THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY

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THE STRUCTURE
OF THE
OTTOMAN DYNASTY

BY

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TO

ROLAND P. SUTTON

WHO FIRST TAUGHT ME

ABOUT THE PALACE

ON THE GOLDEN HORN

PREFACE

IN the pages of this book an attempt has been made to present the genealogy of the Ottoman Dynasty in as detailed a manner as possible and to establish the principles which governed the mutual relations of its various members. It is a study which has been prolonged by continual interruptions and which, because of inherent limitations can never be complete; but it is felt that sufficient progress has been made to justify publication. The way in which it came to be written is told in the Introduction. Here I would like to set out the names of those who, in many different ways, have helped in its writing.

My first debt is to the late Dr. J. Kingsley Birge who was always ready with advice and encouragement. Then Professor Halil İnalcık and Dr. Aurel Dečei have kindly read the proofs and made valuable suggestions. Bay Halûk Şehsuvaroğlu, director of the Top-Kapı Sarayı Müzesi, has helped me in the checking of many names and dates. Bay Faik Reşit Unat very kindly gave me permission to make use of one of his maps, while my colleague Bay Haydar Ediskun has readily answered my repeated inquiries as to the spelling of Turkish names. None of these people must, however, be held responsible for any mistakes there may be.

My thanks are also due to the Librarians of the French Institute of Archaeology, the American Bible House and Robert College, all in İstanbul, and of the University Library of Cambridge, for the many facilities for study. Lastly my thanks must go to the staff of the Clarendon Press for their kindly advice and co-operation in dealing with a very awkward manuscript—a task often rendered more difficult by distance.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat the words of a great predecessor, Stanley Lane-Poole: 'In a work abounding in names and figures it would be strange if misprints and mistakes did not occur. I shall be grateful to any scholar who will convict me of error; for those who "serve tables" know the danger and annoyance of even slight inaccuracy.'

A. D. A.

Collège St. Michel, İstanbul
31 December 1954

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the author became interested in Turkish history, his attention was taken by the large number of foreign marriages contracted by the Ottoman dynasty, particularly during the first half of its history.[1] So he was drawn into a closer study of the genealogical history of the sultans, and what had begun as disconnected notes to facilitate his own reading, soon began to develop into the detailed analysis here presented. Interest was further aroused by the strange mixture of democracy and despotism which pervades the dynasty's story.

In seeking to establish all the ramifications of the network of marriages which linked the Ottoman with a dozen other more or less powerful Muslim and Christian dynasties, many books have been consulted, and this debt is clearly set out in the footnotes and select bibliography.[2] Particular reference should, however, be made to von Hammer's *Histoire de l'Empire ottomane*, the *Almanach de Gotha*, the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (and its Turkish translation), Sürreya's *Sicill-i Osmani*, Zambaur's *Manuel de Généalogie . . . de l'Islam*, and Danışmend's *Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*. These six works have formed the basis of the study, yet even works of such repute present a mass of conflicting evidence and are far from complete. From whichever angle one approaches, it is clear that the saray of the sultans—and especially the harem—with all its occupants and occupations, was shut off behind a curtain of taboo. Those outside knew little of what went on within its walls, while those who had served within almost always maintained a discreet silence concerning what they had seen.[3] So it was necessary to search for additional and corroborative evidence in many different, and often obscure, places: from the later Byzantine historians, through the serried ranks of the writers of travel memoirs, to the detailed research work of today presented in monographs and learned journals.

It is obvious, therefore, that this book is based almost entirely on

[1] Lybyer, 17, enlarges on this theme strikingly, but his mathematical calculations are slightly exaggerated; see p. 92.

[2] In the footnotes abbreviations and short titles are used, but they are all given in full in the Bibliography.

[3] Compare the comments made by Lybyer, B. Miller, and Penzer in their respective books on the organization of the Ottoman court.

the research of others. There is little in it that is strictly original, although occasionally it has been possible to correct an error or give proper emphasis to some little-known fact. But its chief aim, and any claim to merit it may possess, is to act as a synthesis, bringing together many related subjects which have so far never been considered in conjunction. The various genealogical tables, which form the major part of the book, are the raw material which has been used in preparing the different studies on the structure of the dynasty.[1]

The tables which follow the text are of two kinds. First comes the strictly genealogical group, which covers in varying detail the Ottoman dynasty and the related Muslim and Christian dynasties. The second consists of tables which collect together the marriage alliances of the Ottoman dynasty with certain other dynasties. Cross-references throughout the book—both in text and tables—are facilitated by a unified system of numbering. It will be noticed that the numbers used are not fully consecutive; this was done intentionally to allow of the addition of further material with the least possible disturbance.

It is convenient at this stage to consider certain limitations to the use of the tables. It is noticeable in all works relating to the genealogy of Islamic dynasties that little or no importance is attached to the female members; the marriages which figure so prominently in the family trees of European ruling families are almost completely absent, or are relegated to a footnote.[2] For some dynasties this may reflect an actual inferiority and lack of importance, but the ladies of the Ottoman family did often play a very important role, so that here every attempt has been made to give them due prominence.

Dates are given fully, where possible, according to the Julian and Gregorian Calendars (A.D.),[3] and by year only according to the Muslim Calendar (A.H.). In converting from one to the other the author has relied on the Tables of Faik Reşit Unat, which are based on those of Mahler-Wüstenfeld. Where only a year-date was known in one system, it has been taken to correspond to the longer of the

[1] Note that the emphasis in this book is on 'institutions' rather than 'ceremonies'; for the latter see a book like Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilâtı*.

[2] In Sürreya's *Sicill-i Osmani* the sultans' wives and daughters are considered in the first ninety pages; in all the rest of the four volumes women are hardly mentioned at all.

[3] The change from the Julian to the Gregorian Calendar is counted from 5 October 1582.

two 'part-years' in the other system, unless there was sufficient external evidence to warrant the contrary. The difficulties to be faced in fixing any date exactly must always be borne in mind: lack of records, conflicting records, and confusion in 'calendar-conversion' have all combined to make strict accuracy almost impossible, even in the later periods.[1]

In the tables both the wives (or husbands) and the children of the sultans and other persons are given; but, unless specifically indicated, there is no attempt to show who was the mother (or father) of any particular child. The lists of wives and children are given in purely alphabetical order, irrespective of dates of marriage or birth, as the evidence available over the whole period is too scanty to justify any other arrangement. One other point must be mentioned with regard to wives and children. Quite often the records speak of a wife, son, or daughter, without giving any names; to be able to include such information two symbols—'S' (son) for a male and 'D' (daughter) for a female—have been introduced. It is sometimes possible, however, that the data given for such an anonymous person should really be identified with a named individual, about whom little or nothing is known.

Towards the end of the tables two limitations have been applied to cope with the ever-increasing flow of relatively unimportant information. From the reign of Abdülmecid I only the most important members of the second generation are shown and, with few exceptions, no information has been provided subsequent to 3 March 1924—the date when the dynasty ceased to rule.

For simplicity, and to avoid confusion in the English text, certain words have been given specific meanings. The word 'Sultan' (written with a capital 'S') is reserved for a reigning Sultan, while 'prince' and 'princess' are used respectively for a sultan's sons and daughters. Unless otherwise stated, the two words 'marriage' and 'wife' are used loosely to cover any kind of union from concubine to legal spouse, while 'harem' implies the whole female household. Except in Chapter XII, 'Marriages', the term 'Early, Earlier Period' covers the history of the dynasty up to the end of the reign of Mehmed III, and the 'Late, Later Period' is held to begin with the reign of Ahmed I.

[1] The difficulties involved in the conversion of one calendar to the other are analysed in the introduction to Danışmend's *Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, I. vii–xiv.

To avoid possible ambiguities all Turkish personal and place names, even when forming part of a quotation from another writer, are spelt according to a uniform system, based on the latinized Turkish alphabet. On the other hand, all non-Turkish names are spelt as in English.

With so many names and dates to record it would have made the book far too bulky to quote the authorities for each item. The details given have been checked and rechecked over a period of fourteen years and it is hoped that they are accurate; but footnotes have been reserved as far as possible for dealing with controversial matters and supplying additional information.

I

ORIGINS

WITH the opening of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks became a definite factor in Anatolian politics and from that time forward we can be fairly certain of their history. Prior to 1300, however, little or nothing is known of them: a few names, an occasional and rather doubtful date, and that is all. The rest is legendary, some part actually going back to those early days, but a great deal invented in later times to try to explain what had gone before—or even just to enhance the prestige of the tribe among the other peoples of the Orient.[1] With the elucidation of these legends, and with the kindred problems of the ethnographic and historical origins of the Ottoman Turks, this book is not concerned. Different theories have been propounded, but they are limited by the comparative scarcity of information as yet available concerning Anatolia during the declining years of the Seljuks of Rum.[2]

At some stage in the early thirteenth century a small band of nomads, half shepherd and half warrior, arrived within the bounds of the Seljuk Empire, which was already tottering to its fall under the blows of the Mongols. These new-comers—'adventurers, desirous of finding pasturage for their sheep and cattle, and ready to sell their services to any other tribe'[3]—were assigned to guard a small sector of the western frontier against Byzantium and, once they had settled down, soon began to take an active part in the life of the Border. It was all experience which was to serve them well in the future.

By the time this band of which we have been speaking emerged

[1] Wittek, *R.O.E.*, 7 ff.

[2] Köprülü, *O.E.O.*, *passim*, and 'Etnik Menşei' in *Belleten*, 28; Wittek, *R.O.E.*, *passim*; Brockelmann, 256 ff. A neat summary of Wittek's ideas is to be found in Fisher, 9–13. See also Sümer, 'Kavmî Menşeleri', in *R.T.M.* v. 3077.

[3] *Cambridge Medieval History*, iv. 655. Toynbee, 113, says: 'In fact, the Ottomans had received the leavings of the Seljuk estate because they were the latest comers and had arrived in humble circumstances. Their eponym, Osman, was the son of one Ertuğrul, the leader of a nameless band of refugees, an insignificant fragment of the human wreckage which had been hurled to the farthest extremities of "Dar-ül İslâm" by the tremendous impact of the Mongol wave when it broke upon the North-East marches of the Iranic Society from the heart of the Eurasian Steppe.'

into history as the Ottoman Turks, it had become a well-organized 'marcher' community.[1] There was some semblance of constitutional government by a marcher-lord, subject—though only just, for the Seljuk Empire was on the verge of disintegration—to the suzerain in Konya.[2] There was a well-founded economy, based on the summer and winter pasturage of flocks and herds and on control of some of the main Anatolian trade-routes. Above all, to make the tribe strongly aggressive for Islam, there was in its midst a very active cell of 'Âhiler', led by 1500/Şeyh Ede-bâli and his family. But it is to be noted that, as soon as possible, both 'Alplar' and 'Âhiler' were weaned of their power in favour of the sultans' more immediate relations.[3]

At some time during the first quarter of the fourteenth century[4] the Ottoman rulers assumed the two prerogatives of independence: they ordered their names to be read during the Friday prayers ('Hutba') and they began to mint their own coins ('Sikke'). Either then, or perhaps earlier, they also set up their own flags ('Sancak') and established the royal music ('Mehterhâne'), two further symbols of sovereignty.[5]

Thus secure in the possession of a new home-land in Western Anatolia, the Ottoman Turks looked around for spheres of expansion. Their advance during the fourteenth century was due equally to good fortune and to an ability to seize opportunities. The almost simultaneous collapse of the Seljuk Empire in Anatolia and of the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans made it possible for the Ottoman

[1] A picturesque, yet not unduly romanticized, description of the Ottoman Turks at that time can be found in Tülbentçi's novel, *Osmanoğulları*.

[2] The outward forms of submission were observed, but for all practical purposes the peripheral emirates were independent. However, Seljuk domination was soon replaced by that of the İlhanlılar: 'Turkish histories which point to 699 [1300] as the year when the Ottoman State became independent are certainly wrong. Osman Bey, both at this date and later, continued to be a marcher-lord under the suzerainty of the İlhanlılar.... There is no doubt that Osman Bey was among those invited to do homage to the İlhanlılar in 1317 by their governor, Emir Çobanoğlu Demirtaş. There exists a record according to which Orhan Bey had to deliver a fixed tribute every year to their Treasury, which shows that both Osman Bey and his son recognized the suzerainty of the İlhanlılar.' Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 27, 30. Complete independence came with the death of İlhan Bahadur in 1335.

[3] See Taeschner, in *Oriens*, VI. i. 23, n. 1, and Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 40. The 'Alplar' were the comrades-in-arms from associated tribes.

[4] The time is fixed between the collapse of the Seljuk Empire and 1327, the date of the first known Ottoman coins.

[5] 'Sancak' and 'Mehterhâne' were symbols of lesser authority and had probably been granted during the suzerainty of the Seljuks. See Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 240 ff. and 273 ff.

Turks to extend their power westwards against divided Christian enemies and eastwards against divided Muslim successor-states. Even the humiliation of defeat by Timur had little permanent effect on their growth, because he left them in undisputed possession of their territories in Europe, which were to serve as a springboard for the reconquest of Anatolia.

It was, then, from the leaders of this small tribe, 44/Ertuğrul and Osman I, that there sprang the dynasty whose institutions are to be examined in the following pages.

