist (Prophet Yahya) and the expense of the ceremony which is amount of 2500 piasters (*kuruş*) is jointly paid by the Imperial Ministry of Endowments (*Evkâf-ı Hümâyün Nezâreti*) and Ministry of Finance (*Hazîne-i Hâssa*). From this year, -considering the archive series- mawlid ceremonies are traditionalized in that mosque.⁶⁵ On the other hand, in 14 January 1859, Ali Eşref Dede⁶⁶, who is the sheikh of the dervish lodge of Edirne (*Edirne Mevlevîhânesi*), requests from the government to arrange mawlid rituals in the lodge with the expenditure of 1500 piasters (the cost of candies and the payment to the mawlid reciters and servants) and he adds, otherwise, the inhabitants of the lodge is going to be upset. His request is responded affirmatively by the government and the amount mentioned above is paid by the Imperial Ministry of Endowments.⁶⁷

Apart from Anatolia and Thrace, in the remote parts of the empire, matters concerning mawlid ceremonies are observed. As it is touched upon in the Introduction, a tension between the customary mawlid celebrations in Tripoli held by people and the Ottoman governance which actually tries to ensure social order can be traced from the records. First of these is the report of Tripoli governor, Mahmud Nedim Paşa⁶⁸, sent to Istanbul in 25 October 1860. According to the report, in the

⁶⁴ BOA, HAT 630/31134, (6 C. 1228/28 Mar. 1852).

⁶⁵ BOA, İ.DH. 247/15108, (07 R. 1268/20 Jan. 1852).

⁶⁶ He has a booklet about foods, see. Ali Eşref Dede, *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, ed. Feyzi Halıcı, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992).

⁶⁷ BOA, İ.DH. 421/27857, (07 Ca. 1275/13 Dec. 1858).

⁶⁸ See. Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 3 (1990): 257-274.

city center and surroundings, same as before, sheikhs and dervishes boisterously visit all the religious places and -foreigners being in the first place- disconcert the people of the city. Due to this reason, even craftsmen cannot go their shops. Mahmud Nedim Paşa states that despite all, mawlid celebration is controlled –as the empire desires- and the people are safe.⁶⁹ As a second example, twenty five years later, the governor of the period, Ahmed Rasim Paşa draws up a report but his depiction is more elaborate in comparison to the previous one. According to the report, in 12 Rabi-al-Awwal, people (from the inhabitants of the lodge of Tripoli) cluster in the city center with their all sorts of flags, swords and drums and while some of them who are overwhelmed strike their own mouths and bellies with swords; some of the others swallow snakes and scorpions. They praise and visit all the holy places but at the end, they continue their praise (*âyin-i zikir*) in front of the Government Office of Tripoli and this creates uneasiness for both for officials and people of the city. Ahmed Rasim Pasha, after his portrayal of the incidence, in a similar way, finishes his report by emphasizing people is safe.⁷⁰ As a last example, in 1865, in Limnos Island of Greece, during a mawlid ceremony, some persons from old criminals of the island’s Christian subjects disturb people and due to this, they are sent to the Council of Judicial Ordinance (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye*).⁷¹

The second phase of (c)-type publicity of the mawlid ceremonies in the nineteenth century takes shape in the practices of Abdülhamid II’s reign. In the context of

⁶⁹ BOA, A.AMD. 93/47, (28 Ra. 1277/31 Jan. 1851); BOA, A.MKT.UM. 433/32, (09 R. 1277/25 Oct. 1860); BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 206/52, (07 B. 1277/19 Jan 1861).

⁷⁰ BOA, İ.DH. 941/74473, (23 Ra. 1302/10 Jan. 1885). For Ahmed Rasim Paşa, see. Hamiyet Sezer “II. Abdülhamit Dönemi’nde Osmanlı’da Vilayet Yönetiminde Düzenleme Gayretleri: Trablusgarp Örneği ve Ahmet Rasim Paşa,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 20, no. 32 (2002): 163–178.

⁷¹ BOA, MVL 805/49, (04 N. 1282/21 Jan. 1866).

pragmatic utilization of the ceremonial for social purposes, this period brings about a procedure change in unprecedented scale. To exemplify, Abdülhamid II, in the very first years of his reign, turn the ceremony practices of the institutions into an aid campaign for immigrants. For instance, after the great ceremonial of 16 March 1878, he orders to organize extra mawlid ceremonies in Bayezid Mosque in 20, 22 and 30 March 1878. In these ceremonies, for spectators, the tickets in the total amount of 10,000 piaster are sold to the School of Sultans (*Mekteb-i Sultânî*), the Imperial Press (*Matbaa-i Âmire*) and the School of Civil Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*).⁷²

On the one hand, the fact that Abdülhamid II isolates himself in Yıldız Palace makes him a legend in the eyes of his subjects; on the other hand, this distance from the society creates a serious contradiction about his understanding about authority. The regime starts to penetrate social life increasingly but his obsession about security prevents him from going out in public. This situation causes a criticism on whether the sultan is a passive caliph but “The sultan’s myth had, as a result, to be managed through a system of symbols which constantly reminded the people of his power and omnipresence”.⁷³ However, his ancestors, Mahmud II, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz adopt the modern public figure role who shows their face. The main purpose of Abdülhamid II - unlike his predecessors- is to create “vibrations of power” without being seen. As Deringil asserts, “Communication with his people and the outside world had therefore to be made through a world of symbols. These were based almost entirely on Islamic motifs”.⁷⁴

⁷² BOA, MF.MKT. 54/3, (8 Ra. 1295/12 Mar. 1878).

⁷³ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

Before this period, mawlid practices roughly consist of the process from (a) type group ceremonies to the (b)-type category which provides institutions for legitimacy and (c)-type organizing socialization. Yet, the examples of Abdülhamid II era reveal that these ceremonies –as ideological instruments- convey “the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior” as seen in the rest of the (c)-type tradition category of Hobsbawm.⁷⁵ Since the political conditions of the era necessitate that the Ottoman Empire imposes its state ideology –these are more based on so-called archaic symbols having Islamic motifs for that period- to its remote possessions (especially Balkan Peninsula), the ceremonies are utilized in line with this target. To give an obvious example, for the first time, the main mawlid text of the ceremonial, the poem of Süleyman Çelebi, ‘Vesîletü’n-Necât’, starts to be translated into the other languages, for sure under the permission of Abdülhamid II’s administration.⁷⁶ For instance, in his letter dated to 22 February 1888, Hâfız Ali Efendi of Ulcinj (Ülgün) tells that he translates mawlid text to Albanian and asks Ministry of Education’s (*Maarif Nezâreti*) permission for its press and the license. The ministry takes his request to an expert and the feedback of the expert is as follows: First of all, the translator does not know Albanian language adequately. Secondly, the translation can be only understood by the people of Shkodra (*İşkodra*) but it is not appropriate for people living in the rest of the region, e.g. Tosca or

⁷⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.

⁷⁶ Herein, it is crucial to emphasize that almost all translations of Süleyman Çelebi’s poem are done by the late nineteenth century, even in the Abdülhamid II era, e.g. Bosnian, Greek, Kurdish and Circassian. For translation examples of Süleyman Çelebi’s mawlid poem, *Vesîletü’n-Necât*, from the beginning of Abdülhamid II era, see. *Tayyip Okiç*, “Çeşitli Dillerde Mevlidler ve Süleyman Çelebi Mevlidinin Tercümeleleri,” *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslamî İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 1 (1975): 17-24.

Manastir. From these two main reasons, in spite of his endeavors, the translation of Hâfız Ali Efendi is evaluated as unsuccessful.⁷⁷

In this period, such kind of control and censorship are encountered for the books concerning the theological aspects of mawlid too. For example, in 1888, a booklet based on a polemic about mawlid poem of Süleyman Çelebi written by the chief of Personnel Record Commission (*Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu*), Rıza Efendi, is investigated by Grand Mufti Ahmed Esad Efendi. In his letter, the Grand Mufti states that since the poem is regarded by people living in Islamic towns as one of the holy pieces, -even if it has some faulty parts- attempting correction of the poem in existence for the centuries only causes to confuses Muslim people's mind, and he returns the booklet to his owner without printing.⁷⁸ In this context, Cannadine states,

In such an age of change, crisis and dislocation, the 'preservation of anachronism', the deliberate, ceremonial presentation of an impotent but venerated monarch as a unifying symbol of permanence and national community became both possible and necessary.⁷⁹

Either in the ongoing grandiose ceremonial through the nineteenth century or in the state-patronized ceremonies which are conducted in the remote regions of the Ottoman Empire (especially in Balkan geography), the authenticity of the poem of Süleyman Çelebi constituting the literary origin of the mawlid ceremonial is preserved on the one hand, and it is utilized as a communication device or, more

⁷⁷ BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 6/92, (9 C. 1305/22 Feb 1888).

⁷⁸ BOA, Y.MTV. 36/98, (27 R. 1306/31 Dec. 1888): "sâlifü'z-zikr manzûme kâffe-i bilâd-ı İslâmiye'de şimdiye kadar kabûl-ı 'âmmeye mazhar olan âsâr-ı müteberrikadan olub sarf-ı teberrük kasdıyla 'akd-i mecâlis olunarak ihtifâlât-ı lâzıme ile kırâ'at olunmakda idüğünden mesâ'il-i şer'iyeden olmayan münderecatında meşhûr olan takdîm ve te'hîr veya ziyâde ve noksan hâ'iz-i ehemmiyet olmaması cihetiyle 'asırlardan beri te'essüs eden bir şeyin lüzûm-ı sahîh olmaksızın tashihine kalkışılması mûcib-i tahdîş-i efkâr olacağından (...)"

⁷⁹ David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c.1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 122.

precisely as an instrument spreading the Ottoman ideology via developing printing technologies of the era on the other.

In other respects, from the eighteenth century, the fact that the place reserved to sultan (*hünkâr mahfili*) in the great mosques gradually expands –in a sort of pushing the limits of architectural feasibility- is worth questioning in terms of ceremonies’ grandiosity aspects. Similarly, in Yıldız Mosque, the ceremonial place of Abdülhamid II enlarges in a manner that is not seen before and exceeds the place of worship.⁸⁰ In the mawlid ceremony example, it can be seen that these ceremonies are splendidly performed until the end of Abdülhamid II’s era. Shortly after the declaration of the Second Constitution (*İkinci Meşrûtiyet*), in an article by name of *Mevlid Alay-ı Vâlâsı*, published in the *Beyânü ’l-Hak*, journal of the Religious Scholars’ Association (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmâniye*), there is a criticism about the royal mawlid ceremonies which are conducted in the period of Abdülhamid II. According to the article, in the age of despotism (*istibdâd*) of the sultan, these ceremonies are in fact, both factitious and luxurious right along with their magnificence; however, in the age of Mehmed V, on the contrary, they are not performed in a hypocritical manner. As all the Muslim people are invited to them, at the same time, their performances are more artistic and emotive in comparison to the previous practices.⁸¹ Hence the transformation process of the mawlid ceremonies –in

⁸⁰ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 23.

⁸¹ “Mevlid Alay-ı Vâlâsı,” *Beyânülhak*, (16 Ra. 1327/7 May. 1909), 1098-1099. “Hâl böyle iken söylemesinden lîsânların, yazmasından kalemlerin, dinlemesinden kulakların artık bıktığı, usandığı, istikrâh eder olduğu devr-i sâbıkta, devr-i istibdâtta, devr-i cehâlet ve riyâda resmen ve zâhiren bu gibi alaylar icrâ olunur, bütün tantanasıyla böyle cem’iyetler kurulur, cemâ’at-ı pâdişâhtan evvel hâzır bulunur, zât-ı şâhânenin câmi’-i şerîfe vürûduna kadar zikrullâha bedel sohbet ile dem-güzâr olunurdu. Pâdişâh gelir gelmez gûyâ va’az edilir, velâdetnâme-i kudsiden şöylece bazı ebyât okunur ve meclise hitâm verilerek ‘avdet edilirdi. Fakat bu defa icrâ olunan mevlid alayı, cümle müselmânların halîfesi, bütün Osmanlıların pâdişâhı, pâdişâh-ı meşrûtiyet ve hürriyet Sultan Mehmed

the sense of twentieth century's and even today's understanding- seems to be completed to a large extent through more than a century. Even though the ceremonial tradition becomes solid and loses its royal meanings or symbols, it reaches a status which enable people to participate but creating with an illusion as if it represents social solidarity by way of a religious ritual or a kind of worship throughout history.

Han-ı Hâmis hazretlerinin ilk mevlid alay-ı vâlâ-yı hümâyûn-ı mülûkâneleri böyle riyâkârâne ve ca'î olmak derekelerinden mütebâ'id, müte'âlî idi.”

CHAPTER III

THE PERFORMANCE AND PROTOCOL DETAILS OF THE MAWLID CEREMONY

3.1. The Performance at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: A Comparison of Two Narratives

Throughout the Ottoman History, the first two chronicles containing elaborate narrations of the mawlid ceremonies –as it is mentioned in the Second Chapter- are written at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of them is *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, the manuscript examining almost all royal ceremonies and their protocol rules, written by Mehmed Esad Efendi (1789-1848), who is one of the remarkable politicians and intellectuals for that period.⁸² The other narration is present at *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* of Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807), who is a significant diplomat, interpreter and historiographer of the Ottoman State. The part, in this chronicle, including the mawlid ceremony is translated into English by Lyman

⁸² Mehmed Esad Efendi, *Mehmed Esad Efendi'nin Teşrifât-ı Kadîmesi'si: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Teşrifât*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk, Miraç Tosun and Serdar Soyluer (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012).

MacCallum, a Christian missionary living in Turkey in the early twentieth century.⁸³

In this part of the thesis, the two above-mentioned chronicles, are analyzed comparatively in order to reveal the nineteenth century protocol of the mawlid ceremonies in detail.

To begin with, in Sultan Ahmed Mosque, the Chief Judges of Rumelia and Anatolia (*Sadreyin-i Muhteremeyn*), and high-ranking jurists (*mevâlî-i izâm*) and professors (*müderrişîn*) sits on the cushions reserved for them to the right of the prayer-niche (*mihrab*) in a way to consolidate the position of the Grand Mufti (*Şeyhülislâm*), who is to arrive the mosque later on and place in front of the prayer-niche. On the other side, the group composed of viziers, the opposite way round, place to the left side of the prayer-niche, on the prayer rugs (*seccâde*) reserved for them, near to the Grand Vizier (*Sadrâzâm*), who is to sit down in front of the prayer-niche, next to the Grand Mufti.⁸⁴

The section where the viziers expands to the left, towards the royal lodge (*hünkâr mahfili*) according to the rank order as the following:

a) The High Admiral (*Kaptân-ı Deryâ*), the Commander of Janissaries (*Yeniçeri Ağası*), the Minister of Finance (*Defterdâr Efendi*)

b) The Emperor's Standard-bearer (*Mirâlem Ağâ*), the Chief Gatekeepers (*Kapucubaşı Ağalar*), the Commander of the First Regiment of the Cavalry Troops (*Sipâh Ağası*), the Sword-bearer of the Great Lord (*Silâhdâr Ağası*), the Chief of Logistics (*Cebecibaşı*), the Chief Gunner (*Topçubaşı*), the Head of the Carriage Drivers (*Arabacıbaşı*), the Four Other Regiments (*Bölükât-ı Erbaa*)

⁸³ Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943).

⁸⁴ Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 38.

c) the Inspector General of the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities of Arabia, i.e., Mecca and Medina (*Hazine-i Haremeyn Müfettişi*) and Clerks (*Haremeyn muhasebecileri*), and their junior clerks (*halîfe*) and treasurers (*kîsedâr*).

On the other hand, state officers of the Janissaries, *Zağarcıbaşı* and *Saksoncubaşı* agha and low-rank officers are arranged in an order, on the right side of the mosque, from pulpit (*minber*) to the lectern (*kürsü*) backwards. Herein, it should be emphasized that the Commander of Janissaries and the Chief Gatekeepers are responsible to convey the sultan from the Palace to the mosque hence they come to their location of protocol later on.⁸⁵

Subsequently, the Grand Vizier and the Grand Mufti arrive and place themselves in front of the prayer-niche but arrival of the Grand Vizier occurs by a mini-procession. He comes in company with the Secretary of the State (*Reîsülküttâb*), the Chief Usher (*Çavuşbaşı Ağa*), secretaries of the Imperial Council (*Tezkireci efendiler*), the corresponding secretary of the Grand Vizier (*Mektûbî Efendi*) and the ushers and aghas of the Imperial Council (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyun çavuş ve ağaları*), in the meanwhile, all of those present in the mosque stand up. This procession splits the line of the religious scholars, salutes the both sides of the mosque and sits their place in front of the prayer-niche. The Secretary of the State places himself right across the Grand Vizier, and secretaries of the Imperial Council and the Grand Vizier's corresponding secretary sit to the left of him.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ibid., 38-39; Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 10.

⁸⁶ Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 39.

Meanwhile, the Master of Protocol (*Teşrifâtî Efendi*) and his junior clerks and treasurers bring incensory (*buhurdân*) and put them in front of the Grand Vizier, the Grand Mufti and the viziers and after the ceremony, again this group puts them back.⁸⁷ Besides, the Chief of the Emirs, descendant of the Prophet (*Nakîbü'l-Eşrâf Efendi*) has an exclusive protocol place at the right corner of the mosque, which is a green tent, and he sits there alone but surrounded by his band of ushers with green turbans, and the Grandmaster of Ceremonies and one of the special officials of the Grand Vizier stand behind him. The Chief of Emirs also has his own share of sweetmeat and sherbet in the ceremony. After the ceremony finishes, he returns to his home with his band.⁸⁸

After Surah al-Fath, which is Chapter 48 of Qur'an is recited in the lodge for the chanters (*müezzin mahfili*), the Sultan arrives the mosque with the officers of his households and places himself on his own platform, which is royal lodge (*hünkâr mahfili*). As a sign informing that the Sultan arrives, the curtain of the lodge is raised and all of those present in the mosque stand up. At that point, the Sultan partially shows his face or only his turban, shortly after the curtain is closed and every group sits once again. As an exception, the Master of Protocol continues to stand and waits the order of the Grand Vizier; after his sign, he sits on the floor too. Right after that, the ceremony begins and each of the priests, Chief Priest of Ayasofya (*Ayasofya Camii Şeyhi*), Sultan Ahmed Mosque (*Sultan Ahmed Camii Şeyhi*) and the third one who is on duty for that day (*Nöbetçi Şeyh*), goes up to the lectern (*kürsü*), preaches a sermon (*vaaz*) and goes down respectively. While each of them is going down, he is

⁸⁷ Ibid., 39.

⁸⁸ Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 10.

awarded by the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace (*Dârüssaade Ağası*) with a robe of sable fur.⁸⁹

During each of the priests are going up to the lectern, sixty Halberdiers with Side Lock (*Zülüflü Baltacıyan*) serve –totally three times- rose water, beverages and incensory to the high-ranking viziers and scholars. After finishing the last sermon, muezzins of the mosque intone a hymn in praise of the Prophet (*na't-ı Şerîf*) in the mobile platform established for the ceremony and then another fifteen musicians recite a chant (*ilâhî*). Subsequent to these, the First Mawlid Reciter of (*Mevlidhân-ı Evvel*) of the Sultan goes up to the lectern and recite a part of Süleyman Çelebi's mawlid poem and after going down, –similar to the procedure of the priests- he is decorated with a robe of honor (*hil'at*). In the meantime, approximately two hundreds of Halberdiers of the Palace (*Baltacıyan*) advance carrying trays loaded with sweetmeats and beverages. At that moment, two officers of Janissaries (*Zağarcıbaşı* and *Saksoncubaşı*) immediately take the action and serve sweetmeats and beverages to the Grand Vizier and the Grand Mufti. Right after, the Second Mawlid Reciter (*Mevlidhân-ı Sâni*) goes up to the lectern and recites the couplet (*beyit*) of “On pinions bright a bird of white came floating / And stroked my back, so

⁸⁹ Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 41; Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 11. “This is the one day in the year on which he (the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace) is permitted to appear in public with great display, for at other times he leaves the Palace only in the train of the Sultan on occasions when the latter goes publicly to the mosque. He takes precedence in his festival in his capacity of Inspector General of the sacred funds of the two cities of Arabia. On this day he leaves the Palace half an hour before the Sultan, and goes to the mosque with a numerous retinues, composed of the whole body of the Black Eunuchs and of the halberdiers, in uniform.” Ibid., 10.

strongly yet how kindly” from *Vesîletü'n-Necât* and just then all the people who are present in the mosque stand up.⁹⁰

Subsequent to the recitation of the couplet, during everyone remains standing, *Müjdecibaşı*, who hides behind the curtain in the royal lodge until that moment, appears and goes to the Grand Vizier in company with the Master of Protocol. His duty in the ceremony is to convey the official letter (*nâme*) of the Sheriff of Mecca, which mentions the pilgrims are safe. By the sign of the Grand Vizier, the Secretary of the State takes the letter, goes to the royal lodge and read it aloud there. After this procedure, the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace are decorated with fur, while the Secretary of the State are awarded with robe. The response of the Sultan to the Sheriff is delivered to *Müjdecibaşı*, who is to go to Damascus in company with the Governor of Damascus, and he is “dressed in a robe and wearing a turban wrapped round black muslin and crowned with a plume”.⁹¹

In the meantime, date come from Medina is served to the Grand Vizier in a silver trap. After taking one or two dates and offering Grand Mufti, he calls the Master of Protocol in order to distribute the rest of them to the high-ranking officers and scholars. Following this procedure, the Second Mawlid Reciter of the Sultan completed his recitation, and after being awarded with a robe of honor, he gives the lectern to the Third Mawlid Reciter of the Sultan (*Mevlidhân-ı Sâlis*). While he is reciting, trustees (*mütevelli*) of Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Ayasofya and some other mosques serves sweetmeats to the Grand Vizier, the Grand Mufti and other viziers

⁹⁰ “Geldi bir ak kuş kanadiyle revân / Arkamı sığadı kuvvetle hemân” Ibid., 11-12; Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 41. This custom still continues today in the mawlid recitations conducted in the great mosques.

⁹¹ Süleyman Çelebi, *The mevlidi sheriff*, ed. Lyman Maccallum (London: John Murray, 1943), 12-13; Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 41.

respectively. After the Third Mawlid Reciter's finishing the recitation, he is awarded with a robe of honor too. Thus the ceremony ends and everyone returns to their home.⁹² Nevertheless, only these officials remain and wait for the Sultan outside of the mosque: the Grand Vizier, the Grand Mufti, the Chief Judges of Rumelia and Anatolia, the Minister of Finance, the Secretary of the State, the Chief Usher, the Chief of Logistics, the Chief Gunner and the Head of the Carriage Drivers. After the Sultan appears, they give a salute to him and while the Sultan comes back to the Palace in company with the Commander of Janissaries and the Chief Gatekeepers, they also finally depart from the mosque.⁹³

3.2. The Details of the Protocol

In this part, some details of the mawlid ceremonies which do not place in the chronicles examined in the previous part are asserted in the light of archive documents. First one of these details is the special records (*pusula*) produced by the Master of Protocol in order to determine the exact hours which official invitees have to arrive to the mosque. To exemplify, for the ceremony of 1835, Mahmud II decides to arrive to Sultan Ahmed Mosque at 4:30pm and this information is delivered to the high state officials in the way that the Grand Vizier has to come to the mosque at 4pm, the Grand Mufti at 3:45pm, the High Admiral and the other high-ranking viziers at 3pm.⁹⁴ Even so these exact times changes in the records, it is understood that the mawlid ceremonies are mostly conducted towards evening.

⁹² Ibid., 43.

⁹³ Ibid., 43.

⁹⁴ BOA, HAT 1591/85, (29 Z. 1250/28 Apr. 1835).