II

SUCCESSION

FROM the time of 44/Ertuğrul (died 1281), the father of Osman I, down to the exile of Abdülmecid (II) in 1924—that is, for six and a half centuries—the House of Osman ruled continuously over the Ottoman Turks from five successive capitals: Söğüt, Yenişehir, Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul. 'The domination of the Ottoman clan, which should have been a mere passing phenomenon, like the similar domination of another Tartar clan in Russia', possessed such powers of survival that even a disaster like the onslaught of Timur and the Interregnum served only to strengthen it. But in seeking an explanation for this dynastic longevity any glib reference to polygamy must be avoided: at least in the House of Osman the 'increasing' influence of polygamy was more than offset by the 'decreasing' effects of the Law of Fratricide and the institution of the 'Kafes'.

What is much more remarkable than the time-span, however, is that the sultans ruled in unbroken succession in the male line, without recourse to any relation more distant than brother, nephew or first cousin, although on at least two occasions the danger of a complete failure in the dynasty did arise. Moreover, the average length of reign of the sultans, seventeen years, compares quite favourably with those of other great dynasties,[1] indicating that the sultanate was a reasonably stable form of government. Discussion of the succession in the House of Osman resolves itself, therefore, into two parts: an analysis of actual practice, together with a study of the provision made for any possible break in the line.

In the Orient, and particularly in 'Dar-ül İslâm', the usual custom was for tribal leadership to pass to the eldest male member of the ruling family; thus the succession generally moved, not in the vertical father-to-son line familiar to the Occident ('Amûd-i-Nesebî'), but in a zigzag through brothers and nephews ('Ekber-i-Nesebî').

[1] See Table XIX, p. 130. The Roman emperors averaged seven years, the Byzantine emperors twelve, the Abassid caliphs twelve, the Russian czars eighteen, the French kings twenty-one, and the English kings twenty-three years. These figures are based on the tables in *An Encyclopedia of World History*.

This may seem a rather sweeping generalization, but it is supported by a perusal of the genealogical studies of Lane-Poole and Zambaur. However, just at the point in time when the Ottoman Turks moved into historical focus, an event took place which was to change this. There are few details of 42/Dündar's murder at the hands of his nephew Osman I, even the date 1298 is doubtful; but the inference to be drawn from the story is surely clear. It was the climax to the struggle of Osman, asserting his claim to succeed his father Ertuğrul, against the customary rights of his uncle Dündar. This act, almost one of usurpation, seems to have been acceptable to the tribe for more than one reason. If, as appears likely, Ertuğrul had renounced his authority because of old age,[1] it was hardly reasonable to allow the power to pass to another octogenarian (the dates are traditional). Moreover, Dündar represented the past; if the legend is true, he also had come from central Asia with his father 40/Süleyman Şah. But the tribe then established at Yenişehir and poised for action in the west, was looking to the future; it needed a Joshua to lead it into the Promised Land. It is not certain whether Osman was the eldest son of Ertuğrul—there was no attempt to assert the principle of primogeniture—but he was a son and for the next three hundred years the succession was to pass from father to son.

In fact, far from there being any theory of primogeniture at this stage, the law of succession may well be described as a 'free-for-all', in which the strongest of the sons inherited the throne, while the others—according to the Law of Fratricide—suffered death.[2] The stakes were indeed very high and the resulting struggles correspondingly fierce, each prince being supported by those leaders and officials who thought that he would best serve their purpose. It clearly rested with the officials in power to decide which of a dead sultan's sons was to be sent the message which would bring him to the

[1] See p. 54.

[2] 'As there was no Law of Succession among the Ottomans, there was neither rule nor custom to show whether a dead sultan should be replaced by an older or younger son. In the early days this was in the hands of the "Âhiler", who played an important part in state affairs, and the governors, and the chief thing was to choose the most capable.' Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 45. In this respect notice the vagueness of Mehmed II's Law of Fratricide: 'And to WHOMSOEVER of my sons the sultanate shall pass . . . .' Similarly, 'among the Candaroğulları there was no Law of Succession and so each ruler appointed as his heir the son he wished. As a result there were sometimes bloody struggles among the ruling family over the division of the state and appointment of an heir.' Ülkütaşır, in *T.T.A.E.* v. 157. Uluçay, *Aşk Mektupları*, 16, is wrong in saying, 'There existed a Law of Succession. The eldest son definitely took the place of the dead sultan.'

throne. This was also one of the reasons why it was necessary to conceal the death of a sultan until such time as his successor was in a position to be proclaimed; otherwise there would have been many more civil wars.[1] This can best be seen in the struggles for the throne among the sons of Bayezid I (1402–13), Mehmed II (1481–3), Bayezid II (1509–12), and Süleyman I (1550–66).

When Timur had defeated Bayezid I at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, it seemed as if the Ottoman Empire must inevitably collapse and be wiped out. But, for strategic reasons, Timur was content to make the sons of Bayezid acknowledge his overlordship and then leave them in effective control of their father's lands.[2] Unfortunately they could not agree among themselves as to the unity or division of the inheritance and there followed eleven years of internecine strife, 'Devr-i Fetret'—during which 532/İsa, 540/Süleyman, and 537/Mûsa were in turn eliminated. Then, and only then, could Mehmed I resurrect the title of sultan, which was reserved for the ruler of the united empire. But it seems clear that these internal dissensions had little effect on the external position of the Ottoman Empire, otherwise it could easily have been swamped by a combination of neighbouring princes.[3]

With the death of Mehmed II in 1481 there opened another period of civil war which was to last until Bayezid II had driven his brother 570/Cem into permanent exile.[4] This struggle raised several points of interest from the constitutional side. To begin with, there was Cem's claim to the throne on the specious ground of being 'porphyrogenitus', a claim which was completely alien to Islamic law, where every child is equal and legitimate. Then Cem set himself up as a rival sultan, minting money and being named by

[1] See pp. 25 ff. and 107.

[2] Mehmed I and 532/İsa, being in Anatolia, were particularly subject to Timur's overlordship; on the former's coins for 806 [1404] appears the inscription: 'Demurhan Gürkân—Mehmed bin Bayezid Han'—see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 174, n. 1. For the whole period of the 'Devr-i Fetret', see Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 134–67, and Wittek, in *Belleten*, 27. 557.

[3] 'By this battle [Çamurlu, July 1413] the unity of the Ottoman state was re-established; nevertheless, one gets the impression that even after the Battle of Ankara the supremacy of the House of Osman over the other Mohammedan and Christian chiefs in Anatolia and the Balkan Peninsula was never seriously questioned.' J. H. Kramers in *E.I.* iii. 658. On the other hand, Wittek, *R.O.E.* 4, says: 'The Ottomans were, after the disastrous defeat inflicted on them by Timur at Ankara, thrown into a most critical situation which menaced even their political existence.' See Table I, p. 16.

[4] Fisher, *passim*, shows how the fear of Cem's renewing the struggle dominated all of Bayezid's foreign policy until the former's death in 1495.

the Faithful in the Friday prayers ('Sikke' and 'Hutba'). He even went further and proposed to divide the Empire with Bayezid; but such things were more than personal attacks. They represented a blow at the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and Bayezid rightly refused to treat with Cem.[1] The struggles among the sons of Bayezid II came to a head some long time before his death and led eventually to his deposition in 1512 and the accession of his youngest son; but they are more conveniently discussed in a later chapter.[2]

The conflict for power among the sons of Süleyman I lasted for more than fifteen years; in fact, it may be said to have begun almost as soon as he had two sons to be rivals, and behind the sons were the rival mothers: 152/Mâhidevran and 151/Hurrem. It does seem, however, that as long as 141/Hafise Valide Sultan was alive, she insisted on peaceful relations within the harem. Apart from other deaths by natural causes, Selim II eventually reached the throne over the bodies of four brothers and four nephews.

In this respect, it is interesting to note how many times the succession, for a variety of reasons, did not pass to the eldest son favoured by the father. Leaving aside the doubtful question of the relative ages of Orhan and 501/Alâeddin, there came first the tragic death of 514/Süleyman Paşa just at the moment when he was assuming responsibility for the government of his father's dominions. Then it was Mehmed I, the youngest of Bayezid's sons, who emerged triumphant from the Interregnum, just as later Selim I overcame his older brothers. To these one can add the early deaths of 560/Ahmed and 562/Alâeddin Ali, sons of Murad II, and of Süleyman I's 606/Mustafa.

These struggles were the symptoms of the disease of fragmentation which had so often brought about the collapse of dynasties, such as the Carolingian in Europe and the Seljuk in Asia Minor. Previous to Cem's proposal to split the Empire with Bayezid II, Chalcocondyles records that Mehmed I had intended to divide his

[1] 'It involved a direct violation of one of the fundamental canons of Islam: that there shall be only one supreme Imam. Bayezid's decision accordingly influenced the history of the world. He refused to accept Cem's offer. "The empire", he said, "is the bride of one lord".' Bury in *Cam. Mod. Hist.* i. 85. Similarly, Süleyman I tolerated almost every sign of grandiose usurpation of rights by his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizir 2036/ İbrahim Paşa, until the latter dared to sign himself 'Serasker Sultan', and Buhara Meliki Abdullah wrote to him as 'Sultan İbrahim'.

[2] See the chapters on Abdication and Deposition, pp. 54 ff. and 59 ff.

possessions between two sons, giving the European provinces to Murad II and the Asiatic to his other son, 554/Mustafa.[1] Fortunately nothing came of either of these plans; in general the Ottoman sultans had an overruling conception of imperial unity. To combat the danger of disruption, they introduced two safeguards: the first was to grant the heir-presumptive the provincial governorate nearest to the capital, which gave him a good chance of seizing the throne at his father's death before any other claimant. Secondly, there was the Law of Fratricide by which a new sultan could remove all his rivals.[2]

Many writers have blamed Osman and the later sultans for not having proclaimed a definite and indisputable Law of Succession, but presumably the latter judged this to be contrary to the best interests of the dynasty. Loyalty to the House of Osman was unswerving throughout its history; as long as it continued to provide rulers, whether satisfactory or not, there was never any suggestion to displace it.[3] But, granted a succession within the framework of that family, the sultans came up against the sentiment that the people were at liberty to choose whom they would and also to depose him freely.[4] This provided a safeguard against the appearance of a weak sultan who, unfitted to rule, might otherwise have brought about the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. It is true that the 'people' were generally represented in this matter by the Janissaries or a small palace clique, but the sultans never saw fit to meddle openly with this 'democratic spirit'. It was surely the remains of the old tribal right to choose the chief and, when sultan became also caliph, the theory of election was strengthened.[5] The resulting system may well be described as a compromise between the hereditary and elective principles.

[1] Chalcocondyles, 102.

[2] See pp. 17 ff. and 25 ff.

[3] 'A weak or a vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot.' Gibbon, vii. 78. It was only the flight of Mehmed VI in 1922 which changed this attitude.

[4] 'In the Ottoman dynasty founded by Orhan, the head of the State was chosen—until the time of Murad II—by the influential leaders and governors. This position was never allowed to pass to any other family. Murad I and Yıldırım Bayezid were chosen as rulers by the decision of the governors.' Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 41; but he quotes no authorities on this point of election. Fisher, 105 and n. 14, referring to the withered leg of 586/Şahinşah ibni Bayezid II, says that no one with a physical defect could become sultan—but he also gives no authorities; one must consider 1555/Kötürüm (paralytic) Bayezid Candaroğlu and Timur-i Lenk (lame) before accepting this point.

[5] See Gibb and Bowen, i. 26–38.

From this it follows that, in Ottoman minds, there could never be any distinction between the sultan *de facto* and the sultan *de jure*; whoever occupied the throne at any given moment was its rightful possessor. For this reason there were few attempts made to replace deposed sultans on their thrones, and all ended tragically for those concerned. It follows that Western writers—thinking in terms of Western constitutional theory—are at fault when they speak of one prince as the 'rightful' sultan and of another as the 'usurper'.

If there was no formal ceremony of election, at least the will of the people was clearly expressed on many occasions and was embodied in the ceremony known as 'Biat'.[1] The circumstances of Osman I's succession have been discussed above, but those of later sultans deserve some consideration. Orhan was probably the eldest son of Osman I; in any case he had been the most prominent during his father's last years, perhaps because of his connexions with the 'Âhiler'. Murad I, however, was younger than either 514/Süleyman Paşa or 511/İbrahim, yet on the former's death he was appointed to rule Rumelia and, when Orhan also died, Murad seized power and executed İbrahim. Neither is it certain that Bayezid I was older than 522/Yakub, whom he caused to be executed at Kosova, but the tribal leaders chose him for his military prowess.[2] When dying, Mehmed I declared to the leaders of the state his wish that his eldest son Murad II should succeed him; the majority accepted this and loyally supported him, but Murad's position was challenged both by his uncle 538/Mustafa and by his brother 554/Mustafa. In the end the latter were defeated and executed; but the claims of the uncle suggest an attempt to revive the traditional line of succession. In 1446 Mehmed II was set aside and his father brought back by the soldiery; yet a few years later,

'Mehmed II was by the same Janissaries and the other soldiers of the Court with great triumph saluted king. Which approbation of these men of war is unto the Turkish kings a greater assurance for the possession of their kingdom than to be born the eldest son of the king . . . so great is the power of these masterful slaves in promoting to the kingdom whichsoever of the king's sons they most favour without much regard whether he be the eldest or not.'[3]

[1] See p. 40.

[2] It is significant, though possibly without authority, that Cantemir, 43, in describing the Battle of Kosova wrote, 'the great men assembled about the choice of a new Emperor and Yıldırım Bayezid, Murad's eldest son, is unanimously declared Sultan. . . . By the consent of the chief men' Yakub Çelebi was then executed. See Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 83.

[3] Knolles, 337.

Yet again, in spite of the Grand Vizir Mehmed Karamani's leanings towards 570/Cem, the Janissaries and the people of İstanbul stuck out for Bayezid II in 1481.