On the other hand, as a second the details of the groups invited to the ceremony exist, in the records of the protocol (*teşrifât defterleri*). For instance, according to a record belonging to 1852, official invitees are classified with regard to their ranks as following:

a) Chief Ranks (Totally 9 Persons), e.g. the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Pious Foundations and so on.

b) Primary Rank and First Class (Totally 12 Persons), e.g. the Counsellor of the Chief Soldier (*Serasker Müsteşarı*), the Chairman of the Council on Finance (*Meclis-i Mâliye Reisi*), some members of the Council of Judicial Ordinance (*Meclis-i Vâlâ âzâları*) and so on.

c) Primary Rank and Second Class (Totally 97 Persons), e.g. Financial Administrators of Anatolian and Rumelian provinces (*Anadolu ve Rumeli defterdârları*), the Minister with responsibility for Artillery (*Tophâne Nâzırı*), some members of the Council of Judicial Ordinance, accountants and so on.

d) Secondary Rank and Second Class (Totally 57 Persons), e.g. some members of the Council of Judicial Ordinance and the Council on Finance, Chamberlain (*Kapıkethüdâsı*) and so on.

e) Third Class (Totally 20 Persons), e.g. junior clerks of the Grand Vizier's Corresponding Secretary (*Mektûbî Efendi halîfeleri*), some members of Trade of Ministry and so on.

All these groups are expected to be at Sultan Ahmed Mosque with their full dress uniform (*büyük üniforma*) and brocaded broadcloth pants in the color of dark blue (*sırmalı lacivert çuka pantolon*).⁹⁵

There take place another categorization method applied in the protocol registers.

According to a protocol record dated to 1858, official invitees of the ceremony are assorted to their past positions; put it differently, the term retired officials (*ma'zûlîn*) used for the invitees express both the persons who really retire and ones who get promotion, or in general whose positions alter. For example, a kind of special invitation “Arapzâde Mehmed Zeki Efendi, who is currently the Judge of Rumelia (*Rumeli Kazaskeri*) but previously is the Judge of Anatolia (*Anadolu Kazaskeri*)” can be mentioned. The categories in this register and the number of officials which they include are roughly demonstrated as following:

a) Retired or displaced high state officials from their positions in Rumelia
(Totally 9 persons)

b) Retired or displaced high state officials from their positions in Anatolia (12 persons)

c) Retired or displaced officials from their positions in Istanbul (16 persons)

d) Retired or displaced officials from their positions in Mecca and Medina
(17 persons)

e) Retired or displaced officials from their positions in the Five Cities
(Adrianople, Bursa, Damascus, Egypt and Plovdiv) (8 persons)

⁹⁵ BOA, A. TŞF. 14/88, (12 Ra. 1269/24 Dec. 1852).

f) Retired or displaced officials from their positions in the other regions (27 persons)

In this record, some of the famous statesmen in the Ottoman Empire are encountered as invitees. For instance, as a former Judge of Rumelia, one of the remarkable calligrapher and musicians, Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi and, as a former Judge of Galata, the most well-known judiciary and historian of the nineteenth century, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa place in the list.⁹⁶

3.3. The Items of the Ceremony

3.3.1. Dresses

Based on the narrative of Esad Efendi who elaborately depicts the royal mawlid ceremony at the beginning of the nineteenth century, special dresses of the high state officials can be listed as follows:

Table 1. Dresses of the High-State Officials in the Ceremony

| PERSON/GROUP | DRESSES (Change According to Season) |
|--|--|
| The Grand Vizier (<i>Sadrâzâm</i>) | <i>Kallâvî</i> and <i>Erkân Kürkü</i> or <i>Ferâce</i> |
| The Grand Mufti (<i>Şeyhülislâm</i>) | <i>Ferve-i Beyzâ</i> or <i>Ferâce-i Beyzâ</i> |
| The Secretary of the State (<i>Reisülküttâb</i>) | <i>Selîmî</i> and <i>Erkân Kürkü</i> or <i>Ferâce</i> |
| The Chief Usher (<i>Çavuşbaşı</i>) | <i>Selîmî</i> and <i>Erkân Kürkü</i> or <i>Ferâce</i> |
| High-Ranking Viziers | <i>Kallâvî</i> and <i>Erkân Kürkü</i> or <i>Ferâce</i> |
| High-Ranking Scholars | <i>Muvahhidî Kürk</i> |

⁹⁶ BOA, A.TŞF. 29/5, (10 Ra. 1275/18 Oct. 1858).

Table 1 (cont'd)

| | |
|--|--|
| Professors | <i>Muvahhidî Kürk</i> |
| The Minister of Finance (<i>Defterdâr Efendi</i>) | <i>Erkân Kürkü or Ferâce</i> |
| <i>Tevkî'i Emîni</i> | <i>Erkân Kürkü or Ferâce</i> |
| <i>Şikkeyn Efendiler</i> | <i>Erkân Kürkü or Ferâce</i> |
| The Chief Gatekeepers (<i>Kapucubaşı ağalar</i>) | <i>Selîmî ve Erkân Kürkü or Ferâce</i> |
| Secretaries of the Imperial Council (<i>Tezkireci efendiler</i>) | <i>Erkân or Ferâce</i> |
| The Grand Vizier's Corresponding Secretary (<i>Mektûbî Efendi</i>) | <i>Erkân or Ferâce</i> |
| Ushers of the Imperial Council (<i>Çavuşân-ı Dîvân-ı Hümâyun</i>) | <i>Mücevveze and Erkân/Ferâce</i> |
| The Master of Protocol (<i>Teşrifâtî Efendi</i>) | <i>Mücevveze and Kürk/Ferâce</i> |

Additionally, the other groups who are in charge the ceremonial are given dresses as gifts but since these dresses are peculiar to the ceremony, in other words they serve to provide some symbolical meanings (the robe of honor, for instance) for the protocol, afterwards, they are returned to respective department and their worth is altered to the cash. The list of the dresses given as gifts in the ceremony is as follows:⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Esad Efendi, *Teşrifât-ı Kadîme*, 37-45.

Table 2. The List of Dresses Given As Gifts

| PERSON/GROUP | DRESS |
|---|---|
| the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace (<i>Dârüssaade Ağası</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı kumâş-ı hâre bâ-post-ı semmûr</i> |
| Sheikhs of the Sultan (<i>Meşâyah-i Selâtin Efendiler</i>) | <i>Çuka Ferâce and Semmûr Kürk</i> |
| The Secretary of the State (<i>Reisülküttâb</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| the Inspector General of the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities of Arabia (<i>Haremeyn Müfettişi</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık</i> |
| The Scribe of the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace (<i>Dârüssaade Ağası Yazıcısı</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| Oda Lelası | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| Accountants of the Chief of the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities of Arabia (<i>Haremeyn Muhasebecileri</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| The Chamberlain of Halberdiers (<i>Baltacı Kethüdâsı</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| <i>Haremeyn Mukâtaacısı</i> | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık</i> |
| The Trustee of the Endowment (<i>Vakıf Mütevellisi</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık</i> |
| The Scribe of the Endowment (<i>Vakıf Kâtibi</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı A'lâ</i> |
| Mawlid Reciters (<i>Mevlidhân Efendiler</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı A'lâ and Hil'at-ı Sâde</i> |
| <i>Müjdeci Efendiler</i> | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık and Hil'at-ı A'lâ</i> |
| Treasurer Agha (<i>Hazînedâr Ağâ</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| Agha of the Storeroom of the Inner Palace (<i>Enderûn Kiler Ağası</i>) | <i>Hil'at-ı Hâssu'l-hâss</i> |
| <i>Hasekibaşı Ağâ</i> | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık</i> |

Table 2 (cont'd)

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| <i>Ser-Sakayân</i> | <i>Hil'at-ı Kuşaklık</i> |
| The Master of Protocol (<i>Teşrifâtî Efendi</i>) | <i>Hil'at</i> |

In the context of the modernization of the nineteenth century, the uniforms worn by the officials change and this change can be obviously seen in the ceremonies too. For example, considering the letters of the administration belonging to 1855 and 1856, - despite the fact that the special dress of the Grand Mufti does not change during a half century- moderate officials are ordered to wear their simple fez, standard uniform with epaulette, brocaded broadcloth pants in the color of dark blue (*sırmalı lacivert çuka pantolon*) and swords.⁹⁸ Besides, in the royal mawlid ceremony corresponding with 25 July 1886, both religious scholars (*dâiyân*) and servants of the Imperial Porte (*bendegân*) are desired to come to the ceremony with their celebratory clothes (*bayramlık elbise*).⁹⁹

3.3.2. Other Items

In the narratives of the mawlid ceremony, other items (glasses, plates, trays, incensory and so on) are not explained in detail compared to the dresses so it is required to refer to the archive records. For instance, from an archive document consisting of the cost and expense ledger of the items dated to the royal ceremony of

⁹⁸ BOA, A.TŞF. 21/72, (10 Ra. 1272/20 Nov. 1855); BOA, A.TŞF. 24/67, (29 S. 1273/29 Oct. 1856).

⁹⁹ BOA, İ.DH. 1293/101649, (09 Ra. 1283/22 Jul. 1866).

1805 performed in the Inner Palace (*Enderûn*), it is possible to determine the inventory of the items with regard to their types¹⁰⁰:

Table 3. Inventory of Items Used in the Mawlid Ceremony of 1805

| TYPE OF ITEM | NUMBER |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Glass | |
| <i>Yaldızlı elmâs-tırâş bardak</i> | 80 |
| <i>Sâde elmâs-tırâş bardak</i> | 45 |
| <i>Hatâyî bardak</i> | 18 |
| <i>Sâde billur bardak</i> | 18 |
| Plate | |
| <i>Beçkârî tabak</i> | 6 |
| <i>Kütahya tabak</i> | 2 |
| <i>Fağfûr kebîr tabak</i> | 70 |
| Tray | |
| <i>Simkârî kebîr tabla</i> | 160 |
| <i>Yaldızlı tabla</i> | 240 |
| <i>Simkârî vasat tabla</i> | 80 |

In the Edict, Selim III decrees that the expenses of the items are paid by the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities of Arabia (*Hazîne-i Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn*). On the other hand, in 1887, the tailor-made items for the ceremony conducted in Yıldız Mosque are listed in a record as follows¹⁰¹:

¹⁰⁰ BOA, HAT 1491/25, (12 Ra. 1220/10 Jun. 1805).

¹⁰¹ BOA, Y.PRK.HH. 19/12, (06 Ra. 1305/22 Nov. 1887).

Table 4. Inventory of Items Used in the Mawlid Ceremony of 1887

| TYPE OF ITEM | NUMBER |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Glass | |
| <i>Âdî şeker tabağı</i> | 300 |
| <i>Billur şerbet bardağı</i> | 112 |
| <i>Porselen şerbet bardağı</i> | 24 |
| Tray and Plate | |
| <i>Porselen tepsi</i> | 10 |
| <i>Sagîr maden tabak</i> | 10 |
| <i>Âdî tepsi</i> | 130 |
| <i>Âdî şeker tabağı</i> | 300 |
| Utensil | |
| <i>Nahhâs güğüm</i> | 30 |
| <i>Nahhâs maşrapa</i> | 45 |
| <i>Nahhâs kazgan</i> | 6 |
| <i>Nahhâs kepçe</i> | 3 |
| <i>Nahhâs badya</i> | 1 |
| Furniture | |
| <i>Tahta sehpa</i> | 5 |
| <i>Çuha yüzlü minder</i> | 16 |
| <i>Nahhâs güğüm</i> | 30 |

In addition, for the mawlid ceremony performed in the Dolmabahçe Palace, Abdülhamid II commands to put special mattress (*şilte*) for his Second Wife and have cushions prepared for the marble-paving anteroom and the staircases of the palace. Total cost of these items, which is 9134 piasters, is paid by the Treasury Gate of Dolmabahçe Palace (*Hazîne-i Hâssa*).¹⁰²

¹⁰² BOA, Y.MTV. 26/29, (26 B. 1304/31 Mar. 1887).