There were no further changes in the rules governing the succession until after the death of Süleyman I, when the next two sultans carefully limited the appointments to the princely governorates, sending only their eldest sons, who were thus singled out as the next successors to the throne. With the turn of the century, however, a combination of circumstances brought about a development which was to have far-reaching results; but it must be emphasized that the change was empirical, almost fortuitous.[1]

When Mehmed III came to the throne at the beginning of 1595, he executed his nineteen remaining brothers according to custom. Then he decided to keep all his own sons at court, rather than appoint even one of them to a provincial governorate, probably because he feared their intrigues. In spite of this he was later forced to execute the princes 652/Selim and 651/Mahmud, while two other sons died natural deaths before their father. As a result, when Mehmed III died, his elder surviving son Ahmed I was only thirteen and a half years old, while Mustafa I was about twelve. Neither had ever held a governorate, so that their qualities were all unknown; it would have been dangerous, therefore, to remove one of them by Fratricide—particularly before an heir was born to the dynasty.[2] Secondly, Ahmed and Mustafa were blood brothers and it is more than likely that their mother, 180/Handan Valide Sultan, may have insisted on Ahmed sparing Mustafa's life. Thirdly, Mehmed III's mass execution of his brothers had had a very disturbing effect on public opinion. But, whatever the reason, Mustafa's life was not taken and he was transferred to the 'Kafes'—a miniature court with a sterilized harem inside the 'Top-Kapı Sarayı'. Thus it came about that, when Ahmed I died in 1617, there was in existence—for the first time since the murder of 42/Dündar—an uncle to take the place of the normal heir. The latter was 'Genç'

[1] For the whole question of the change from 'father-to-son' to 'eldest male' descent, see Giese, *Das Seniorat*. He flatly condemns the idea that 'eldest male' succession was the rule in the Ottoman Empire or that it was consciously taken over from Old Turkish and Mongolian custom. He also points out that the Ottoman historians hardly touch on the subject.

[2] See Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xviii. 333; Giese misses this essential point. For a contemporary explanation, see the quotation from Coryates, p. 29.

Osman II, a boy of only thirteen, so the Ulema decided to revert to oriental practice and Mustafa I, as eldest male, was chosen to be Sultan. Here was a clear case of the elective principle at work, but the deciding factor was the existence of the elder Mustafa I, rather than Osman II's youthfulness—he was only five months younger than his father had been at the time of his accession.[1] The change is expressed in a letter from Osman II to James I of England: 'This paternal empire and monarchical kingdom hath almost until this present blessed time been always hereditary from grandfather to father, from father to son and so cursively in that manner; but having regard unto the age and years of our great and noble uncle Sultan Mustafa, he was preferred and honoured to sit on the Ottoman throne.'[2] Two other reasons may be suggested for the break with custom; in the first place, Mustafa's recurring madness was, in the eyes of his oriental contemporaries, a sign of divine approval. Secondly, the scheming 'Haseki', 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Sultan may have seen more hope for the eventual succession of her own sons, Murad IV and İbrahim, if Mustafa I rather than Osman II came to the throne at the death of Ahmed I; Osman would almost certainly have executed his brothers, at least as soon as he had children of his own. But Mustafa had, and would have, no children of his own to succeed him, and during his reign it might be possible to eliminate Osman II; so Kösem set herself to bribe officers and officials into arranging Mustafa's accession—only his ensuing madness ruined her plan.[3]

Once a precedent had been created the change soon became permanent, though an element of chance—arising from the

[1] In this the author disagrees with the interpretation of Gibb and Bowen, i. 37; the crux of the matter is not the succession of Mustafa I in 1617 but his survival after 1603. While Gibb and Bowen speak of 'Kanunlar' and constitutional regulations, his feeling is that the change, beginning as a purely practical arrangement in 1603, owed its continuation to the ill effects of the 'Kafes' system. This view is supported by Giese, 255–6, where he declares that the idea of eldest-male succession first became law only in the Constitution of 1876. Article 3 of the latter states that, 'The Succession among the Ottomans belongs by very ancient custom to the eldest member of the family'; see also p. 119, 'Veliahd'. Gibb and Bowen are also wrong in stating that before 1617 'no minor had ever succeeded'; there was no legal obstacle to a minor's succession. Ahmed I had been only thirteen at his accession in 1603, while Mehmed II was only twelve at the time of his first accession.

[2] Purchas, 1612. But in a proclamation to the troops Osman insisted that his own rights had been usurped, and he always bore a grudge against Grand Vizir Halil Paşa, his deputy 2283/Gürcü Mehmed Paşa and the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm', 2260/Haci Mehmed Esad, who had passed him over. See Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 47, and *O.T.* III. i. 133.

[3] See Danışmend, *O.T.K.* iii. 270, and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 546–8.

uncertainty of life in the 'Kafes'—which still remained in the succession 'led to intense rivalry and intrigue among the mothers of the various princes and to the consequent formation of different factions which involved not only the harem but also the court and the army'.[1] These were sometimes eliminated when, as in the case of Mehmed IV, the eldest male of the family was also the eldest son of the preceding sultan.

The change from Governorates and Fratricide to the 'Kafes', with its rigid system of birth-control, helped to perpetuate the new order of succession. It meant that until after his accession a sultan had no children, so that when he died his sons were often still too young to rule. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the 'Kafes' regulations in this matter were relaxed; the first to escape was Abdülâziz whose son, 844/Yusuf İzzeddin, was born in 1857, four years before his father's accession. The results of this policy can be seen most dramatically in the genealogical tables which show that between the reigns of Selim II and Abdülmecid I—a period of almost three hundred years—the princes who were confined in the 'Kafes' and did not become sultans had no children at all.

The 'rule' of the eldest male ('Ekberiyyet') continued from 1617 until the fall of the dynasty in 1924, but on more than one occasion attempts were made to revert to the father-to-son principle and even to bring in a definite system of primogeniture, which is further proof of the continued absence of a definite law. Ahmed III seems to have been desirous of 'diverting the expectations of the people from his nephew [Mahmud I] to his own son'.[2] When Mustafa III lay dying, those around tried to persuade him to alter the succession in favour of his own son Selim III—that is, away from Abdülhamid I—but he refused to do so. Abdülmecid I was always looking for an opportunity to ensure that he would be succeeded by his son Murad V, rather than by his brother Abdülâziz, but he could not arrange it.[3] For the same reason, the successful demands of the Khedives of Egypt to be allowed to establish the

[1] B. Miller, *Palace School*, 176. Giese, 253, says that the various cliques found the 'Kafes' system advantageous because it provided a wider choice of candidates for the throne. But there was no wider choice after 1600 than before; fewer princes survived and they had no children. On the contrary, the majority of occasions when the dynasty almost died out were after 1600.

[2] See Shay, 18. Also Mehmed IV; see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* iii. i. 506.

[3] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Sultan Âziz*, 15. Giese, 255–6, says that both Sultans (Abdülmecid and Abdülâziz) were inspired by a desire to emulate Western institutions.

rule of primogeniture in that country were well received by Abdülâziz, because he hoped it would create a precedent by which he could leave the throne to his son 844/Yusuf İzzeddin.[1] He was unsuccessful because the spirit of conservatism was too strong in İstanbul. So strong was it that in 1876 the Ulema insisted on enthroning Murad V, rather than Abdülhamid II, even though the former had already given clear signs of the mental unbalance which was to make necessary his deposition only three months later.

On several occasions the Ottoman dynasty was in danger of collapse from internal failure. Apart from his own infant sons, Süleyman I was the only male of the House of Osman at the time of his accession and the same was true of Selim II, all of whose brothers were already dead. When İbrahim came to the throne in 1640 he was the only member of the family in the male line of succession, but at his death he left six sons; some have commented that this refounding of the dynasty was his one real achievement.[2] Again, in 1808, when Mustafa IV was executed, Mahmud II was the only male representative of the family remaining; it was only after another four years that a son was born to him. In fact, between the years 1785 and 1812 (with the doubtful exception of a posthumous son born to Mustafa IV) no sons were born to the dynasty at all, while for many years after 1812 infantile mortality kept the succession in a precarious position. A similar period of infertility had occurred between 1728 and 1761. Apart from these natural failures, several sultans tried to protect their own lives by killing off all possible rivals. Early in his reign Mehmed IV, before he had sons to follow him, attempted to kill off his brothers, but was dissuaded. In 1808 Mustafa IV also tried; Selim III he managed to

[1] About 1863 the Khedive İsmail, 'who loathed his brother Mustafa Fadıl, and dreaded his uncle Abdülhalim, both heirs-apparent after İsmail, wanted nothing short of primogeniture. In addition to the price that he was ready to pay to effect the desired change, İsmail counted on the support of the Sultan himself, who welcomed the opportunity of creating a precedent before launching his own resolve of a similar change in the Ottoman constitution.' Rıfaat, 111; cf. Şehsuvaroğlu, 45. In his turn 844/Yusuf İzzeddin is said to have hoped, when he should become sultan, to divert the succession to his own son, 2594/Mehmed Nizameddin; see Örik, in *R.T.M.* iv. 2387.

[2] Gibb and Bowen, i. 37, write: 'The one exception was Mehmed IV, who in 1648 succeeded his father İbrahim at the age of seven years because he was the sole Ottoman prince alive. And the case is interesting because it follows that all the subsequent Sultans were the descendants of İbrahim, who, if not actually mad, was at least eccentric to the verge of madness.' The second part of this is true, but the first is patently false, since İbrahim was outlived by at least six sons, three of whom eventually came to the throne; it was, however, true of İbrahim himself, who alone survived Murad IV.

kill, but Mahmud II escaped his clutches.[1] However, the gravest threat of all to the House of Osman had been in 1640 when Murad IV tried to commit dynastic suicide; on his death-bed he ordered the execution of his brother İbrahim, the only other male member of the family alive. The latter was only saved by a trick of their mother, 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Valide Sultan, who convinced Murad that his orders had been obeyed.[2]

It remains now to deal with the hypothetical question, Who would have succeeded to the Ottoman Empire had the House of Osman ever died out completely? From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards the correct answer is probably that the Powers of Europe, and Persia in the East, would have stepped in and annexed the parts of the Empire each was most interested in, rather along the lines of the dismemberment proposed in 1918. Having satisfied their own territorial needs, they might then have given the subject races an opportunity to become independent; in other words, succession would have meant partition and absorption. But for the previous four centuries a rather different answer must be given. It must be realized that first Fratricide and later the 'Kafes' effectively limited the House of Osman to the direct male issue of the sultans, together with descendants through the female line. Although there was never anything approaching a Salic Law in Turkey, the question posed here is only concerned with the failure of the first group. At all times descendants through the female line were considered too vaguely connected—within a couple of generations they sank back into the commonalty of subjects. It is said, however, that Süleyman I, grown tired of the continual quarrels between his sons Bayezid and Selim, threatened to disinherit both in favour of their cousin 2063/Osmanşah Bey (son of 1096/D).[3] Then there was the case of 2165/İbrahim Han, son of 1110/Esmahan Sultan and the Grand Vizir, 2162/Mehmed Sokollu Paşa, who became a provincial governor and whose descendants were quite influential.[4] But one feels

[1] See pp. 67–69.

[2] 'It may be doubted whether this mark of the ruling spirit—vengeance—strong in death was caused by the delirium of fever, or from a desire that his favourite the Silâhdar Paşa should succeed to the throne on the extinction of the House of Osman, or whether Murad IV wished for the gloomy satisfaction of knowing that his house and dynasty would descend to the grave with him.' *Historians' History*, xxiv. 381.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 395.

[4] 'About the decline of the seventeenth century the legend arose that the İbrahim-hanzadeler would succeed to the throne in case the Ottoman dynasty should die out,

that the İbrahimhanzadeler would have found it very difficult indeed to rise from the position of subject to that of sovereign; in spite of the power of the Janissaries there was never any possibility of a 'Mameluke' system in the Ottoman Empire. The Turks had such a deep respect for the royal blood that they could not even conceive of the throne passing to another family.

The only other possible claimants to the throne were the rulers of some of the subject peoples or their descendants. But it must be emphasized that their claims were purely legendary, had no legal foundation whatsoever, and had probably been fabricated by different travellers out of local gossip. In the first place there were the families, such as the Dulkadırlılar and the Candaroğulları (Kızıl Ahmedliler), who could show close connexion with the House of Osman in its early days through a series of dynastic marriages.[1] But after their original subjugation none of these families were pre-eminently powerful above the other great landowners of Anatolia. Then there was the Giray Han family of Krim, which 'occupied a special position in Ottoman esteem, since it was an offshoot of the Golden Horde and so descended from the redoubtable Mongol Çingiz Han'.[2] To them, 'for want of heirs-male in the Ottoman line, the Empire is by ancient compact to descend'.[3] 1915/Şah İsmail of Persia had also hoped to gain some lien on the succession to the Ottoman Empire by the marriage of his daughter to 1913/Murad, grandson of Bayezid II, but it profited him nothing.

These, then, were the families whom in the seventeenth century Sagredo described as being among the 'Famiglie del Regio sangue'.[4] But it cannot be repeated too often that there is no evidence for any 'ancient compact' with any of these families. Nor, one feels, could any of them have successfully seized power had the opportunity occurred—but it never did.

and for that reason the sultans were bound to respect the lives of all members of this family.' *E.I.* ii. 438.

[1] See pp. 87–94, and Tables LIV and LVI.

[2] Gibb and Bowen, i. 25.

[3] Rycaut, 58; Gibb and Bowen, i. 25, say the same thing.