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPONENTS OF THE MAWLID CEREMONIES

4.1. The Economy of the Ceremonies

4.1.1. Routine Expenses

By taking the register series of mawlid ceremonies in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry into account, among the available documents, the largest part is obviously seen to pertain to the records of expenses for the ceremonies. In other words, the vast majority of the whole records –until Abdülhamid II ascends to the throne and resides in the Yıldız Palace- are relevant to the expenses of the royal Mawlid ceremonies conducted both in Sultan Ahmed Mosque, and Topkapı Palace along with Dolmabahçe Palace. In these expenses records (*masârif kayıtları*), it is possible to know about the costs, in what way they are paid and in which mosque the ceremonial is organized. In this part, firstly, the series of expenses between the years of 1796-1834, which they prominently follow a quiet stable trend are examined. However, this is a period which the expenses separate to the particular items (*masraf kalemleri*) in the registers.

Considering this serial, it can be recognized that except from the mawlid ceremonials of 1828 held in Beylerbeyi Mosque, 1929 in Nusretiye Mosque and 1830 in Eyüp Mosque,¹⁰³ royal mawlid ceremonies are almost always conducted in Sultan Ahmed Mosque.¹⁰⁴ The routine expense of the ceremonies organized in the period of 1796-1834 is 5000 piasters for each year. It is always paid by the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities of Arabia (*Hazîne-i Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn*) and spent for the corresponding payments by favor of the Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Palace (*Dârüssaade Ağası*).¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, within the same period, the expenses of the ceremonies held in the Inner Palace (*Enderûn*) change from year to year. The expenses of the

¹⁰³ BOA, HAT 1438/59110, (29 Z. 1243/12 Jul. 1828); BOA, HAT 558/27556, (29 Z. 1245/21 Jun. 1830).

¹⁰⁴ Besides, considering the continuation of this serial, except from 1849's ceremonial held in Beyazıt Mosque and 1850's ceremonial in Beşiktaş Mosque, until the reign of Abdülhamid II, all of the mawlid ceremonies can be claimed to be conducted in Sultan Ahmed Mosque throughout the nineteenth century. For the exceptions mentioned above, see. BOA, İ.DH. 187/10464, 10 Ra. 1265/3 Feb. 1849); BOA, İ.DH. 208/12060, (11 Ra. 1266/25 Jan. 1850).

¹⁰⁵ These types of records are produced in a specific pattern. For instance, "Beher sâl-i meyâmin iştimâlinde mâh-ı rebî'ü'l-evvelin on ikinci gününde İstanbul'da vâki' Sultan Ahmed Han tâbe serâhû câmi'-i şerîflerinde ber-müceb-i teşrîfât-ı hümâyûn kıra'at olunan manzûme-i Mevlid-i Şerîf-i Nebevî'de ber-mu'tâd üzere sarf olunan beş bin guruş işbu bin iki yüz on dört senesi mâh-ı rebî'ü'l-evvelinde dahi kıra'at olunacak Mevlid-i Şerîf-i Nebevî'de mu'tâd üzere sarf olunmak için meblağ-ı merkûm beş bin guruşun sâbıkı mücebince Hazîne-i Haremeyn-i Muhteremeyn'den i'tâsı husûsu muvâfık-ı rızâ-i mülûkâneleri ise bâlâ-i takrîr mübârek hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı 'inâyet-makrûnları ile tevşîh ve tezyîn buyurulmak bâbında emr ü fermân ulu'l-emr efendimiz hazretlerininidir." BOA, HAT 1650/1, (20 Ra. 1214/22 Aug. 1799). The other records of the serial are: BOA, HAT 1462/66, (29 Z. 1210/1796); BOA, HAT 1465/18, (12 Ra. 1211/15 Sep. 1796); BOA, HAT 1467/48, (12 Ra. 1212/4 Sep. 1797); BOA, HAT 1470/30, (12 Ra. 1213/24 Aug. 1798); BOA, HAT 1480/43, (29 Z. 1215/13 May. 1801); BOA, HAT 1650/34, (29 Z. 1219/31 Mar. 1805); BOA, HAT 1494/108, (29 Z. 1220/20 Mar. 1806); BOA, HAT 1501/21, (29 Z. 1222/27 Feb. 1808); BOA, HAT 1443/59288, (30 Ra. 1223/26 May. 1808); BOA, HAT 1443/59326, (29 Z. 1229/12 Dec. 1814); BOA, HAT 1537/58, (29 Z. 1231/20 Nov. 1816); BOA, HAT 1538/16, (12 Ra. 1232/30 Jan. 1817); BOA, HAT 1540/32, (29 Ra. 1233/6 Feb. 1818); BOA, HAT 1543/48, (30 Ra. 1234/27 Jan. 1819); BOA, HAT 1548/17, (30 Ra. 1235/16 Jan. 1820); BOA, HAT 1555/4, (30 Ra. 1236/5 Jan. 1821); BOA, HAT 6/557, (23 C. 1237/17 Mar. 1822); BOA, HAT 1561/42, (03 R. 1238/18 Dec. 1822); BOA, HAT 1563/19, (05 R. 1239/9 Dec. 1823); BOA, HAT 1565/32, (21 Ra. 1240/13 Nov. 1824); BOA, HAT 1568/12, (30 Ra. 1241/12 Nov. 1825); BOA, HAT 1572/8, (29 Z. 1242/24 Jul. 1827); BOA, HAT 1573/16, (21 Ra. 1243/4 Jul. 1828); BOA, HAT 1578/31, (29 Z. 1244/24 Jun. 1829); BOA, HAT 1444/59374, (20 Ra. 1245/12 Jun. 1830); BOA, HAT 1652/3, (24 R. 1246/12 Oct. 1830); BOA, HAT 1652/9, (12 Ra. 1247/21 Aug. 1831); BOA, HAT 1588/44, (29 Z. 1249/9 May. 1834).

mawlid ceremonies organized in the Palace in the period of 1797-1833 are demonstrated in the following table:

Table 5. The expenses of the Mawlid Ceremonies Organized in the Palace in the Period of 1797-1833

| Year | Cost (piaster) |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1797 | 1664 |
| 1799 | 1772 |
| 1801 | 1839 |
| 1803 | 1916 |
| 1805 | 1911 |
| 1806 | 1949 |
| 1807 | 1933 |
| 1808 | 2295 |
| 1811 | 2116 |
| 1817 | 3384 |
| 1818 | 3408 |
| 1819 | 3344 |
| 1821 | 3346 |
| 1822 | 3369 |
| 1823 | 3359 |
| 1824 | 3347 |
| 1825 | 3504 |
| 1828 | 3953 |
| 1829 | 3962 |
| 1831 | 4695 |
| 1833 | 5866 |

In the records between these years (1796-1834), -in just the same way as the records in the ceremonies of Sultan Ahmed Mosque- the items of the expenses are not specified and in a similar way, they are paid by the Sacred Funds of the Two Cities

of Arabia.¹⁰⁶ Towards the mid-nineteenth century, the items of expenses are gradually elaborated and by this way, the amount of payment given to the profession experts becomes apparent.

When the expense records of mawlid ceremonies placing in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, the registers of the imperial gifts contributed to the profession experts who are in charge of the ceremonial -as it is mentioned in the previous chapter- are encountered in 1824 for the first time. According to the record of this year, three sheikhs and three mawlid reciters are decorated with the robes of sable fur during the ceremonial, after that these costumes are received back and instead, these six persons are paid cash which totally cost 1500 piasters (each of them costs 250 piasters) from the Imperial Treasury (*Hazîne-i Âmire*).¹⁰⁷ The same procedure is repeated in 1831; however, in that year, two müjdecî aghas are awarded by 400 piasters in total as well.¹⁰⁸

The imperial payment to the three sheiks, three mawlid reciters and two *müjdecî* aghas are standardized between the years of 1844-1860 to the amount of 14,000 piasters. The items of these expenses always appear as following table:

¹⁰⁶ BOA, HAT 1467/50, (12 Ra. 1212/4 Sep. 1797); BOA, HAT 1650/2, (29 Z. 1214/24 May. 1800); BOA, HAT 1438/55, (29 Z. 1216/2 May. 1802); BOA, HAT 1486/18, (12 Ra. 1218/2 Jul. 1803); BOA, HAT 1650/36, (29 Z. 1219/31 Mar. 1805); BOA, HAT 1496/19, (12 Ra. 1221/30 May 1806); BOA, HAT 1498/19, (30 Ra. 1222/7 Jun. 1807); BOA, HAT 1507/32, (29 Z. 1223/15 Feb. 1809); BOA, HAT 1513/71, (29 Z. 1225/25 Jan. 1811); BOA, HAT 1538/15, (12 Ra. 1232/30 Jan 1817); BOA, HAT 1540/22, (12 Ra. 1233/20 Jan. 1818); BOA, HAT 1543/37, (12 Ra. 1234/9 Jan. 1819); BOA, İE.HAT 6/576, (23 Ca. 1237/15 Feb. 1822); BOA, HAT 1561/42, (03 R. 1238/18 Dec. 1822); BOA, HAT 1563/18, (05 R. 1239/9 Dec. 1823); BOA, HAT 1565/37, (11 R. 1240/3 Dec. 1824); BOA, HAT 1568/49, (29 Z. 1241/4 Aug. 1826); BOA, HAT 1576/31, (03 R. 1244/13 Oct. 1828); BOA, HAT 1579/42, (17 C. 1245/14 Dec. 1829); BOA, HAT 1444/59385, (29 Z. 1247/30 May. 1832); BOA, HAT 1588/44, (29 Z. 1249/9 May. 1834).

¹⁰⁷ BOA, C.DH. 199/9918, (29 Ra. 1240/21 Nov. 1824).

¹⁰⁸ BOA, C.DH. 141/7008, (15 Ra. 1247/24 Aug. 1831); BOA, C.DH. 1/50, (16 B. 1247/21 Dec. 1831).

Table 6. Annual Payment to the Performers of the Ceremonies Conducted between 1844 and 1860

| Profession Expert | Number | The Amount per Robe | Total Amount |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Sheikh | 3 | 1500 | 4500 |
| Mawlid Reciter | 3 | 1500 | 4500 |
| <i>Müjdeci</i> | 2 | 2500 | 5000 |

These expenses are paid by the Ministry of the Treasury (*Mâliye Hazînesi*).¹⁰⁹ After that period, it is observed that the expenses of the ceremonial do not follow a specific trend. For example, according to a record belonging to the ceremony of 1867, in addition to sheikhs, mawlid reciters and *müjdeci* aghas, the translator of *Haremeyn* are awarded and the expenses amount to 28,312 piasters in total.¹¹⁰ Seemingly, following this period, the expenses trend of the ceremonial are not stabilized since they are determined in the direction of the pragmatic requirements of the state. As it is argued in the Second Chapter, towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the function of the ceremonial swiftly changes with regard to the social criteria hence the ceremonial expands to the institutions and the social organizations.

As for Abdülhamid II era, right along with the mawlid ceremonials held in the Yıldız Palace, the ceremonies conducted in the care of the state in various mosques, dervish lodges, schools and pious foundations cost much. For instance, in 27 March 1877, the expenses of the royal mawlid ceremonies held in certain centers of İstanbul are separated to the items of **i)** cost of sweetmeat and beverage, **ii)** tray and glass, and

¹⁰⁹ BOA, A.MKT. 10/51, (09 Ra. 1260/29 Mar. 1844); BOA, A.MKT. 68/16, (06 Ra. 1263/22 Feb. 1847); BOA, A.MKT. 170/55, (29 S. 1265/24 Jan. 1849); BOA, A.MKT.NZD. 69/58, (09 Ra. 1269/21 Dec. 1852); BOA, A.MKT.NZD. 170/66, (01 Ra. 1272/11 Nov. 1855); BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 100/96, (03 Ra. 1273/1 Nov. 1856); BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 195/32, (29 S. 1277/16 Sep. 1860).

¹¹⁰ BOA, A.MKT.MHM. 386/93, (04 Ra. 1284/6 Jul. 1867).

iii) portage. Among these centers, several of them can be listed with the total amount of expenses for each of them as following.

Table 7. Expenses of the Ceremonies Conducted in Certain Centers of Istanbul in 1877

| Center | Total Amount (Piaster) |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Yıldız Sarayı | 3353 |
| Hamidiye Medresesi | 3818 |
| Beylerbeyi Camii | 1120 |
| Eyüp Camii | 514 |
| Şah Sultan Tekkesi | 478 |
| Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi | 10246 |
| Hekimzâde Ali Paşa Dergâhı | 500 |
| Şerif Paşa Mektebi | 200 |

Considering the record in detail, it is recognized that the three items above-mentioned are abstract entries only for determining the amount of expense which is 52,836 piasters allocated by the Imperial Religious Foundation (*Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn*). As a matter of fact, these expenses (of glasses, sweetmeats, etc.) are not actually done and after the mawlid reciters and servants are awarded with a small fee, remaining 49,000 piasters are donated to the immigrants (*muhâcirîn*).¹¹¹ This practice expresses the same social function with the aid campaign of Abdülhamid II for immigrants in 1878 which is mentioned in the Second Chapter.

¹¹¹ BOA, İ.DH. 764/62273, (20 S. 1295/23 Feb. 1878).

4.1.2. Patronage

4.1.2.1. The Social Function of the Processions

One of the most significant components of the mawlid ceremonies is the procession (*mevlid alayı*), which is the march past of the Sultan with his special cortege from the palace to the mosque. This practice shares similarity with the Friday divine service parade (*Cuma selâmlığı*), which contains the procedures of Sultan's appearance to the public before and after the Friday prayer. In a fashion similar to this parade, in the mawlid processions, some of the officials among the retinue of the Sultan, namely the officers of the Royal presence (*Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn ağaları*), gather petitions (*arzuhâl*) from the petitioners from the society and they are evaluated by the corresponding office according to their importance or urgency. In the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, these registers of petitions (*marûzât kayıtları*) of the mawlid ceremonies become apparent from the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first record in the archive is dated to 1852. In that record, there exist some examples of petitions and the corresponding institutions to which these requests are forwarded as following:

- Sheikh Ahmed Efendi of Lapseki desires that a ruin mosque in the town is restored (this request is expected to the office of the Grand Mufti)
- Professor (*Dersiâm*) Süleyman Keşşâf Efendi desires to be received an extra salary (to the office of the Grand Mufti)
- One of the Chief Gatekeepers (*Kapucubaşı*) Mehmed Arif Ağa desires to be employed as the head official of a district (*kâim-i makâm*) (to the Council of Judicial Ordinance)

- Zübeyde Hatun and Ayşe Hatun both desire the ranks of their sons in the military to be risen (to the office of the Counsellor of the Chief Soldier)
- Two Bosnian soldiers, Hüseyin and Salih desire to be discharged from the Ottoman army (to the office of the Counsellor of the Chief Soldier)
- The Community of Islam and Subjects of Hakkari province desires the governor of the province to be discharged (to the Council of Judicial Ordinance)
- Hafize Hatun desires his husband who is prisoner to be released.

According to the petition register above, among all the requests, 38 of them are verified and forwarded to the relevant authorities.¹¹² Apart from this, it is possible to encounter some records including direct monetary assistance to the people in need. To exemplify, the petitions forwarded to the Sultan in the royal mawlid procession of 1861 are satisfied as follows: each of 495 persons in need are paid 10 piasters.¹¹³ In a similar way, in the archive records, a serial concerning the matter of monetary assistance between the years of 1856-1859 can be seen in the table below:

Table 8. Monetary Assistance to the Common People in the Mawlid Processions in the Period of 1856-1859

| Year | Number of Persons | Monetary Assistance per Person (Piasters) | Total (Piaster) |
|-------------|--------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 1856 | 1600 | 5 | 8000 |
| 1857 (1) | 80 | 50 | 4000 |
| 1857 (2) | 26 | 20 | 520 |
| 1858 | 368 | 3.75 | 1380 |

¹¹² BOA, A.AMD. 40/23, (1268/1851).

¹¹³ BOA, İ.DH. 1291/101547, (08 R. 1278/13 Oct. 1861).

Table 8
(cont'd)

| | | | |
|------|-----|----|------|
| 1859 | 164 | 10 | 1640 |
|------|-----|----|------|

The total sum of 15,540 are paid by the Ministry of the Treasury and transmitted to the Ministry of Judicial Pleas (*Deâvî Nezâreti*).¹¹⁴

4.1.2.2. Rewards Given to the Officials and the Artists

In the Second Chapter, it is mentioned that the students of the School for Secular Learning (*Mekteb-i Maarif*) are totally awarded by 15,000 piasters and their professor, Rusçuklu Ali Efendi is decorated (*nişân îtâsı*) in 1845. In the same vein, considering the archive records, the examples of giving decorations or any other rewards with the occasion of the mawlid ceremonial are encountered from the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. Once again, an archive record dated to 1845 is related to give decoration to Kamil Paşa who becomes a member of the Council of Judicial Ordinance at that year. In that that document, a letter of administration (*tezkire*) is sent to the Ministry of the Treasury, the Imperial Mint (*Darbhâne-i Âmire*) and the Master of Protocol in order to rush the decoration into the ceremonial.¹¹⁵

The examples above are related to the rewards given to the officials of the state on the occasion of the ceremonial. Besides, among the archive records dated to the last

¹¹⁴ BOA, A.MKT.DV. 102/61, (04 R. 1273/2 Dec. 1856); BOA, A.MKT.DV. 121/68, (07 Ca. 1274/24 Dec. 1857); BOA, A.MKT.NZD. 270/98, (28 R. 1275/5 Dec. 1858); BOA, A.MKT.DV. 146/51, (20 R. 1276/16 Nov. 1859).

¹¹⁵ BOA, A.MKT. 22/89, (09 Ra. 1261/18 Mar. 1845). This person is most probably Yusuf Kamil Paşa who becomes the Grand Vizier in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz. He is also known for translating Fénelon's *Télémaque* into Turkish first time in 1859.

period of the nineteenth century, there are certain registers of rewards (*atiyye*) given to the mawlid reciters of the emperor. When these records are examined, it can be claimed that the personal details about mawlid reciters start to be kept in the reign of Abdülhamid II. According to a record of 1888, the First, the Second and the Third Mawlid Reciter of Abdülhamid II, who are respectively İsmail Hakkı, Mehmed Seyfeddin and Mehmed Tevfik Efendi are awarded fourth-rank Ottoman decoration (*dördüncü rütbeden Osmânî nişanı*).¹¹⁶ In a similar way, in 1891, one of the mawlid instructors of Imperial Military Engineering (*Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümayun*), Tevfik Bey is awarded third-rank Mecidî decoration and the other mawlid instructor Yusuf Efendi is awarded the medal of honor.¹¹⁷

On the other side, the registers including the fact that the mawlid reciters of the emperor are directly patronized become appear for this period. For instance, in 1893, the Second Mawlid Reciter of Abdülhamid II, Mehmed Seyfeddin Efendi applies to Imperial Ministry of Endowments in order with the purpose of a petition. He desires the Ministry to give two escheated houses placing in the quarter of Hacımimi in Tophane district as a gift to himself. According to the valuation of the Ministry, these houses have totally 7 rooms, 3 anterooms and an outbuilding, and cost 27,000 piasters. The Ministry mentions that these houses are not convenient and he is expected to find any other available house.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, the Ministry –without the

¹¹⁶ BOA, İ.DH. 1108/86730, (13 Ra. 1306/17 Nov. 1888).

¹¹⁷ BOA, İ.DH. 1233/96552, (30 Za. 1308/7 Jul.1891).

¹¹⁸ BOA, Y.MTV. 78/191, (23 Za. 1310/8 Jun. 1893).

necessity of his seeking- detects a house in Kocamustafapaşa district and proposes Mehmed Seyfeddin Efendi to reside this house.¹¹⁹

4.2. Music

Among the researches discussing the mawlid music, which should be analyzed under the category of Mosque Music of Ottoman religious music, in the Ottoman Empire, the most comprehensive study is *Türk Mûsikîsi Antolojisi* [The Anthology of Turkish Music] written by Saadettin Nüzhet Ergun. Ergun asserts that the musical performances of the mawlid ceremonies are conducted by way of certain pieces which are composed from the sixteenth century and the compositions on mawlid reciters' minds of nineteenth century actually belong to sixteenth century. This argument is not supported by records but based on the predictions of the author. In a sense, the historical gap observed in the ceremonies manifest itself in the literature of History of Ottoman Music in the same way.

Ergun, in his anthology, mentions one of the examples of mawlid compositions belonging to the nineteenth century. This is a manuscript donated by the Zâkirbaşı (the person who conducts the rite in the dervish lodges) of Hüdâyî Lodge, Hayrullah Zekâî Efendi to Hüdâyî Library in Üsküdar district of Istanbul.¹²⁰ In this manuscript, some notes expressing the modes (*makâm*) are taken to the margins of the mawlid text but, even so, this fact does not prove the fact that the mawlid is composed. As a matter of fact, as Ergun states, mawlid text is recited both by certain melodies and by

¹¹⁹ BOA, Y.MTV. 80/5, (01 M. 1311/15 Jul.1893).

¹²⁰ Saadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi*, vol.2 (İstanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, 1942), 470.

improvised tunes together.¹²¹ Herein, the fact which is described as certain melodies may be considered in the category of clichés creating the improvisation. To conclude, whether the mawlid text is composed throughout the history stands a problematic in terms of the literature of the history of music or ethnomusicology.

Ergun states, on the other hand, even though the existence of various stories, it cannot be implied that the mawlid recitation get in favor both among the elites and the society. This form of Ottoman music is consequently recited by specific performers and taught to everybody else by them. Furthermore, the mawlid recitations which are promoted by the emperor for the royal ceremonies are recited by the chosen few.¹²² In the chronicle of Mehmed Esad Efendi,¹²³ *Târih-i Esad*, it is stated that neither the educated-cultivated class nor common people –nor even mawlid reciters himself- understand mawlid music.¹²⁴ This expression seems to be important in the sense that the musical performances of the mawlid text do not completely become popular in the eye of the society.

In the previous parts of the thesis, using the chronicles and archive records, the rewards given to the mawlid reciters are solely mentioned. In addition to this, it should be emphasized that, among the chronicles, the first one which specifically narrates the musical performance of the mawlid in the ceremonial is *Vakâyi-i Letâ'if-i Enderûn* of Hızır İlyas Ağa depicting his memoirs of the palace between the years of 1812-1830. In this chronicle, the mawlid ceremony conducted in the Inner Palace

¹²¹ Ibid., 470. “mevlid, bazı taksimler gibi kısmen muayyen ezgilerle, kısmen de irticâlî bir mahiyette usulsüz, fakat kendine mahsus bir tavırla okunmakta devâm etmiştir.”

¹²² Ibid., 470.

¹²³ Whose other chronicle on the ceremonies, namely *Teşrifât-ı Kâdîme* is examined in the previous chapter.