[4] Sagredo, 1068; and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 520. In a letter to the Valide Sultan in 1711, Baltacı Mehmed Paşa mentions the various claims to the succession possible in 1703; see a review in *Belleten*, 9. 137. These various claims were still in the popular mind as late as 1808: 'When the rebels learnt of Mustafa IV's death, they began to shout that they had lost confidence in Mahmud II. Some among them wanted to proclaim as Sultan one of the descendants of Esma Sultan, or the [Mevlevi] Şeyh of Konya or the Krim Tatar Hans.' Karal, *O.T.* v. 100.

When the dynasty was finally exiled in 1924, a rather delicate situation arose as to who was the real head of the family and, therefore, 'Pretender' to the throne should the Republic collapse and there be a Restoration. Admittedly Abdülmecid (II) was the last member of the family to have ruled in İstanbul, but he had been only caliph and not sultan, and his power had been a mere shadow. To challenge his position in exile there was his elder cousin Mehmed VI, who had been both sultan and caliph, but had fled the country. It is clear that there was a certain rivalry between these two, as to which was the unofficial caliph of the Muslim world and head of the family. This was fostered by petty jealousies between the descendants of Abdülmecid I and those of Abdülâziz, but came to an end with the death of Mehmed VI in 1926. Abdülmecid (II) remained undisputed head of the family until his own death in 1944, when he was technically succeeded by the next eldest male, 861/Abdülkadır. But by that time the whole issue had become entirely academic, since it was quite clear that Turkey would never again submit to the rule of the descendants of Osman.

TABLE I. *'Devr-i Fetret'* (*The Great Interregnum*)

804 [28. 7. 1402]—816 [5. 7. 1413]

The period when the Ottoman Empire was divided among the different sons of Bayezid I.[1]

Anatolia.

(*a*) 5/Mehmed I.	805 [8. 1402]–806 [1404] (Amasya).
(*b*) 532/İsa.	805 [8. 1402]–806 [1403] (Balıkesir/Bursa).
(*c*) 537/Mûsa.	806 [1403]–806 [1404] (Bursa).
(*d*) 5/Mehmed I.	806 [1404]–816 [5. 7. 1413] (Bursa/Amasya).

Rumelia.

(*a*) 540/Süleyman.	805 [8. 1402]–813 [17. 2. 1411] (Edirne).
(*b*) 537/Mûsa.	813 [17. 2. 1411]–816 [5. 7. 1413] (Edirne).

[1] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 173; Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 134; Wittek, in *Belleten*, 27. 557. It is clear that Bayezid's sons—particularly 532/İsa and Mehmed I—had to recognize Timur's overlordship; on Mehmed I's coins of 806 [1404] is the inscription, 'Demurhan Gürkân-Mehmed bin Bayezid Han'. Events in Anatolia during the first few years are particularly difficult to follow.

III

THE PRINCELY GOVERNORATES

As new territories were added to the original patrimony of Osman I, they were organized into provinces, each with its own governor; while the continued expansion of the empire led gradually to a more complex system of government, the general pattern soon became clear. Under the sultan and the grand vizir the empire was divided into two major parts: Anatolia and Rumelia, governed respectively by the 'Anadolu Beylerbeyi' and the 'Rumeli Beylerbeyi'. Then came the 'Sancakbeyler', governors of provinces, beneath whom were the actual tenants of the land, the 'Zaimler' and the 'Tımarlar'. The whole was organized on the essentially feudal basis of land and protection in return for service.[1]

The first two sultans relied directly upon their brothers and sons for assistance in the government of their lands.[2] Osman's brothers 45/Gündüz Alp and 49/Sarubatı Savcı and their sons were his chief military aides;[3] he also used both Orhan and 501/Alâeddin in the administration. At some period before his death, probably in 1320, Osman seems to have resigned the whole government into the hands of Orhan.[4] The latter also looked to his brother and his sons for help: 501/Alâeddin,[5] 514/Süleyman Paşa, and Murad I were all 'Beylerbeyleri'. In fact this title was at first reserved for the family of Osman but, when Murad I became sultan, he had no brothers or sons of an age to help him and the title passed first to Lala Şahin Paşa and then to the Çandarlılar, who later combined it with the grand vizirate.[6]

Murad I's reign, however, marks a definite change. The state was

[1] Gibb and Bowen, i. 137 ff.

[2] 'For in Turkey, even among the Turks themselves, no value is attached to anything but personal merit. The house of Osman is the sole exception to this rule, being the only family in which birth confers rank.' Busbecq, 23.

[3] Sarubatı died at the Battle of Domaniç in 1287 and 48/Aydoğdu at Koyunhisar in 1302.

[4] See p. 54.

[5] Alâeddin ibni Osman's title was 'Bey' and he must not be confused with the Alâeddin Paşa who was grand vizir; Danışmend, i. 19.

[6] *I.A.* i. 283, and Gibb and Bowen, i. 139.

no longer to be considered as a possession to be shared by the family as a whole but was to exist only for the sultan and his sons; for this the practical sanction was Fratricide. Henceforward the sultans associated their sons with them in the government of the provinces as a form of apprenticeship, during which their ability and prowess could be studied with an eye to the succession.[1] Von Hammer[2] suggests that Murad's real aim was to set his sons at a distance from the central government, where they might have become too powerful, but this is a rather over-suspicious interpretation; in any case, even stronger objections could be raised against putting them in control of a distant province.

Normally, when a prince reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was sent to the chief town of a province and there he established his 'Beylik', a miniature replica of the administration in the capital. To advise him there was a senior vizir, usually the one who had already acted as his 'Lâla' (tutor); often the young prince's mother accompanied him to supervise his harem. Even his 'Tuğra' (monogram) was in exactly the same form as the reigning sultan's, and to him was reserved the title of 'Çelebi Sultan'.[3] Among other restrictions he was forbidden to leave his province without precise instructions from the Divan; it was the breach of this rule which led to the death of 584/Mahmud ibni Bayezid II.[4]

As these princely governors formed the dynastic reserve there was a certain order of precedence regarding appointments to the various provinces. At first Amasya seems to have ranked highest, as an outpost among the semi-independent 'Beylikler' of eastern Anatolia. Karaman, too, was important for its size and historical prestige as the capital-province of the old Seljuk Empire. But in later times, as the race for the succession became more vital, the most sought-after province was Manisa because of its proximity to İstanbul; it was usually given to the heir-presumptive, although it

[1] For a list of the Princely Governorates, see Table II, p. 22.

[2] Von Hammer, i. 218.

[3] For details of the organization of the Princely Governorates, see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 122–30. For the 'Tuğra', see Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xviii. 331. There was no rule about the age-limit: Bayezid II and his brother 571/Mustafa were appointed even before their circumcisions in 1457. For the ceremonies which took place on their leaving the capital for the provinces, see Danişmend, iii. 72. The two sons of Mehmed II, 571/Mustafa (see Babinger, *Sitt*, 229) and 570/Cem were both accompanied by their mothers, as were the sons of Bayezid II and 606/Mustafa ibni Süleyman I. A list of the 'Lâla' are given in Sürreya, iv. 715.

[4] Fisher, 104. Selim I did not see his father for twenty-six years.

was the province of Bursa which had gained the title 'Hüdavendigâr' (royal). Sometimes this matter of precedence was applied inversely to indicate the disgrace of a prince, as when 151/Hurrem Sultan persuaded Süleyman I to transfer his son 606/Mustafa from Manisa to Amasya.[1]

There were various extensions to this system of governorates and quite a number of the sultans' grandsons in the male line were granted 'Sancaklar'; while Selim I ruled at Trabzond his son Süleyman I was governor first of Bolu and then of Kefe in the Crimea.[2] There were further grants in favour of grandsons in the female line, by the marriages of a sultan's daughters with the vizirs;[3] but such grandsons did not normally rise above the rank of 'Sancakbey' or 'Kapıcı-başı', 'to the end that they may not be apt for revolution. But their brothers, which their fathers beget by slaves, may come to be pashas, for they are free from suspicion in regard they are not of the blood-royal.'[4]

Only one major limitation was enforced; members of the Ottoman dynasty could not be governors of any of the provinces in Rumelia (Europe). This rule only came into force after the Great Interregnum; prior to that Orhan's son 514/Süleyman Paşa had been appointed 'Rum Beylerbeyi' *c.* 1354, and on his death Murad I followed him in this position. There does not seem to have been any specific reason for this prohibition, but perhaps it may be attributed to a distinction between Anatolia as 'Dar-ül İslâm' (House of Islam) and Rumelia as 'Dar-ul Harb' (House of War). If so, the implication is that, while sons could be used as rulers of settled provinces inhabited by Muslims, it might be dangerous to leave them in permanent command of large bodies of troops on active service. Granted this was the reason, justification for it can be found in the one exception: Selim I entirely misused his European command. Having forced Bayezid II to grant him the 'Beylik' of Semendire (Smederovo), he immediately turned the soldiers under his orders against his father.[5] On the other hand, princes from the

[1] See p. 52.
[2] See Danışmend, ii. 3.
[3] See p. 97.
[4] Withers, in Purchas, 1606. Any such brothers were generally elder brothers; on marrying a princess, a vizir had to put away his other wives; see p. 98. These limitations had been imposed by Mehmed II in his 'Kanunname'.
[5] See p. 63.

tributary dynasties in Anatolia were often appointed as 'Sancak-beyler' in Rumelia, partly to keep them as far as possible from their own subjects.[1]

Further, the princes were repeatedly put in command of military forces attached to the armies of the sultans or their vizirs, both in Anatolia and Rumelia. Sometimes they led into battle semi-feudal contingents from their own provinces; at others they took command of a complete wing of the imperial forces. As an alternative the sultans occasionally chose to leave one of their sons as 'Kaymakam' (acting-regent) in the capital while they themselves went on campaign.[2] In 1473 Mehmed II took his two eldest sons Bayezid II and 571/Mustafa to the wars, while leaving 570/Cem as regent in İstanbul; this suggests that the latter post, given to a younger son, was considered the less important. The rather different case where 583/Korkud and 1778/Oğuzhan acted as regents for their respective fathers, Bayezid II and Cem, in 1481, is discussed elsewhere.[3]

There was, of course, always the danger that a prince might abuse his authority and stir up the provinces against the central government. But on the occasions when this did happen, it seems to have been due, not to the inherent weakness of the governorate system, but rather to the lack of a definite Law of Succession and to the influence of the Law of Fratricide.[4] The Interregnum, the disturbances at the end of Bayezid II's reign and those during the rule of Süleyman I, were essentially aimed, not at overthrowing the central administration, but at ensuring eventual succession to it. With the one exception of 570/Cem's proposal to divide the empire with Bayezid II, the Ottoman Empire was never faced with the risk of dismemberment by divided inheritance such as largely ruined the Carolingian, Later Byzantine, and Seljuk Empires. Where, however, a sultan felt that any particular prince was likely to prove refractory, he demanded that one of the latter's sons should remain in the capital as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. So it was

[1] Murad II appointed 1715/Ali Karamanoğlu to Sofya, and his brother 1716/İsa to another 'Sancak'; princes of the Candaroğulları received similar appointments.

[2] For a list of Regencies and Military Commands, see Tables III and IV, pp. 23, 24.

[3] See p. 46.

[4] Jonquière does not allow for this distinction when he writes: 'Pour consolider son autorité, Bayezid II avait partagé l'administration des provinces entre ses fils et ses petits-fils: c'était une faute, et cette mesure n'amena que la guerre civile.' i. 135.

that 583/Korkud ibni Bayezid II and 1778/Oğuzhan ibni Cem were in İstanbul at the time of Mehmed II's death.[1] In passing, it may be mentioned that this system of hostages was also applied to the semi-subject 'Beylikler' of Anatolia and to the Tartar Hans of the Crimea, each of whom had to provide a young prince as hostage; at various times these youths were educated in the Top-Kapı Sarayı along with the sons of the sultans.[2]

In spite of this, however, disturbances engendered by jealousies between brothers only seemed to multiply. The sons of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and Süleyman I in turn sought to tear each other down in order to clear their own path to the throne; some solution had to be found. First, Selim II decided to limit the number of princely governorates and only sent out his eldest son Murad III. When Murad himself came to the throne he also made only one appointment: his eldest son Mehmed III went to Manisa, while the other princes remained in the Top-Kapı Sarayı. This was the last of the princely governorates 'to be freely granted in preparation for the vocation of ruler'.[3] Mehmed III made no appointments and in the next reign—that of Ahmed I—the whole position of the princes was altered by the non-application of the Law of Fratricide and the introduction of the 'Kafes'.[4] It may well be argued that the cure was worse than the disease; a youth mis-spent in the luxury of the 'Selâmlık', followed by years of incarceration in the 'Kafes',[5] was the worst possible preparation for those who were to be sultans of the Ottoman Empire.

The idea of princely governorates was mooted once again in the nineteenth century, but nothing came of the proposal; Abdülmecid I became so suspicious of his brother Abdülâziz that he suggested making him 'Vali' (governor) of Trablusgarp—where he might well have met with a convenient accident![6]

[1] See p. 46. If the suggestion in Fisher, 19, is true, that Mehmed II's last unfinished campaign was against a rebellious Bayezid, it is strange that 583/Korkud survived at all. 1925/Osmanşah ibni 582/Alemşah also had to live at the court of his grandfather, Bayezid II.

[2] B. Miller, *Palace School*, 22.

[3] Brockelmann, 329.

[4] See p. 32. Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 120, says that the appointment of the eldest son to the governorate of Manisa continued for another fifty years, but that a deputy was sent to administer the province. The last case was that of Mehmed IV, who was nominated at the age of five; after that the custom lapsed.