¹²⁴ Esad Efendi, *Vakanüvis Esad Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), 464.

of Topkapı (*Enderûn*) in 1813 is narrated in terms of its musical aspects. According to the narrative, the First Mawlid Reciter (*Mevlidhân-ı Evvel*) of Mahmud II, Şemsi Efendi is one of the oldest performers of the era. Since his erudition on mawlid reciting by everyone, -probably for the sake of that situation- he stands on his position in the Palace and the first canto (*bahir*) of the mawlid poem is recited by him. In the sequel, the second artist who ascends to the lectern, Hünkârbeğendi Rıfat Efendi is one of the famous reciters of the era who knows the traditional melodies and has a sensibility on the tunes. The third performer, Zâkirbaşı Hacı İbrahim is famous for his high-pitched sound and is privileged due to that reason even though the elasticity of his recitation is low. However, the most talented and the most admirable reciter –even by the sultan- of the era, the Preacher of Selimiye Mosque (*Selîmiye Hatîbi*) Sheikh Ömer Efendi ascends to the lectern and recites the Fourth Canto of the poem.¹²⁵

However, taking into consideration of the whole nineteenth century, the most reputed mawlid reciter is Hasan Rızâ Efendi (d.1890), who is also poet and calligrapher.¹²⁶

He is known to practices both religious and non-religious forms of Ottoman music

¹²⁵ Hızır İlyas Efendi, *Vakayî-i Letâif-i Enderun*, (İstanbul: Darü't-Tabaatü'l- Amire, A.H. 1267 [1859/60]), 48. The entire narrative is as follows: “(...) mevlidci ihtiyâr Şemsi Efendi Baş Mevlidci olduğu der-kâr ve medâr ü ma‘âşî mevlidciliğe münhasır olduğunu kimse inkâr etmediğinden hemân efendi-i mümâileyh kürsî-i ma‘hûda su‘ûd ve temennîden sonra mev‘ûd-ı ku‘ûd olup nazm-ı mezkûr-ı meşhûrun bend-i evvelini kırâ‘at ve pîrâne-ser okuması sebab-i ri‘âyet olduğundan inince ona dahi ferve-i zincâb iksâ ve avâ‘id-i mukanninesi ma‘ ziyâde itâ yapıldığı ile bend-i sâniyi Beylerbeyi Hatîbi meşhûr Hünkârbeğendi Rıfat Efendi okumağya ta‘yîn ve kâr-ı kadîm nagamât ile perde-i makâmâtı tezyîn edip ne hâl ise tamâm edince ol dahi kürsüden nüzûl ve hazırlanan ferve-i zincâb ile mazhar-ı âtîfet-i âlem-şümûl oldukta bend-i sâlisi Zâkirbaşı Hacı İbrahim okumağa âğâz ü tagannîsi az ise de sesi biraz tîz olduğu sebab-i imtiyâz olup ol dahi ferve-i fâhire ile iğzâz olucak bende-i râbiğ hatîb-i mescid ü mihrâb ü minber Selîmiye Hatîbi Şeyh Ömer Efendi okumağa mecbûr ve efendi-i mümâileyhin sadâ-yı meşhûru (nûr âlâ nûr) olduğu ma‘lûm-ı pâdişâh-ı gayûr olmağla bakiyyesinin cümlesini itmâma me‘mûr olup hitâmında atıyye-i mevfûre ile mesrûr buyurulduktan sonra mevlid mâddesi gayete resîde ve Mabeyn Müezzini olan ağalar, mevlidciler inip çıktıkça okudukları ilâhîlerden ellerine keşîde eyledikleri gibi Hünkâr İmâmları hatm-i şerîfe ağâz ve tecvîd üzere okumaları sebab-i kabûl-i niyâz olup ba‘dehu pâdişâh-ı dâr-ı i‘lâm(...)”

¹²⁶ See. Türkan Alvan, *Said Paşa İmamı Hasan Rıza Efendi*, (İstanbul: FSMVÜ Yayınları, 2013).

from Mutafzâde Ahmed Efendi, who is one of the most talented pupils of Dede Efendi, one of the most remarkable composers in the Ottoman music. By means of his shiny sound and aesthetical style, he gains a reputation in the second half of nineteenth century. Considering his musicality, as Ergun states, Hasan Rıza Efendi does not cut the verses of the poem unnecessarily and diversify the melodies only at the end of each couplet while he is reciting. Despite of his sonorous and high-pitched sound, his recitation does not irritate, on the contrary, the more he recites aloud the more audiences appreciate. According to a story, Abdülmecid desires him to employ as the Imam of the Palace (*Hünkâr İmamı*) but the son-in-law of the sultan, Said Paşa persuades him to take Hasan Rıza Efendi under his own protection.¹²⁷ Due to that reason, he is also known as the Imam of Said Paşa.¹²⁸ In *Safahât* of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, there is a poet named *Sait Paşa İmamı* written for Hasan Rıza Efendi.¹²⁹

Before ending this part, some technical issues on the mawlid music should be mentioned. When the narratives of Esad Efendi and Hızır İlyas Ağa are compared, a significant question becomes appear. In the chronicle of Esad Efendi, *Teşrîfât-ı Kadîme*, there exist three mawlid reciters in the ceremonial conducted in Sultan

¹²⁷ At this juncture, towards the end of the nineteenth century –in addition to the public transformation of the ceremonial analyzed in the Second Chapter- in the private sphere, for instance in the palaces of the viziers, the mawlid meetings which imitates the royal ceremonies begin to be held. The most comprehensive narration of these meetings places in the chronicle of Abdülaziz Bey. See. Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, ed. Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995). Besides, in the context of mawlid music, Halide Edip Adıvar’s novel, *The Clown and His Daughter*, which is written in 1935 and translated to Turkish (Sinekli Bakkal) in 1936, portrays the mawlid organizations performed in the mansions of high-state officials and, by this way, a talented young woman who is patronized by an Ottoman grandee. See. Halide Edip Adıvar, *The Clown and His Daughter* (London: George Allen and Unwin Unlimited, 1935); Halide Edip Adıvar, *Sinekli Bakkal*, ed. Mehmet Kalpaklı and S. Yeşim Kalpaklı (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2007).

¹²⁸ Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi*, 471-473.

¹²⁹ Mehmed Akif Ersoy, *Safahat*, ed. Ömer Rıza Doğrul and M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1974), 505-508.

Ahmed Mosque and each of them respectively ascend to the lectern and recite a canto (*bahir*) from the mawlid text. For example, the Second Mawlid Reciter of the Emperor recites the couplet of “On pinions bright a bird of white came floating / And stroked my back, so strongly yet how kindly” and all people in the mosque immediately stand. As is understood from this detail, the cantos of the mawlid poem are arranged at the beginning of the nineteenth century in a fashion similar to today’s practices. To put it more explicitly, in contemporary mawlid recitations, the Canto of the Birth of Muhammed (*Velâdet Bahri*) is usually ranked at the second either with a small exception of a rare-recited canto of Light of Muhammed (*Nur Bahri*).

Beginning from the twentieth century, the four selected canto, namely the Canto of Praise to Allah (*Tevhîd Bahri*), The Birth of Muhammed (*Velâdet Bahri*), Welcome to the New-Born Prophet (*Merhabâ Bahri*) and The Heavenly Journey of the Prophet (*Mi’râc Bahri*) together with The Invocation (*Münâcaat Bahri*) are recited, and their certain makâms are *Sabâ*, *Rast*, *Uşşâk* and *Segâh* or *Hüzzâm* respectively. In the twentieth century, since these cantos have their own melodic characters, Mawlid reciters specializes on certain ones. On the other hand, in the chronicle of Hızır İlyas Ağa, *Vakâyi-i Letâ’if-i Enderûn*, the mawlid ceremony performed in the Palace hosts four mawlid reciters in total. Accordingly, it can be asserted that the musical configuration of the mawlid recitation is not exposed to an excessive change even in the long run.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Throughout the Islamic History, the tradition of mawlid commemorations, which means to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in 12th Rabi-al-Awwal (the third month in the Islamic calendar), appears first in the eleventh century in Fatimid Empire. Therefore their earlier practices are based on Shiite doctrines and they are arranged as courtly ceremonies. However, afterwards, they are inherited and reproduced by Sunni Islamic states but in this instance, as festivals including the participation of the common people. Hence, the courtly celebrations and open-to-public festivals can be taken two distinct models with regard to the historical practices of mawlid commemorations.

In this regard, it can be claimed that the royal mawlid ceremonies of Ottoman Empire correspond to the first model offered above. The main mawlid text, which is written at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Süleyman Çelebi, considering the turbulent political conditions of the era, should be regarded as an instrument legitimizing the Sunni ideology of the state, which gradually becomes an

emperorship. At this point, it is notable to investigate the reasons why this poem is much sought after among the people over the centuries by theological and anthropological approaches even though it is not within the boundaries of this thesis. On the other hand, the question of whether the mawlid poem which becomes the main text of mawlid ceremonies appearing earliest at the end of sixteenth century becomes widespread by means of the state or, contrarily, the state is inspired by the rituals of the people and consequently makes it an apparatus for the ceremonial requires is worthy to be examined.

When the chronicles belonging to the Classical Age of the Ottoman Empire are examined, it is recognized that there is no other sources encountered except for the small passages related to the mawlid ceremonial in the late sixteenth century placing in the History of Selânikî. The first chronicles which mention mawlid ceremonial are dated to nineteenth century. Put it differently, considering present literature, for between seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, any chronicles or continuous series of archive documents are not in evidence so in order to imply the fact that the royal mawlid ceremonies are institutionalized in the sixteenth century –as almost all researchers makes this assumption- this gap has to be eliminated. For instance, even an analysis on the mawlid literature or religious ceremonies in the eye of Kadızâdeli Movement in the seventeenth century may resolve the historical interruption. Briefly stated, the assumption of the fact that royal mawlid ceremonies are institutionalized at the end of sixteenth century is not obvious.

In the present literature, there is a common assumption to state that institutionalization of royal mawlid ceremonial dates to sixteenth century without using resources frequently. However, the fact of institutionalization should be

questioned. When the intensity of the chronicles and archive documents are taken into consideration, it can be understood that these ceremonies become prevalent in the modernization period of the empire. At this juncture, the concept of ‘invention of tradition’ asserted by Hobsbawm –providing a certain criticism- helps to understand the reinvention process of the mawlid ceremonies to the extent of modernization of Ottoman state organization. The nineteenth century is a period which the monarchies lose their power in the whole Europe, as in the Ottoman Empire and as Cannadine asserts, “at the same time, the growth in popular veneration for the monarchy made such enhanced ceremonial convincing in a manner that had not been possible before, as power was exchanged for popularity”.¹³⁰

In this thesis, in the context of nineteenth century modernization, the transformation of the mawlid ceremonies which are initially conducted as a group rite among the emperor and high-state officials during the century is examined. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that in this process, royal mawlid ceremonies do not obtain open-to-public character since they preserve their closed ceremonial aspect until the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the political power constantly reproduces the ceremonial system which gives the impression of being religious but actually represents a political ritual in terms of their practices for the purpose of penetrating the institutions transforming over the course of the period. Royal mawlid ceremonies which begin to gain different functions from the mid-nineteenth century and, right along with the ceremonies held in the great mosques and the palace, in the organizations of Ottoman subjects, they are conducted with the name of the sultan towards the end of the century.

¹³⁰ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c.1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 121.

After the end of the Ottoman Empire, these ceremonies –along with retaining distinct royal imagination- have been entirely publicized. Among the elements which are inherited from this tradition, relatively the most persistent one is the musical performance. Hence, the mawlid ceremonial which lose its character of protocol and the aspect of being a pompous ritual build its connection to the twentieth century by way of music. Despite the fact that after the Young Turk Revolution, the candle feast of the birthday of Prophet Muhammad (*mevlid kandili*) is proclaimed a public holiday (*bayram*) in 1910, along with the proclamation of the Republic, this tradition lasts.¹³¹

¹³¹ Yorgos Dedes, “Süleyman Çelebi’s Mevlid: Text, Performance and Muslim-Christian Dialogue” in *Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, ed. Günay Kut and Fatma B. Yılmaz (İstanbul: Simurg, 2005), 313. For the twentieth century practices of mawlid rituals, See. Bahar Akarpınar, “Türk Kültüründe Dinî Törenler ve Mevlid Kutlamaları” (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 1999).

REFERENCES

1. Archival Documents

The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA)

Bab-1 Asafî Amedi Kalemî (A.AMD)

Cevdet Dahiliye (C.DH)

Cevdet Sıhhiye (C.SH)

Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı (HR.MKT)

Hatt-1 Hümayun (HAT)

İbnülemin Hatt-1 Hümayun (İE.HAT)

İrade Dahiliye (İ.DH)

Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı (MF.MKT)

Meclis-i Vala Evrakı (MVL)

Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Evrakı (A.MKT)

Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Deavi Evrakı (A.MKT.DV)

Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Nezaret ve Deva'ir Evrakı (A.MKT.NZD)

Sadaret Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı (A.MKT.MHM)

Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Umum Vilayat Evrakı (A.MKT.UM)

Sadaret Teşrifat Kalemi Evrakı (A.TŞF)

Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Evrakı (Y.MTV)

Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Hazine-i Hassa (Y.PRK.HH)

Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Yaveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkan-ı Harbiye Dairesi
(Y.PRK.MYD)

2. Other Primary Sources (Chronicles, Reference Materials and Literary Works)

Abdülaziz Bey. *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, Edited by Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995.

Adivar, H. Edip. *The Clown and His Daughter*. London: George Allen and Unwin Unlimited, 1935.

_____. *Sinekli Bakkal*, Edited by Mehmet Kalpaklı and S. Yeşim Kalpaklı. İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2007.

Ali Eşref Dede. *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, Edited by Feyzi Halıcı. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1992.

Ersoy, M. Akif. *Safahat*, Edited by Ö. Rıza Doğrul and M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ. İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1974.

Esad Efendi. *Mehmed Esad Efendi'nin Teşrifât-ı Kadîmesi'si: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Teşrifât*, Edited by H. Ahmet Arslantürk, Miraç Tosun and Serdar Soyluer. İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012.

_____. *Vakanüvis Esad Efendi Tarihi*, Edited by Ziya Yılmaz. İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000.

- Hızır İlyas Efendi. *Vakayi-i Letaif-i Enderun*. İstanbul: Darü't-Tabaatü'l-Amire, A.H. 1267 [A.D. 1859/60].
- Küçük Hamdi, "Mevlid Alay-ı Vâlâsı." *Beyânülhak* (Dersaadet: Tanin Matbaası), 16 Ra. 1327 [7 May. 1909].
- Latîfi. *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuarâ ve Tabsıra-i Nuzemâ*, Edited by Mustafa İsen. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990.
- Mouradgea d'Ohsson. *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, don't l'une comprend la legislation mahométane: L'autre l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman*. Paris: Impr. de Monsieur, 1788.
- Selanikî Mustafa Efendi. *Târih-i Selânikî*, Edited by Mehmet İpşirli. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999.
- Süleyman Çelebi. *Mevlid*, Edited by Necla Pekolcay. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005.
- _____. *The mevlidi sherif*, Edited by Lyman MacCallum. London: John Murray, 1943.
- _____. *Vesîletü'n-Necât: Mevlid*, Edited by Ahmed Ateş. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954.
- Şemseddin Sami. *Kamus-i Türki*. Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, A.H. 1317 [A.D. 1899].

3. Secondary Sources

- Abu Manneh, Butrus. "The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 3 (1990): 257-274.
- Akarpınar, Bahar. "Türk Kültüründe Dinî Törenler ve Mevlid Kutlamaları." PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 1999.
- Alvan, Türkan. *Said Paşa İmamı Hasan Rıza Efendi*. İstanbul: FSMVÜ Yayınları, 2013.
- Balivet, Michel. *Şeyh Bedreddin: Tasavvuf ve İsyan*. Translated by Ela Güntekin. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000.
- Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c.1820-1977." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 101-164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

- Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.
- Dedes, Yorgos. "Süleyman Çelebi's Mevlid: Text, Performance and Muslim-Christian Dialogue." In *Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, edited by Günay Kut and Fatma B. Yılmaz, 305-349. İstanbul: Simurg, 2005.
- Emiroğlu, Kudret. *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015.
- Ergun, S. Nüzhet. *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi*, 2 vols. İstanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, 1942.
- Gibb, Elias J. W. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*. 6 Vols, London: Luzac & Co., 1900-1909.
- Gökyay, O. Şaik. "Osmanlı Donanması ve Kapudan-ı Derya ile İlgili Teşrifat Hakkında Belgeler." *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 12 (1981): 25-84.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Kaptein, Nico J. G. *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993.
- Katz, Marion H. *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Köksal, M. Fatih. *Mevlid-nâme*. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2011.
- Köprülü, M. Fuat. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1966.
- Okiç, Tayyip. "Çeşitli Dillerde Mevlidler ve Süleyman Çelebi Mevlidinin Tercümeleri." *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslamî İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 1 (1975): 17-24.
- Sezer, Hamiyet. "II. Abdülhamit Dönemi'nde Osmanlı'da Vilayet Yönetiminde Düzenleme Gayretleri: Trablusgarp Örneği ve Ahmet Rasim Paşa." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 20, no. 32 (2002): 163-178.
- Witteck, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, Edited by Colin Heywood. Milton Park: Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2012.

APPENDIX

Selected Archival Documents

4

پادشاه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 در روز بیستم ماه رجب سنه ۱۲۰۴
 در وقت عصر در مسجد اعظم
 در حضور جمعی از اعیان و
 اشراف و علمای دین و دنیا
 در آنجا که در آن وقت
 در آنجا که در آن وقت
 در آنجا که در آن وقت

شکوه گراننده مهابتو قدردانو و قیظتم افندم
 مولد شریف کوفی بعضی بی ادبانه سکر و سرت غوغا می آیدن سوخته مقوله لرزیک تاویب و تخاری باندو باغی اوزد
 شرفا فته صدور اولاً مبارک خطها بونلری ساحتلوی اسلام افزی داعیلر نیه ارسال اولنفره
 ایرتی کوفی علی السحر آنلردی او مقوله اوبسزک ایزلری نصیح ایچون مستعدر اولر قییم ایتمش اولر لری جمله سی نصیح و دفتر
 ایتدو کلری افاده و مرقوملر ال کتور ایچون باش قونخدا سی ارسال اولنن مطلوب ایتمش و حال باش قونخدا سی
 قوللری قییم اولنوب شمدی و ک مذکور دون اوج نفری اخذ اولنوب جیب اولنن قسوری وخی بالجمله اخذ اولنفره اقتضای
 کور کجیفی وکیفی و جه اخرا یه تا دیب خصوصنده مسار الیه افزی داعیلری کر کوی اهما م ایه جگری و بکون
 حسین ملاومت ایچون افزی داعیلر نیه کلا مدرسین اولنفره وخی مدرس اولنفری مدرسه را و طم لرزن او مقولری اولنفر
 طرد و اخراج و فیما بعد لر نیه اهل عرض و طالب علم اولر قوما لری و مدرسین اولنفری معلوم هابونلری بیدلر فره امر و فرغان شوکلو
 ایدر الیه له محاله تا دیب اولنفره جیفی بشرفیه هر رینه تنبه و تاقید ایظری معلوم هابونلری بیدلر فره امر و فرغان شوکلو
 کرامتو مهابتو قدردانو و قیظتم افندم پادشاهم حضرتلر نیکدر

1. The decree of Selim III on a fight between the janissaries and the religious scholars in the mawlid ceremony held in Sultan Ahmed Mosque [Source: BOA, HAT, 1388/55234, (29 Z. 1204/ 9 Sep. 1790).]

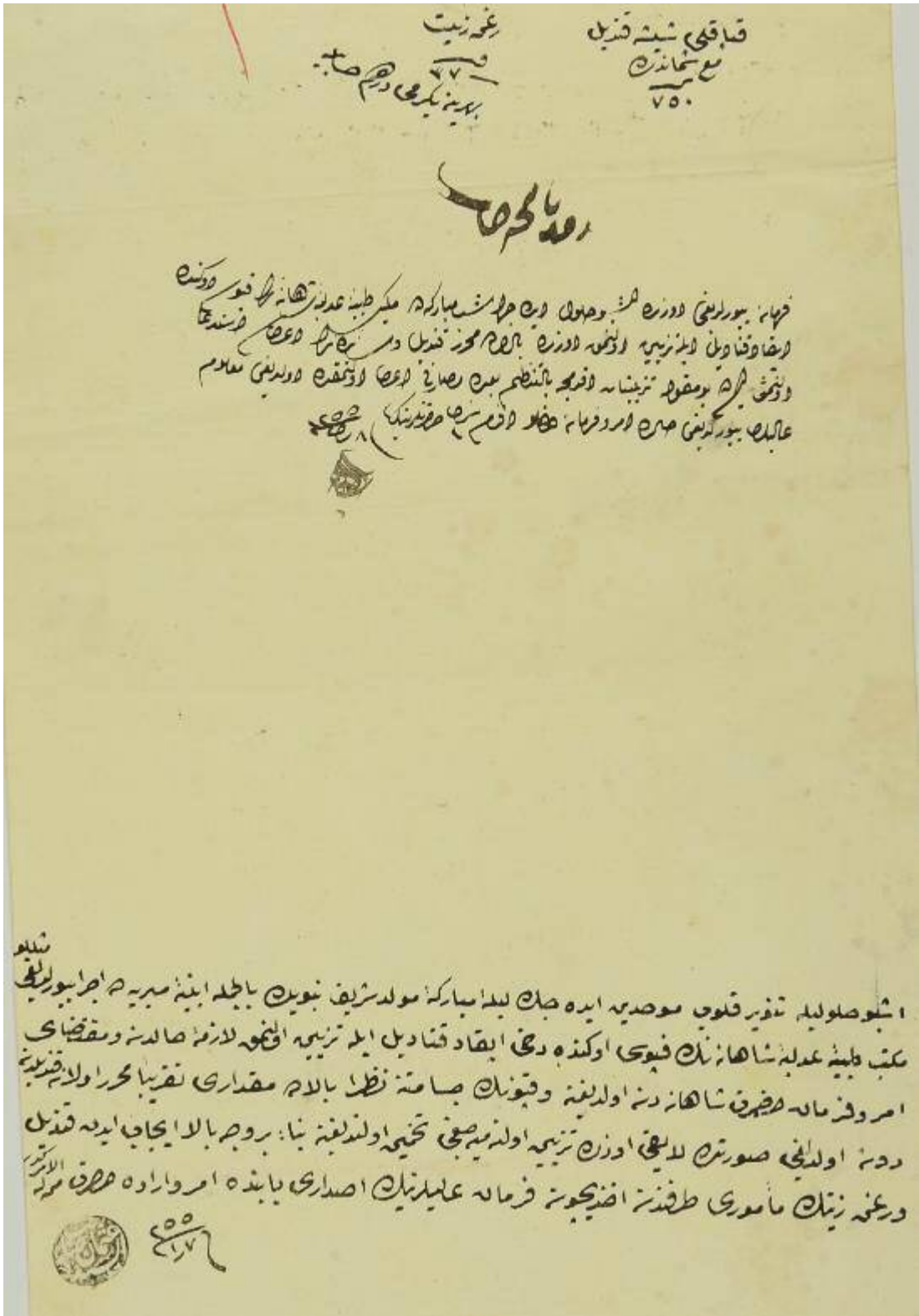
نظرم انچه در
 رسم مذکور تکلیف عزیف استون هر قدر از جمله ماده ایسه ده
 بودی هب کوروش کوه معین اوله یعنی ایشاح اوردق تقریرده
 ذکر اولمیش

شوکلو کراملو مایلو فدتلو و قلم اقم
 تشریفاته درج بوسله ده قیودله باشا اولدیزیک دخی مولد نوی الانده بار بونسی صدیج اولدیفندله بوسله نیک عتبه ایای
 خسرو ایزنه تقدیمده اذنه و در خصی شامل خط شریف شوکت ریف شاهان شرف افرای صودر اولمشدی رسم مذکور ای اجر ایست
 بار تکلیف طمانه حرمده طاب راه حضرتلی جامعده بار بونسی مشارالیه اخبار اولدوقده یازکی کونه لصلحه بحسب ایدونمازینه
 غیبت ایدیکنی و بنا علیه رسم مذکور ایزسنه و فی ساعده اولدیه یعنی باید برله عضو خاتماونیش اولدنی محاط علم عادلک
 بودوقده امر قیضه شوکتلو کراملو مایلو فدتلو و قلم اقم بادشاهم حضرتلی کدر

2. The decree of Selim III on the excuse of the Chief Admiral for not attending the mawlid ceremony [Source: BOA, HAT 409/21262.]