[5] See Table VI, p. 36.

[6] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Aziz*, 15.

TABLE II. *The Princely Governorates*

Prince	*Governorate and probable dates*[1]
1/Osman I.	Karacahisar.
45/Gündüz Alp.	Eskişehir (1301).
2/Orhan.	Sultanönü.
501/Alâeddin Ali.	Bilecik.
3/Murad I.	İzmit (1329); Sultanönü (1330); Bursa; Gelibolu (1359).[2]
510/Halil.	İzmit (?).
511/İbrahim.	Eskişehir.
514/Süleyman.	Bolu; İzmit (1330); Balıkesir (1336); Bursa; Gelibolu (1356).
1547/Melik-i Nasır.	Ankara (1365).
4/Bayezid I.	Kütahya (1381–9).[3]
521/Savcı.	Bursa (1382–5).
522/Yakub.	Balıkesir.
5/Mehmed I.	Amasya (1393–1403); Bursa (1403–13).
530/Ertuğrul.	Manisa; Balıkesir.
532/İsa (A).	Antalya (1390); Balıkesir (1402); Bursa (1403).
537/Mûsa.	Kütahya; Bursa (1403–4); Edirne (1411–13).
538/Mustafa.	Antalya.
540/Süleyman.	Sivas (1398); Manisa (1400); Edirne (1402–11).
6/Murad II.	Amasya (1417–21); Manisa (1444–6).
550/Ahmed.	Amasya (1413).
551/Kasım.	Amasya (–1406).
552/Mahmud.	Amasya (1415).
554/Mustafa.	İsparta (1420).
7/Mehmed II.	Amasya (1437–9); Manisa (1439–44, 1446–51).
560/Ahmed (A).	Amasya (*c.* 1434–7).
562/Alâeddin Ali.	Manisa (1437–9); Amasya (1439–43).
— Younger son.	Wallachia.[4]
8/Bayezid II.	Amasya (1457–81).[5]
570/Cem.	Kastamonu (1468–74); Konya (1474–81).
571/Mustafa.	Manisa (1457); Konya (1466–74).
9/Selim I.	Trabzond (1494); Semendire (1511).
580/Abdullah.	Manisa (–1481); Konya (1481–3).[6]
581/Ahmed.	Amasya (1482–1513).[7]

[1] The provinces are sometimes known by other names: Antalya—Teke, Balıkesir—Karesi, Bursa—Hüdavendigâr, Edirne—Rumeli, İsparta—Hamideli, İzmit—Kocaeli, Kefe—Kırım, Konya—Karamania, Kütahya—Germiyan, Manisa—Saruhan, Sultanönü—Karacadağ. Where only one date is shown, it is the earliest recorded for a prince being in a particular province. This list agrees largely with that in Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 117 ff.; note that it only gives the princes of the male line.

[2] In this respect, it is strange to find Jonquière writing: 'Murad, jusqu'alors élevé, selon les mœurs orientales, dans une claustration absolue, et qui ne voyait d'autre perspective à son avenir qu'une servitude perpétuelle ou une mort prématurée.' i. 64. Also, 'In his youth Murad I was not allowed to take part in public affairs and was overshadowed by his brother Süleyman.' *Cam. Med. His.* iv. 673. The 'claustration absolue' —presumably the 'Kafes'—was an anachronism as applied to Murad I; moreover he held the governorates above.

[3] Wittek, *Byzantion*, xviii. 333, says Bayezid I was the first prince to have a governorate.

[4] Cantemir, 108; but no indication as to who it was—unlikely.

[5] Bayezid II and 571/Mustafa were at their posts before their circumcisions in 1457.

[6] Fisher, 27, says 586/Şahinşah went to Konya in 1482, but ibid. 103, suggests that Abdullah was there till his death in 1483.

[7] Fisher, 15, calls it 'Masto'.

Prince	*Governorate and probable dates*
582/Alemşah.	Menteşe (*c.* 1481); Manisa (1507–10).
583/Korkud.	Manisa (1491–1502); Antalya (1502–9, 1510–11); Manisa (1511–12).[1]
584/Mahmud.	Kastamonu (–1504); Manisa (1504–7).
585/Mehmed.	Manisa (1504); Kefe (1505–7).
586/Şahinşah.	Manisa (1481–3); Konya (1483–1511).[2]
1925/Osman.	Çankırı.
1957/Mehmed.	Balıkesir (1501); Konya (1511–12).
10/Süleyman I.	Bolu (1509); Kefe (1510–12); Manisa (1512–20).
11/Selim II.	Manisa (1543–58); Konya (1558–9); Kütahya (1559–66).
601/Bayezid.	Konya (1546); Kütahya (–1558); Amasya (1558–9).
602/Cihangir.	Haleb.
604/Mehmed.	Manisa (1542–3).
606/Mustafa.	Manisa (1533–41); Amasya (1541–53).
2094/Orhan.	Çorum (1558–9).
12/Murad III.	Akşehir (1558–61); Manisa (1561–74).[3]
13/Mehmed III.	Manisa (1583–95).

TABLE III. *Temporary Regencies of Princes*

Prince	*Date and place*	*For*
1/Osman I	—1281	44/Ertuğrul[4]
2/Orhan	*c.* 1320	1/Osman I
514/Süleyman	*c.* 1355	2/Orhan
521/Savcı	1385—Bursa	3/Murad I[5]
7/Mehmed II	6–11. 1444—Edirne	6/Murad II
570/Cem	3. 1473—İstanbul	7/Mehmed II
583/Korkud	20. 5. 1481—İstanbul	8/Bayezid II
1778/Oğuzhan	26. 5. 1481—Bursa	570/Cem
10/Süleyman I	3. 1514—Edirne	9/Selim I
	6. 1516—Edirne	
11/Selim II	1548—İstanbul	10/Süleyman I
601/Bayezid	1549—İstanbul	10/Süleyman I
	1553—Edirne	

[1] Between 1509 and 1510 Korkud fled to Egypt as the result of a rebellion, but was reinstated. See 'Korkud', *I.A.* vi. 855–9.

[2] See above, 580. Abdullah and note.

[3] Uzunçarşılı *O.T.* III. i. 42, says he was not appointed until he was eighteen years old—*c.* 1564.

[4] The first three were the taking over of all authority, consequent on the father's retirement. Those of Korkud and Oğuzhan in 1481 represent the dynastic struggle for the succession at the death of Mehmed II—see the relevant passages in the chapters on 'Abdications' and 'Succession'. The others were purely military regencies, undertaken in İstanbul or Edirne, while the sultan was on campaign.

[5] Savcı was appointed to Bursa while Murad I was fighting in the Balkans; he took the opportunity to revolt and was executed. Cem also revolted, but was forgiven—see pp. 49, 51.

N.B. Whilst Mehmed III was on campaign his mother 173/Safiye Valide Sultan was left in İstanbul with almost the full powers of a regent.

TABLE IV. *Military Commands of Princes*[1]

Prince	*Battle or campaign*	*Date*
50/Bay-Hoca	Ermeni Beli	1284/5 (died)
49/Sarubatı-Savcı	Domaniç	1286/8 (died)
48/Aydoğdu	Koyunhisar	1301/2 (died)
505/Pazarlu	Pelekanon	1329
514/Süleyman	Ankara	1354
	Rumelia	1354–5
3/Murad I	Rumelia	1359
4/Bayezid I	Konya	1386
	Kosova	1389
522/Yakub	Konya	1386
	Kosova	1389
540/Süleyman	Bulgaria	1393
	Sivas	1398
	Ankara	1402
5/Mehmed I	Amasya	1393
	Ankara	1402
532/İsa	Ankara	1402
537/Musâ	Ankara	1402
538/Mustafa	Ankara	1402
7/ Mehmed II	Kosova (2nd)	1448
	Albanian Campaign	1450
571/Mustafa	Kıreli	1472
	Otluk Beli	1473
	Cilicia	1474 (died)
8/Bayezid II	Otluk Beli	1473
581/Ahmed	Morea	1500
	Cilicia	1501
1957/Mehmed	Cilicia	1501
11/Selim II	Danubian Campaign	1537
	Buda	1541
	Nahcivan	1553
	Pursuit of Bayezid	1559
601/Bayezid	Buda	1541
602/Cihangir	Nahcivan	1553
604/Mehmed	Danubian campaign	1537

[1] This list excludes rebellions and campaigns in own provinces.

IV

THE LAW OF FRATRICIDE

By literal interpretation 'fratricide' is the killing of brothers, but when the word is associated with the history of the House of Osman it is often used in a wider sense. It is extended to cover the execution of any male member of the family whose continued existence constituted a possible threat to the reigning sultan or, in some cases, to his heir-presumptive. It included the putting to death of fathers, uncles, nephews, cousins, sons, and grandsons; in the case of the last two categories, let it be said, it was usually the punishment well merited by open rebellion. All female members of the family were exempt from such a fate since the succession could not pass to, or through, the female line; yet a number of them met violent deaths.[1]

Most frequently Fratricide was practised by sultans newly succeeding to the throne and wishing to strengthen their position against all rivals; more rarely it was the work of an ageing sultan preparing the way to the throne for a favourite son.[2] It arose from a perhaps exaggerated instinct to protect the empire from fragmentation, a disease so prevalent among, and often fatal to, oriental dynasties. The fundamental sanction for such ruthless killing was the principle that there must be only one supreme ruler; it was the betrayal of this principle by 570/Cem, in proposing to divide the empire with Bayezid II, which proved him unfit to be sultan.

There were isolated cases of Fratricide during the first 150 years of Ottoman rule but it was only in the reign of Mehmed II that custom was given legal sanction and promulgated in his famous 'Kanunname' as the Law of Fratricide.[3] The text was supported by

[1] For example: 85/Maria (B), 112/Anna (B), 118/Irene, 180/Handan, 182/D., 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker, 244/Hadice, and 351/Peykidil; all these were wives.

[2] Süleyman I is the typical example; but Bayezid II's sons suspected his motives in arranging a great circumcision feast in 1503 and declined the invitations. Fisher, 104.

[3] The Turkish text is given in Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 45 (quoting *T.O.E.M.*, 1912, No. 14, App. 27): 'Her kimseye evlâdımdan saltanat müyesser ola kardeşlerin nizam-ı âlem içün katletmek münasiptir, ekser ulema dahi tecviz itmiştir, anınla âmil olalar.' Gibb and Bowen, i. 36, give a slightly different version; their English version reads: 'And to whomsoever of my sons the Sultanate shall pass, it is fitting that for the order of the world he shall kill his brothers. Most of the Ulema allow it. So let them act on this.'

references to the Koran and the authority of the Ulema, but its theme was simple: 'The death of a prince is less regrettable than the loss of a province.'[1] Mehmed's successor Bayezid II, being pacific by nature, would probably have annulled the law had it not been for Cem's rebellion; but this latter showed the Sultan that his own personal safety and the stability of the Empire alike depended on the maintenance of the law in its fullest terms.

One result of the law can be traced in the genealogical tables. It prevented the rise of an 'aristocracy of blood' by a severe limitation of princely families running parallel to the direct line of descent through the sultans. This was all part of a policy—none the less effective because it was only implicit—for obliterating as quickly as possible all traces of the royal family, apart from the reigning sultan and his direct issue.[2]

Almost every traveller and historian, writing about Turkey, has commented in terms of horror on the terrible end of those princes subjected to the fate prescribed by this law. Is it not that the writers have been shocked by the cold-blooded legalization of the executions rather than by the deaths themselves? When one comes to examine the lists, there are at most eighty deaths which can be put to the account of the Law of Fratricide.[3] The real justification for the law lies in the 650 years of unbroken sovereignty which the House of Osman enjoyed, and in the comparative freedom of the Ottoman Empire from internal strife at a time when every country in western Europe was suffering from repeated civil wars.

If further support be required, it is only necessary to point out that the sultans were not alone in finding their relatives inconvenient; in fact they were following the example of their contemporaries, both Christian and Muslim. 'Pedro of Castile killed his

[1] 'So often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace and restrain their hands from warring against you, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them.' From the Koran, quoted in Gibbons, 180.

[2] 'As another method of preventing the rise of an aristocracy of blood, measures were devised for putting to death the scions of the ruling dynasty or of levelling the descendants of royal princesses as quickly as possible into the masses. These were the well-known Law of Fratricide of Mehmed II, to which the numerous small coffins in the royal mausoleums bear tragic witness, and the Law of Sancakbey of the same ruler, by which it was decreed that "the descendants of my daughters must not be appointed as Beylerbeyleri, but only as Sancakbeyleri".' B. Miller, *Palace School*, 74. It is only fair to point out that the high rate of infantile mortality was just as much responsible for the 'numerous small coffins'.

[3] See Table V, p. 30.

brother Don Fadrique; Andronicus III Comnenus of Trabzond killed his two brothers Michael and George; and Andronicus III Paleologus assassinated his brother when his father was dying.'[1] Fratricide was particularly common among Muslim dynasties because the practice of polygamy on a large scale led to a dangerous profusion of male heirs.[2] One need not go farther afield than Persia, where 1915/Şah İsmail I brought to death most of his younger brothers. Moreover, one may ask whether Fratricide was any more cruel than the practice of the Byzantine emperors who blinded or otherwise disfigured their rivals, thus rendering them technically and practically unfit to rule, and condemning them to a living death.[3] As a matter of fact, blinding was used on at least three occasions by the Ottoman sultans; in 1385 Murad I's son 521/Savcı was punished in this way for rebellion and subsequently died from its effects; and 537/Emir Mûsa blinded 1644/Orhan, son of his rival brother 540/Emir Süleyman, during the Interregnum. Murad II also blinded three of his brothers: 550/Amed, 552/Mahmud, and 555/Yusuf.