مولد حضرت نبوی قرآنی کونج سابقری و جملہ مکتب معارف عربیہ جو مقصدیہ
 اون بشک غرضی عطیہ تہ شہانہ اصنامہ یوریشی و هوامہ لرینت
 روحفلی علی ارضہ نشانہ اعظم رضی مالوسنہ یوریلری یازمشدی
 الحاله هف کرک عطیہ و کرک نشانہ و برطس ارتقله بوجلی ارفه
 افده انید قلدی اقم

3. The students of the School for Secular Learning (*Mekteb-i Maarif*) are totally awarded by 15,000 piasters and their professor, Rusçuklu Ali Efendi is decorated (*nişân îtâsî*) in 1845. [Source: BOA, A.MKT. 20/93, (29 Z. 1260/9 Jan. 1845).]



4. The order of lighting (*tenvîrât*) in front of the gate of Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şâhâne*) on the occasion of mawlid celebration [Source: BOA, C.SH. 6/269, (7 Ra. 1255/21 May. 1839).]

معروضه داعی دیریز لیریکه
 مدخیره بوسه شینی و عجب الفرفه دعای قنونا عدا اقبال طریقه جهانداری و اثینه سینه طریقه نظارتیه هیک بولند بقم
 کلمه ادره در واقع مولویان درگاه سرفیله سینه معونیان طریقه مدخلی در هر روز و واقعه سینه سینه زوریدی
 محاسبه ضم و عدون بوردیده تحلیله جمله فقاو دم کاه داعیه ستم و پرورم اولحق البسم سدر کاه صیفه
 مولویه و سزوم اجابور طریقه اولده مداحیه سرفیله و مولود طریقه سنوی بوراجه وضعی اجاب اولدنی عازم درگاه سرفیله
 بوردی بر ناتهها ششم و سزیز ریز اطمینانی اوله بیعی درکار و معراجیه سرفیله بوردی بر سزیز فخر و قناتی معینه
 اولدنی ایچمه مولود سرفیله طریقه بر نتهها ایجا اولدنی بیجه بویوز ده جمله دم کاه و اهالی قولاری مخلوقه و مانی
 اولدنی بریدار اولدنی بیجا سینه طریقه شانه وظایف اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی
 شکر و کلاب و مولود خوانه و ضد بخاره و سزیز لوی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی
 اولدنی بیجه ذکر اولدنی مولود سرفیله عداغ انا عریف طریقه نظارتیه بنه هیک اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی
 رفتو الخای عینی اقبالی طریقه نسویه بولسی فضیلتی آید صفا اصانه اویا سزیز اولدنی بر نتهها سینه
 و غفیرتیک سزیز و اربابیه جمله درویش و دم کاه و بجهش داعی دیریز لیریکه و اهالی قولاری بویوز دندی نمونه
 و احبابیولمه نیازنه سزیز عریفه فخر ایزم اجبار قلدی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی اولدنی
 الحقه اولدی
 بوسه سینه
 مولود کاه
 ادره

5. Ali Eşref Dede, the sheikh of the dervish lodge of Edirne (*Edirne Mevlevîhânesi*), requests from the government to arrange mawlid rituals in the lodge with the expenditure of 1500 piasters [Source: BOA, İ.DH. 421/27857, (07 Ca. 1275/13 Dec. 1858).]

حضور معارف و حضرت قاضی
 معروضه جا کردی
 برسد مولود سرفیله کونا نفس شکرده و هوایزه اولدنی زاید ریشاخ دوروشانه و جملایه عیال دکر ادرک و دف و درم بلک جادریه
 و سجا فلان چورده درود سزیز لیریکه زیاره کاه هدی صباهه اخصام قدر زیارت ایتیم و شمار با بقضه لیدر و نواز تملارچ اجابیه
 ایتیم آنا سزه خلی شاکر اولدنی و بعضی اهالی و مسافر بجه سزیز لیریکه کن سینه و قوعنده وضعی کلمه بجه جرم
 و عن ظهیرنده قولاری اصناف طاقیق دکانه ای اوکونی مسدود اولوب بولدره بکوچوق قاعه هیئت معنده اولدنی و جنی جینه
 درض ضلیه نوسرا کونست لیریکه حالده بوسه مبارکده هم اجلی اصول و آیه اولوب و همده سینه سزیز لیریکه حضرت مولود کاه کافرا
 اصناف و اهالی اصنیه اوزره دکانه ای چورده و کار کسبهد اشغال و قناتی ایبه ایملر سزیز لیریکه سزیز لیریکه سزیز لیریکه
 و کوه مساوت ایملر لیریکه اولدنی سزیز لیریکه و همده سزیز لیریکه و همده سزیز لیریکه سزیز لیریکه سزیز لیریکه
 اصنیه و استنا هنری درجه کاهده بولسی ایملر کحظهم عالم لای حقه حیلله لیریکه جردنک لیریکه اولدنی سزیز لیریکه
 سزیز لیریکه
 سزیز لیریکه
 سزیز لیریکه

6. The report of Tripoli Governor Mahmud Nedim Paşa, sent to Istanbul in 25 October 1860 which mentions that mawlid celebration is controlled –as the empire desires- and the people are safe [Source: BOA, A.MKT.UM. 433/32, (09 R. 1277/25 Oct. 1860).]



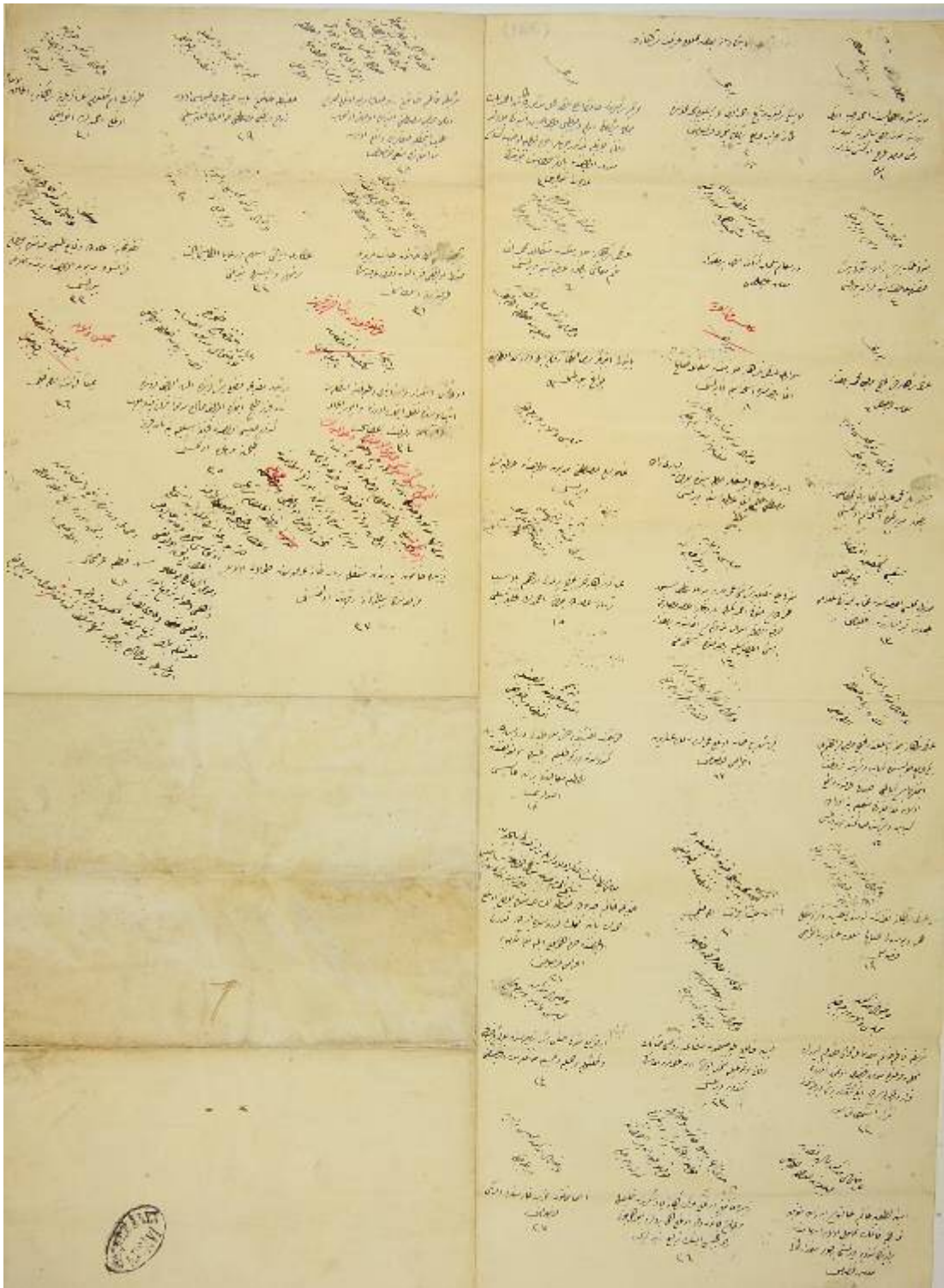
دائرة مشيخت

منقبه ولادت با سعادت حضرت نبوی بی متضرر اولاد منظومه مبارکه تک اصله موافقتی ایچونجه تحسین و تحسینه
 بعضی اخطار و اعتداری منضمین سجل احوال قوم بیسیون عمویسی سیسی رضا افند حضرتی طرفه قلمه النوب
 لدی العرض منظور عالی بیور بلاغ رساله مخیره تدقیق موافقات انجمنه مطالعه اولنمق اوزج باراده سینه
 حضرت خلافتنا هر لقا ارسال قلمی مشعر و رود ایدنه ۸ ریح الاحرم ۱۳۰۶ تاریخ تذکره علیه خصوصیه ایله ملفونی بولنه
 رساله مذکوره انجمن مزبور لدر احواله سالف الذکر منظومه کافه بلاد اسلامیه ده صدر به قدر قبول عامه بی نظر
 آثار تبرکه دن اولوب صرف تبرک قصیده عقد مجالس اولنمق احتفالات لازمه ایله قرائت اولنمده
 ایدکنه مسأل شرعیه ناولمیان مندرجاته مشهور اولنمق تقدیم و تأخیر و باز یاده و نقصان حاضر اهمیت
 اولماسی جهتیه عصر لدر نبروت ساس ایدنه بر شیک لزوم صحیح اولنمق بن نصیحه قائله موجه تحسین افکار
 اوله جغذنه منظومه طلیله مذکور تک اوز با نه عمومی ده بر شمس اولنمق طرز اصلیه ابغای موافق حال اولنمق
 مطالعه اولنمق ایسه ده اراده کرامتاده حضرت خلافتنا هر نبره مرکزده صرف صادر اولور ایسه حکم طلیله
 اتقادی متحمم عهدت عبودیت و مساوت اولدیغی بامضطه افاده اولنمق رساله مذکوره مطوبیا اعاده و
 قلمش اولنمق امر و فرمان هایونجه جناب خلافتنا هر نبره وجهله طرفه تسبیح و صدور بیور یور ایسه منطوق مینفی
 انفاذ اولنور ایشدم ۸ ریح الاحرم ۱۳۰۶ بی کال اول اول ۱۳۰۶
 سح السلام
 احمد رسد

10. The report of Grand Mufti Ahmed Esad Efendi on a booklet written by Chief of Personnel Record Commission (*Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu Reisi*) Rıza Efendi and based on a polemic about mawlid poem of Süleyman Çelebi [Source: BOA, Y.MTV. 36/98, (27 R. 1306/31 Dec. 1888).]



12. A sample expense record of the ceremonial: Three sheikhs and three mawlid reciters are paid cash which totally cost 1500 piasters (each of them costs 250 piasters) from the Imperial Treasury (*Hazîne-i Âmire*). [Source: BOA, C.DH. 199/9918, (29 Ra. 1240/21 Nov. 1824).]



13. A sample register of petitions (*mârûzât*) gathered in the royal mawlid procession [Source: BOA, A.AMD. 40/23, (1268/1851).]