The method of execution employed in Fratricide was almost invariably the same. Just as in the West beheading was considered the most honourable form of capital punishment and was reserved to those of noble blood, so within the Ottoman Empire death by strangulation with a silken bow-string ('Keman-Kirişi') was restricted to those of high rank and particularly to members of the royal family, to the end that blood should not be let.[4] Usually the execution was carried out by the 'Cellâd-başı' (Chief Executioner), assisted by mutes attached to the Inner Service of the Saray. In many cases recourse was first had to the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm' to obtain

[1] Gibbons, 180.

[2] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 360, n. 1. A modern example of this fruitfulness may be seen in the large family of İbn Saud of Arabia.

[3] 'By fear or conscience Michael Paleologus was restrained from dipping his hands in innocent and royal blood; but the anxiety of an usurper and a parent urged him to secure the throne by one of those imperfect crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince—John IV Lascaris—for the active business of the world; instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot bason, and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion.' Gibbon, vi. 466.

[4] In Evliya, I. ii. 11, however, it says, 'Osman II . . . was put to death by the compression of the testicles, a mode of execution reserved by custom to the Ottoman Emperors', but there is no corroborative evidence for either the particular or the general statements thus made.

the issue of a 'Fetva' (opinion), which would convey the sanction of the religious law to the execution.

This is not the place to relate the circumstances of every case of Fratricide, but some are of more particular interest. The first may more properly be described as 'avunculicide', for it was his uncle 42/Dündar whom Osman I got rid of in 1298; tradition has it that Osman struck him down at a tribal council for obstructive behaviour but the real cause was more fundamental.[1] Bayezid I, in the hour of victory after the Battle of Kosova, ordered the execution of his brother 522/Yakub, for the latter had shown himself too popular with the soldiers on account of his skill as a fighter. The murder of his infant brother 561/Ahmed by Mehmed II at his accession so shocked the Court that he had to put the blame on the officer who had carried out his orders, and the latter was executed for treason. Then there was the long struggle between Selim II and his brothers whilst their father Süleyman I was still ruling; first 606/Mustafa was betrayed and executed; later 601/Bayezid and his sons escaped to Persia only to be sold back to their death by Şah Tahmasp.[2] Next came the 'blood-bath' with which Mehmed III announced his accession—nineteen brothers and several pregnant 'Hasekiler' (favourites) were executed in one day.

Before Osman II left İstanbul on his Polish expedition he decided that his brother 664/Mehmed had reached a dangerous age and should be removed, but the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm' refused him a 'Fetva'; however, the 'Rumeli Kazaskeri' (military judge), Taşköprülüzade Kemaleddin Efendi, granted one in the hope of winning favour and promotion.[3] Murad IV executed three of his brothers during his reign, as a result of the troubles of 1632;[4] on his death-bed he tried unsuccessfully to commit dynastic suicide by having his last surviving brother and sole heir, İbrahim, assassinated but in this he was thwarted by their mother, 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Valide Sultan.[5] The last case of Fratricide was when Mahmud II decided on the execution of his brother Mustafa IV, who was becoming the

[1] See p. 5.

[2] Bayezid's death was a tragedy for the Ottoman Empire as it left the sottish Selim II as sole heir—all hopes had been cast on 601/Bayezid.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 135.

[4] Ibid. 190.

[5] Mehmed IV might have done the same thing—Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 509, n. 1. With regard to the events of 1640–8, Gibb and Bowen, i. 37, are a little confused; see p. 13, note 2.

focal point for various rebellious movements; for a time this left Mahmud the only male member of the family.

Equally interesting are some of the occasions when the Law of Fratricide was not invoked. One wonders what it was that kept Mehmed I from attempting to remove his brother 537/Mûsa during the years they were together just after the Battle of Ankara; or, alternatively, what restrained Mûsa.[1] The reasons for Ahmed I sparing his brother Mustafa I have been considered elsewhere,[2] but here is an interesting contemporary explanation: 'And at this day the Grand Sultan hath a brother [Mustafa] of this Society [the Mevlevi Dervishes] that liveth in the Seraglio, whom he hath often intended to put to death . . . but he [Ahmed] hath happened to fall into some bitter disease whensoever he hath thought upon any such matter, which is the reason that he suffereth him to live.'[3] Selim III could have saved himself from deposition and death had he taken the opportunity, when threatened, to kill his cousins Mustafa IV and Mahmud II—just as the latter did actually kill Mustafa IV a few months later. Lastly, one can hardly understand how Abdülhamid II restrained himself from killing Murad V, when one considers the three separate attempts made to replace the latter on the throne;[4] perhaps he was moved by fear of public opinion and more particularly of international repercussions through the influence of the Masonic movement, for Murad was a member of the Grand Orient Lodge.

[1] Wittek, in *Belleten*, 27. 578 and n. 30.

[2] See p. 10.

[3] Coryates in Purchas, 1822.

[4] 'Among the archives can be seen several "Fetva" that Abdülhamid obtained in order to kill Sultan Murad'—but he never acted on them; see Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, 38. 320, n. 3. The three attempts to replace Murad V were those organized by Stavrides, Ali Suavi, and Skaliyeri-Âziz; they are dealt with by Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, respectively 32. 589, 29. 71, and 30. 245, and in *İ.A.* iii. 391. See also Melek, in *R.T.M.* ii. 761, S.R., in *R.T.M.* iv. 2374, and İnal, *Sadrazamlar*, 766 ff., for Ali Suavi.

TABLE V. *List of Fratricides*

Sultan	*Princes executed*	*Date*	*Relationship*
1/Osman I	42/Dündar	1298	Uncle
3/Murad I	511/İbrahim	1360	Brother
	1547/Melik-i Nasır	1365	Nephew, son of 514/ Süleyman
	521/Savcı	1385	Son—rebellion
4/Bayezid I	522/Yakub	6. 1389	Brother
'Devr-i Fetret': 537/Mûsa	532/İsa	1404–5	Brother. (Or by Mehmed I)
	540/Süleyman	17. 2. 1411	Brother
5/Mehmed I	537/Mûsa	5. 7. 1413	Brother
6/Murad II[1]	538/Mustafa	1422–3	Uncle—rebellion
	554/Mustafa	12. 1423	Brother—rebellion
	562/Alâeddin Ali (?)	6. 1443	Son
	1727/SS. (2)	6. 1443	Grandsons, sons of 562/ Alâeddin Ali
7/Mehmed II	561/Ahmed	2. 1451	Brother
	564/Orhan (?)	9. 2. 1451	Brother
8/Bayezid II	1778/Oğuz	12. 1482	Nephews, sons of 570/ Cem
	1773/Eyüb	1484	
	584/Mahmud	1507	Son—rebellion
	585/Mehmed	3. 1507	Son—rebellion
	586/Şahinşah	2. 7. 1511	Son—rebellion
9/Selim I	8/Bayezid II (?)	16. 5. 1512	Father
	1925/Osmanşah	16. 12. 1512	Nephew, son of 582/ Alemşah
	1936/Emir	16. 12. 1512	Nephews, sons of 584/ Mahmud
	1937/Mûsa	16. 12. 1512	
	1940/Orhan	16. 12. 1512	
	1955/Alâeddin	16. 12. 1512	Nephews, sons of 586/ Şahinşah
	1957/Mehmed	16. 12. 1512	
	583/Korkud	2. 1513	Brother
	581/Ahmed	24. 4. 1513	Brother
	1917/Osman	24. 4. 1513	Nephew, son of 581/ Ahmed
	590/Abdullah	20. 11. 1514	Son—rebellion
	591/Mahmud	20. 11. 1514	Son—rebellion
	592/Murad	20. 11. 1514	Son—rebellion
	1912/Kasım	29. 1. 1518	Nephew, son of 581/ Ahmed
10/Süleyman I	1774/Murad[2]	24. 12. 1522	Nephew, son of 570/Cem
	1775/Cem	24. 12. 1522	Sons of 1774/Murad
	1776/S.	24. 12. 1522	
	606/Mustafa	6. 10. 1553	Son—rebellion
	2118/Mehmed	10. 1553	Grandson, son of 606/ Mustafa

[1] At his accession, Murad II also blinded his three brothers, 550/Ahmed, 552/ Mahmud, and 555/Yusuf; they died of plague at Bursa in 1429.

[2] Murad and his two sons were captured at the Siege of Rhodes.

Sultan	*Princes executed*	*Date*	*Relationship*
	2095/Osman	1560	Grandson, son of 601/ Bayezid
	601/Bayezid	25. 9. 1561	Son—rebellion
	2090/Abdullah	25. 9. 1561	Grandsons, sons of 601/ Bayezid
	2091/Mahmud	25. 9. 1561	
	2092/Mehmed	25. 9. 1561	
	2094/Orhan	25. 9. 1561	
12/Murad III	610/Abdullah	21. 12. 1574	Brother
	611/Cihangir	21. 12. 1574	Brother
	613/Mustafa	21. 12. 1574	Brother
	614/Osman	21. 12. 1574	Brother
	615/Süleyman	21. 12. 1574	Brother
13/Mehmed III[1]	620/Abdullah	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	621/Abdurrahman	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	623/Alâeddin	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	624/Alemşah	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	625/Ali	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	626/Bayezid	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	628/Cihangir	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	629/Hasan	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	630/Hüseyin	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	631/İshak	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	632/Korkud	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	633/Mahmud	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	634/Murad	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	635/Mustafa	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	636/Osman	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	637/Ömer	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	638/Selim	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	640/Yakub	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	641/Yusuf	28. 1. 1595	Brother
	652/Selim	20. 4. 1597	Son—rebellion
	651/Mahmud	7. 6. 1603	Son—rebellion
16/Osman II	664/Mehmed	12. 1. 1621	Brother
15/Mustafa I (Reign B)	667/S.	1.6. 1622	Nephews—sons of 14/ Ahmed I
17/Murad IV	668/S.	1.6. 1622	
	660 Bayezid	26. 8. 1635	Brother
	666/Süleyman	26. 8. 1635	Brother
	663/Kasım	17. 2. 1638	Brother
19/Mehmed IV	18/İbrahim	18. 8. 1648	Father
25/Osman III	742/Mehmed	2. 1. 1756	Cousin—son of 23/ Ahmed III
29/Mustafa IV	28/Selim III	28. 7. 1808	Cousin
30/Mahmud II	29/Mustafa IV	17. 11. 1808	Brother

[1] Mehmed III is also said to have executed fifteen slave-women, pregnant by his father.

V

THE 'KAFES'

UNTIL the end of the sixteenth century the sons of a sultan used to be transferred from the harem to the 'Selâmlık' (men's quarters) of the Saray at about eight years of age; there a further period of four to eight years was spent. After that, as we have seen, the young princes were sent out to serve an apprenticeship as provincial governors. On the death of the father, one of the sons succeeded to the throne as sultan, while his brothers and nephews were put to death as soon as possible. With the abolition of the princely governorates and the almost complete suspension of the Law of Fratricide at the end of the sixteenth century, revolutionary changes in the internal organization of the 'Selâmlık' became necessary.

To begin with, the sons remained in the men's quarters of the Saray during the lifetime of their fathers, though probably they retained limited contacts with the harem through their mothers. At a sultan's death all his sons were transferred to the 'Kafes' (cage), a kiosk or series of kiosks within the Fourth Court of the Top-Kapı Sarayı.[1] Presumably the very young sons—those under eight years of age—accompanied their mothers into retirement in the Eski Saray and stayed there until they reached that age, when they also were taken to the 'Kafes'. There the unfortunate princes remained until their deaths; if, in the meantime, they inherited the throne, they returned to the full life of the court. Those most to be pitied are surely the half-dozen sultans who, having once escaped from the rigours of life in the 'Kafes', were later deposed and returned to spend the rest of their days in its grim surroundings.

Existence in the 'Kafes' was extremely miserable, although Dallam[2] is mistaken in saying that it had been built with the special intention of providing a place of secret execution. Sometimes, however, when the troops were in a rebellious mood, they would insist on the sultan producing the princes from the 'Kafes' just to make

[1] Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 113–16. The 'Kafes' was also known as the 'Şimşirlik', from the box-trees growing there.

[2] Dallam, 62–63.

sure they had not been disposed of.[1] Its inhabitants were treated more like prisoners than princes; they had no liberty of movement, and very little instruction was provided for them, when young, which might fit them to rule over a great empire. As they grew older some were allowed female companions, but extreme precautions were taken to guard against the possibility of any children being born in the 'Kafes'.[2] Altogether, between the reigns of Selim II and Mahmud II (1566–1839) 115 sons of the sultans died without leaving any children, because of their own early deaths or the rules of the 'Kafes'.

Expressed briefly, the contrast between the old system and the new was this. Before 1600 a prince could grow up in his provincial governorate, have a family and hope for the throne—or fear death for himself and his sons; after 1600, unless he reached the throne, he would never have a family, but there was little fear of his meeting a violent death. The one clear point is that, had Fratricide and 'collateral birth-control' existed side by side, the dynasty itself would very soon have been wiped out.[3]

As was the case with Fratricide, so also with regard to the 'Kafes', writers of travel memoirs and history books have been so attracted by the melancholy 'romanticism' of this institution that they have tended to exaggerate the extent of its application. Apart from the sixteen sultans from Mustafa I to Mahmud II—that is, including Mehmed IV who directly succeeded his father but entered the 'Kafes' on his deposition—the tables show only seventeen clear cases of princes confined in the 'Kafes'.[4] The reason for this is to be

[1] In 1632 the Janissaries forced Murad IV to show them his brothers: 'The princes are our lord's sons; we have lost confidence in you, and just as you killed Hüsrev Paşa, so you will destroy the princes: bring out the princes and show them to us now.' When he refused, they threatened to depose him: 'If you don't do as we say, you are no further use to us as Sultan', and he gave in—see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 227, and *O.T.* III. i. 190, 199.

[2] D'Ohsson, i. 284 ff.: 'On a soin de ne composer le harem des princes collatéraux que de sept à huit jeunes filles esclaves auxquelles on fait avaler divers breuvages propres à tarir dans leurs flancs les sources de la fécondité. Si ces moyens dénaturés sont insuffisans, si ces infortunées ont la malheur de concevoir, le jour de la naissance de l'enfant est en même temps celui de sa mort, la sage-femme qui le reçoit est tenue au risque de sa tête de ne pas le laisser vivre. Elle n'ensanglante cependant jamais ses mains, ce seroit un attentat contraire au respect dû au sang royal, mais elle s'interdit ses fonctions, elle ne noue pas le cordon ombilical. Tel est le genre de mort réservé à ces tendres.' Very occasionally a child was successfully smuggled out and reared by a foster-mother; the best-known example is 1302/Dürrüşehvar, daughter of Abdülhamid I, known also as 'Ahretlik Hanım' (Adopted Lady). [3] See Giese, 254.

[4] For the sultans, see Table VI, p. 36. The other princes were: Ahmed I's sons:

found in the effects of the system on the birth-rate. Confinement in the 'Kafes' so weakened the virility of those princes who later became sultans that either they were completely impotent or they fathered such feeble children that the majority of the latter died in infancy.[1]

The 'Kafes' was thus a vicious spiral; a sultan, weakened by years of virtual imprisonment, gave birth to weak sons, who in turn were confined and further deteriorated. The surprising thing is that occasionally a moderately successful sultan did emerge; for the most part they were psycho-pathological cases, completely unfitted for the task of ruling an empire. It would be difficult to separate the specific effects, but the final result was the product of two distinct factors: the age of the prince when he entered the 'Kafes' and the length of his confinement.[2]

It is quite clear, however, that slight relaxations in the regulations were sometimes permitted, usually in favour of a full brother of the sultan, particularly if their mother was still alive. Proof of this can be found in that Mehmed IV died at Edirne some five years after his deposition[3] while Ahmed II, Mustafa II, and Ahmed III were all three acclaimed as sultans at Edirne. These three princes had been sent to Edirne in 1691 when Süleyman II was preparing to go on campaign,[4] but one is left to guess the reason for their absence from the 'Kafes' in the Top-Kapı Sarayı in İstanbul. Nor is there sufficient evidence to show whether these three, as heirs-presumptive, were the only princes so favoured. But it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the whole system was relaxed.

When Selim III's father died, his uncle Abdülhamid I allowed him complete liberty, so that he was even able to communicate with Louis XVI of France. The immediate effects of this shone clearly through Selim's courageous efforts to reorganize the Ottoman Empire when he himself came to the throne.[5] Mahmud II, pre-

660/Bayezid, 662/Hüseyin, 663/Kasım, 664/Mehmed, and 666/Süleyman; İbrahim's sons: 691/Cihangir, 693/Orhan, and 695/Selim; Ahmed II's son: 710/İbrahim; Mustafa II's sons: 726/Murad (B) and 727/Selim; Ahmed III's sons: 734/Bayezid, 738/Mahmud, 742/Mehmed (D), 745/Nu'man, 748/Seyfeddin, and 749/Süleyman.

[1] See p. 102. 'Some of the sultans, after being imprisoned for a very long time as heirs in dank, sunless rooms, had no manly powers left when they came to the throne; there was no hope of their producing children.' *R.T.M.* i. 203.

[2] See Table VI, p. 36. For example, İbrahim was only two years old when he entered the 'Kafes', while Mustafa II was twenty-three and by that time had received a good education at court.

[3] Danışmend, iii. 474.

[4] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 545.

[5] Karal, *O.T.* v, *passim*, and Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 5–6, 191 ff.

sumably, also received a measure of liberty which helped to make him an enlightened and progressive sultan. With the passage of the nineteenth century the 'Kafes' in its specific form gradually ceased to exist. Abdülmecid I directly succeeded his father at the age of sixteen and he gave his only surviving brother Abdülâziz a great measure of liberty, though restricting him to living with his mother.[1] In fact, Abdülâziz's first son, 844/Yusuf İzzeddin, was born in 1857, four years before his father became sultan; he thus achieved the distinction of being the first child of a non-reigning male member of the dynasty, since the reign of Süleyman I, to be acknowledged and allowed to live. When Abdülâziz came to the throne he instituted an even more progressive régime; under watchful supervision his nephews were allowed almost complete freedom to take part in the life of the capital and to maintain their own private households outside the court,[2] though, under the influence of his mother, he would not allow them to have more than one child.[3] Abdülâziz even took two of his nephews, Murad V and Abdülhamid II, with him when he went to visit Paris and London in 1867. Towards the end of his reign, however, he received reports that his nephews, taking advantage of their liberty, were beginning to indulge in politics, and Abdülâziz then took measures which restricted their freedom considerably.[4]

Abdülhamid II went a stage further in allowing the princes of the dynasty to set up their own establishments, to marry and have children—who were educated in the palace school.[5] But with this apparent liberty in private affairs went a complete ban—backed by typical Hamidian police supervision—on anything resembling political activity, and the same attitude was maintained, though with steadily lessening vigour, by the last two sultans.[6]

In the nineteenth century the treatment meted out to a deposed sultan also underwent a steady improvement. To begin with, Abdülâziz was transferred to the Top-Kapı Sarayı, but he was so miserable there and wrote such pathetic letters of appeal to Murad V, that the latter arranged for his immediate transfer to the Feriye Sarayı on the Bosphorus; however, even there the ex-Sultan was not

[1] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 6, and Brockelmann, 368.
[2] Murad V, while prince, had a house at Kurbağalıdere, Kadiköy.
[3] See Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, 30. 333, for the case of Murad V's child.
[4] See Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 54. These restrictions were largely responsible for Murad V's mental disorders, since they increased his indulgence in alcohol.
[5] See Hayder, 58 ff.
[6] A typical account of this is given by H. Amca, in *T.D.* iv. 1359.

happy and within two days he had committed suicide.[1] Following on his deposition Murad V spent twenty-eight years in close confinement in the Çirağan Sarayı, but at least he was allowed to keep his family around him. When Abdülhamid's turn came, the Young Turks felt he was too dangerous to be kept in the capital and so he was exiled to the Villa Allatini at Salonika. On the outbreak of the Balkan Wars it was feared he might fall into enemy hands, so in 1912 he was brought back to the Beylerbeyi Sarayı in İstanbul;[2] in both places he was permitted the company of his immediate family. In 1922, when the last sultan, Mehmed VI, was demoted to caliph, he fled the country; seventeen months later Caliph Abdülmecid (II) was deposed and expelled from the country with all that remained of the royal family.[3] Since then they have lived in exile in the south of France and elsewhere.

TABLE VI. *Sultans confined in the 'Kafes'*

Sultan	*Age at first entry*	*Period spent in 'Kafes'*		
		Before reign	*After reign*	*Total*
15/Mustafa I	12 y.	14 y.	4 y. and 15 y.	33 y.
16/Osman II	14 y.	3 m.	—	3 m.
17/Murad IV	5 y.	6 y.	—	6 y.
18/İbrahim	2 y.	22 y.	—	22 y.
19/Mehmed IV	46 y.	—	5 y.	5 y.
20/Süleyman II	6 y.	39 y.	—	39 y.
21/Ahmed II	5 y.	43 y.	—	43 y.
22/Mustafa II	23 y.	7 y.	4 m.	7 y. 4 m.
23/Ahmed III	14 y.	16 y.	6 y.	22 y.
24/Mahmud I	7 y.	27 y.	—	27 y.
25/Osman III	5 y.	51 y.	—	51 y.
26/Mustafa III	14 y.	27 y.	—	27 y.
27/Abdülhamid I	5 y.	43 y.	—	43 y.
28/Selim III	12 y.	15 y.	1 y.	16 y.
29/Mustafa IV	10 y.	18 y.	4 m.	18 y. 4 m.
30/Mahmud II	4 y.	19 y.	—	19 y.
32/Abdülâziz	9 y.	22 y.[4]	—	22 y.
33/Murad V	21 y.	15 y.	28 y.	43 y.
34/Abdülhamid II	19 y.	15 y.	9 y.	24 y.
35/Mehmed V	17 y.	48 y.	—	48 y.
36/Mehmed VI	4 m.	57 y.	(3 y.)[5]	60 y.
37/Abdülmecid (II)	8 y.	46 y.	(20 y.)	66 y.

[1] See Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 114–25.
[2] S. Lozan, in *R.T.M.* i. 1, describes the journey back to İstanbul.
[3] See *T.T.K.* 141–57; and also below, p. 74, note 3.
[4] Numbers 32 to 37 were comparatively free before their reigns began.
[5] Numbers 36 and 37 were in exile for the years after their reigns.

VI

ACCESSIONS

THE ideas implicit in 'Le roi est mort. Vive le roi!' cannot be transferred literally to the history of the Ottoman sultans. To begin with, half the sultans reached the throne through the deposition and not the death of their predecessors. Secondly, and of much greater significance, there was often a slight interregnum following the death of a sultan, at least during the Early Period.

In considering the first three centuries of the Ottoman dynasty, it is a moot point exactly when a sultan did begin to reign. In all the tables appended to this book the Date of Accession is given on the assumption that there was no period of interregnum; but in actual practice there was quite often an interval ranging from ten to fifty days during which the throne was vacant and the demise of its previous occupant was carefully concealed.[1] In dealing with the succession it has been seen that, for the sake of public order, it was essential for the death of a sultan to be kept secret until such time as his successor could be recalled from his governorate and reach the capital for his own proclamation. The nearest of the princely governorates were Manisa and Kütahya, at least four days' journey from İstanbul, so that concealment was necessary for a minimum of nine to ten days. It sometimes happened, however, that the heir-presumptive had been appointed to a distant province in eastern Anatolia, or that the sultan died on campaign, when a much longer period had to elapse. Incidentally, the message received by a prince, summoning him to assume the throne, was in itself a dangerous instrument for, since its whole object was to maintain the secret of the sultan's death, there could be little or no circumstantial evidence to support it. Many a prince must have hesitated before obeying its summons, fearing lest it be a trap set by a still-living sultan to test his loyalty.

The significance of this interregnum is not just that the new sultan had not yet sat upon his throne but that—in a more strictly constitutional sense—until he did sit upon that throne and receive

[1] See Table VII, p. 44.

the acclamation of his people, he was not properly sultan. This stems from the idea expressed in a previous chapter[1] that all the sons of a sultan had an equal right to the succession and that only when one of them had been acclaimed could he place himself above his brothers and arrange for their execution. Here, then, is further evidence of the vaguely democratic nature of the sultanate.

The clearest example of this uncertainty in the succession, and one which was unique because of the lapse of time involved, was the Great Interregnum—'Devr-i Fetret'—from 1402 to 1413. The Battle of Ankara and Timur's subsequent campaign left the Ottoman Empire in fragments, each one ruled over by a different son of Bayezid I; in fact, one of the things which seem to have driven Bayezid to suicide was the news that, while he was still alive and a prisoner in the hands of Timur, his sons had already begun to quarrel over the inheritance.[2] None was immediately strong enough to assert himself over his brothers and reunite the Empire; nor, presumably, would Timur and his lieutenants have countenanced such a procedure; 'divide et impera'. The four brothers—532/İsa, 540/Süleyman, 537/Mûsa, and Mehmed I—fought each other, came to terms, and fought again, but eleven years were to pass before the youngest, Mehmed, stood alone in full and undisputed possession of the Ottoman Empire. Then, and only then, did he take the title of sultan; as long as the inheritance was divided the brothers had had to be content with the rank of 'Emir' (prince), even though they had enjoyed a sultan's privileges of Prayer and Money. It is for this reason that 540/Emir Süleyman is not listed among the sultans as Süleyman I, although he is said to have been properly enthroned at Bursa, when he passed through the town in 1402, escaping from Timur.

The same thing can be seen in the story of events following on the death of Mehmed II in 1481. There were two candidates for the throne: Bayezid in Amasya and 570/Cem in Konya; it was a matter of great uncertainty which would first get the news of his father's death and be able to reach the capital before the other. Being the elder by twelve years, Bayezid had for long been considered the natural successor to Mehmed II, and it was he that the vizirs summoned to the throne. But Cem also had his supporters, chief among them Grand Vizir Mehmed Karamânî Paşa who represented the

[1] See p. 5.

[2] See Köprülü, in *Belleten*, 2. 591 and 27. 591.

'Ulema'—the Muslim Institution—as distinct from the military leaders, most of whom were related by marriage to Bayezid.[1] Some say, even, that Mehmed II—though he was powerless to fix the succession—would have preferred Cem as his heir and that the expedition the Sultan had been preparing at the time of his death was aimed at the destruction of Bayezid.[2] Be that as it may, the Grand Vizir sent secret messages to Cem and did everything to forward his cause; but the Janissaries discovered what was afoot, revolted, and assassinated Mehmed Paşa. They then set up Bayezid's son 583/Korkud to act as regent until such time as Bayezid could reach İstanbul from Amasya. Cem's son 1778/Oğuzhan, who, like Korkud, had been held in the capital by Mehmed II as a hostage for his father's good behaviour, escaped to Bursa where in turn Cem's supporters declared him regent.[3] In the end Bayezid reached İstanbul, was proclaimed sultan and set out to crush what he naturally considered to be rebellion on Cem's part; the campaign ended with Cem fleeing into exile. But it is quite clear that had Cem been able to reach the capital first or possessed the stronger army, he would have become sultan instead of Bayezid. As it was, he had been able to set up a rival sultanate at Bursa with all the symbols of authority,[4] and maintain his position for eighteen days.

For the same reasons the sons of Bayezid II, and later those of Süleyman I, began manœuvring for positions among the different princely governorates. Each was trying to ensure that he would be the first to receive news of his father's death and thus be able to reach the capital before his brothers; until one of them did reach the capital all had an equal claim to be sultan and none of them was actually sultan. When Süleyman I eventually died only one son remained and Selim II appears to have proceeded in more leisurely fashion from his governorate to İstanbul where he was proclaimed. Then he continued his journey on to Belgrade, where he encountered the army returning from Sigetvar and still in ignorance of Süleyman's death—thanks to the skilful concealment organized by the Grand Vizir, 2162/Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. The latter wished

[1] See Fisher, 17 and n. 33.

[2] Ibid. 16–19. Bayezid vowed to build a mosque in Amasya if he did become sultan—ibid. 15, n. 17. Danışmend, i. 356, suggests that Mehmed II actually appointed Cem to be his heir, but Ünver, *Nichemedy*, 13, says Mehmed nominated Bayezid as his successor.

[3] See p. 47.

[4] See *E.I.* i. 1034.

Selim to submit to a second enthronement, but the Sultan refused. He went further and tried to avoid payment of the usual bribes, but on their return to İstanbul the troops refused to let Selim enter the Saray until the normal disbursements and promotions had been made.[1] In 1574, however, when news reached Murad III that his father was dead, he rushed from Manisa to Mudanya and from there crossed the Marmora to İstanbul in an open sixteen-oared boat, in the teeth of a winter's gale.[2] Such was the urgency he felt to reach the capital and be acclaimed by the troops and governing body, before they raised up one of his five brothers, who had never left the Saray.[3]

After 1600, when the sultans practically ceased to go to war and all the possible heirs to the throne were shut up in the 'Kafes', these unseemly struggles ceased to take place and there was no longer any interval before the proclamation of the new sultan. On the other hand, there was certainly a great deal of intrigue within the harem as to whose son was to succeed. On the death or deposition of a sultan, his successor was brought from the gloom of the 'Kafes' by the 'Kızlar Ağası' (Master of the Women) and enthroned in the 'Arz Odası' (Throne Room or Room of Petitions). It is said that İbrahim refused to leave his cell in the 'Kafes' until he had received definite proof that his brother was dead; like doubting Thomas, he wished to touch Murad's corpse. Mahmud II slid down off the roof-tops, where he was being chased by would-be assassins, directly into the 'Arz Odası' when he saw his rescuers in the courtyard.[4]

There, or in front of the Third Gate of the Saray—'Bab-es Sa'adet' (Gate of Felicity)—the new sultan sat to receive the homage of the court; this was the ceremony known as 'Biat' (allegiance), during which all the notables kissed the hem of the sultan's robe and swore fealty.[5] This was followed by a ceremonial assembly of

[1] A detailed account, based on Selâniki, is given in Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 1–5.

[2] This was a 'kayık' belonging to Tevkiî Feridun Bey; Murad could not make contact with the Kapudan Paşa's big 'kadırga' (galley).

[3] The replacement of the governorates by the 'Kafes' system was one of the main reasons why the later sultans almost never went on campaign; they were afraid to leave possible rivals in the capital. Hence Osman II executed his eldest brother 664/Mehmed before setting out against Poland in 1621.

[4] See p. 68. Süleyman II also showed great reluctance to put his trust in the 'Kızlar Ağası'; see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 508.

[5] At least two sultans—Ahmed III and Selim III—accepted their depositions with good grace and were the first to pay homage to their successors. 1100 Mihrimâh Sultan was the first to greet her brother Selim II.

the Divan, at which new appointments were announced and presents were distributed. At the same time orders were given for the minting of a new coinage, which should bear the new sultan's name, titles, and accession date.[1] Then the sultan, newly come from years of confinement in the 'Kafes', retired to enjoy the freedom and pleasures of his harem.

Some five to fifteen days later the sultan proceeded to the 'Türbe' (mausoleum) of Halid ibn Zayd Abu Ayyub al-Ansari at Eyüb on the Golden Horn. There took place the ceremony of 'Kılıç Kuşanması' (Girding of the Sword), which corresponded to a European coronation.[2] Usually the sultan went by boat to the landing-stage at Eyüb and returned on horseback through the streets of İstanbul, visiting the tombs of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, Selim I, and Süleyman I on the way. Sometimes the route was reversed, but always it was an occasion for much pomp and circumstance.

The ceremony, as performed at Eyüb, was instituted by Mehmed II just after the capture of Constantinople, but the girding itself had probably been performed in earlier times both at Bursa and Edirne. The sword to be used was chosen from among several preserved in the Treasury, some sultans electing to be girded with more than one,[3] and the actual ceremony was performed in privacy, almost secrecy. Many accounts, particularly Western, affirm that the girding itself was always performed by the 'Şeyh' of the Mevlevi Dervishes, but careful examination shows that this was hardly ever so. As with so many other institutions, there was no exact rule —on several occasions advantage was taken of the presence of a particularly holy man—but in normal circumstances there were two participants: the 'Şeyh-ül-İslâm' (Mufti) representing the Ulema, and the 'Silâhdar Ağası' (Sword-bearer) representing the imperial household. From the time of İbrahim, three further protagonists appear; this sultan had favoured the Mevlevi Dervishes

[1] In the case of some of the early sultans the minting was delayed until the return to the capital: Bayezid I's first coins were dated 1390.

[2] The significance of this ceremony—also known by the Arabic name, 'Taklid-i Seyf'—is fully dealt with in Hasluck, 604–22. See also Şehsuvaroğlu, in *R.T.M.* i. 270. Ahmed II, Mustafa II, and Ahmed III all came to the throne at Edirne and the ceremonies were performed in the palace there; the first two were girded with the sword in the Eski Cami—see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 11 (where he calls it 'Kılınç Kuşanması').

[3] These were the swords of the Prophet Muhammed, of Halid ibn-i Velid, of the Caliph Omar, of Osman I, and of Selim I. Mahmud II was girded with the Prophet's sword on his right side and Osman I's on his left.

and at Mehmed IV's girding there was present Mevlevi Derviş Mehmed Paşa. He probably gained privileges for his Order, so that the 'Şeyh' of the Mevlevi should perform the girding; but this intrusion of the Mevlevi was apparently resented both by the Ulema and the Janissaries (who had strong associations with the rival Bektashi sect). The participation of the 'Yeni-çeri Ağası' (Chief of the Janissaries) was, however, equally resented in some quarters and it was agreed that, as a compromise, the main role in the ceremony should be played by the 'Nakib-ül Eşraf' (Chief of the Descendants of the Prophet). If this arrangement was broken on more than one occasion it was because of the temporary predominance of the Ulema, Mevlevi, or Janissary-Bektashi elements.[1]

In connexion with the girding, one or two details are of interest. Ahmed I is said by Naima to have insisted on girding himself, just as he had announced his own accession to the acting grand vizir.[2] Murad V, during his three months' reign, never recovered sufficient use of his mental faculties to make the journey to Eyüb. Mehmed V was so fat that the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm' Sahip Molla Efendi could not get his arms round the Sultan to gird him properly and the sword nearly fell to the ground; luckily 2618/Şerif Ali Hayder, who was standing close by, was able to prevent such an ill-omened accident.[3] Abdülmecid (II) being only caliph, it was not permitted for him to be girded with the Sword.

Particularly during the Early Period of the dynasty, an accession was announced to all the neighbouring rulers, who in return sent letters of congratulation and rich presents. When the Ottoman Empire came more into contact with western Europe this custom was continued, with particular emphasis on the presents. Ambassadors vied with each other as to the wonder and the value of the gifts they brought; one of the most magnificent was the organ sent by Elizabeth I of England for Mehmed III.[4] But for those diplomats like M. de Nointel and Sir John Finch who were in İstanbul during

[1] Notable exceptions were 1661/Emir Mehmed Buharî (Murad II), Şeyh Ak Şemseddin (Mehmed II), and Senusî Şeyh Seyyid Ahmed (Mehmed VI). Eremya, 33, in the seventeenth century writes: 'Then the Sultan, taking the sword from the 'Silâhdar', is girded and returns home.' See Table VIII, p. 45.

[2] Ahmed I sent a 'Hatt-ı Hümâyun' to Kasım Paşa: 'Thou who art Kasım Paşa, my father has died at God's orders, and I have succeeded to the throne. Take the sovereign power and rule. If any disorders arise I shall cut off thy head.' Danışmend, *O.T.K.* iii. 230.

[3] Hayder, 109.

[4] Dallam, 57–71. It did not arrive until 1599 but was an accession gift.

times of upheaval, it was very difficult to provide sufficient presents of the right quality and their correspondence is full of complaints.[1]

Although the sultans conquered many dominions and incorporated their names in the royal titles,[2] yet very little ceremonial seems to have been attached to these acquisitions.[3]

It remains to deal with one unpleasant side of an accession. Once the Janissaries had realized their own strength, they made many importunate demands on the sultans' resources. The chief of these was a special payment, known as the 'Cülûs Akçası' (Accession Money), which a sultan had to promise to pay before the troops would approve his accession.[4] It was, of course, an act of stupendous blackmail but shows just how dependent on the goodwill of his troops was even the strongest of the sultans. In fact, the first to pay had been Mehmed II and the demand was renewed with every accession, regardless of its effects on the country's finances, until the dissolution of the Janissaries in 1828.[5] One sultan partly escaped payment; when Murad IV came to the throne in 1623, his was the fourth accession in six years and, the treasury being empty, the troops for once agreed to forgo their extortions. Later, however, they changed their minds and all the available gold and silver plate in the Saray was sent to the Mint to be coined for their benefit. The same measures had to be undertaken at the time of Süleyman II's accession. Payment was only excused when Ahmed II came to the throne.

[1] See Abbott, *Finch*, *passim*, and Shay, 45–56.

[2] See pp. 111 ff.

[3] Don Juan, 125, speaks of Süleyman I being 'crowned Emperor of Mesopotamia at the hands of the [Grand Mufti] of Bağdad'.

[4] The payment generally consisted of a cash payment together with a rise in the daily rates of pay; Fisher, 18, says that Bayezid II paid 1,000 'akça' to each 'sipahi' and 300 to each janissary and increased the daily pay by five and three 'akça' respectively. At his accession Murad III paid out over a million gold pieces in bribes to the army and senior officials. For the payments of Amed III, in 1703, see Wright, 5–7.

[5] Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 59, says it really came to an end with Abdülhamid I, for in 1774 the country was at war with Russia; after him no real exactions were made.

TABLE VII. *The Extent of the Interregnums*

Sultan	*Date predecessor died or deposed*	*Date and place of acclamation*	*Extent of interregnum*
1/Osman	1281	1281; Söğüt (?)	None[1]
2/Orhan	1324	1324; Yenişehir (?)	None[1]
3/Murad I	4. 1360	4.1360; Bursa (?)	?
4/Bayezid I	6. 1389	6.1389; Kosova	None
5/Mehmed I	28. 7. 1402	5. 7. 1413; Edirne	11 years
6/Murad II	26. 5. 1421 (S)[2]	5. 7. 1421; Bursa	40 days[3]
	9. 1446	9. 1446; Edirne	None
7/Mehmed II	12. 1444	12. 1444; Edirne	None
	3. 2. 1451 (S)	18. 2. 1451; Edirne	15 days
8/Bayezid II	3. 5. 1481 (S)	4. 5. 1481; İstanbul	1 day[4]
		21. 5. 1481; İstanbul	18 days
9/Selim I	24. 4. 1512	24. 4. 1512; İstanbul	None
10/Süleyman I	22. 9. 1520 (S)	30. 9. 1520; İstanbul	8 days
11/Selim II	7. 9. 1566 (S)	30. 9. 1566; İstanbul	23 days[5]
		25. 10. 1566; Belgrade	48 days
12/Murad III	15. 12. 1574 (S)	21. 12. 1574; İstanbul	6 days
13/Mehmed III	16. 1. 1595 (S)	27. 1. 1595; İstanbul	11 days
14/Ahmed I	21. 12. 1603	21. 12. 1603; İstanbul	None

[1] As explained on p. 54, both 44/Ertuğrul and Osman I probably abdicated some time before their actual deaths.

[2] (S) indicates that the previous sultan's death was kept secret during all or part of the Interregnum.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 192, speaks of Murad II being girded in the Eski Cami at Edirne, but he was proclaimed in Bursa; it was his rival, 538/Mustafa ibni Bayezid I, who was proclaimed at Edirne—see Danışmend, i. 184.

[4] The first date is the acclamation of 583/Korkud ibni Bayezid II as Regent, the second that of Bayezid II's personal acclamation. Fisher, 18–19, says Bayezid reached İstanbul on 20 May, buried his father on 21 May, and took over the government from Korkud on 22 May.

[5] See p. 39.

TABLE VIII. *The Performance of the 'Kılıc Kuşanması'*

Sultan	*Persons performing*	*Place*[1]
1/Osman I		
2/Orhan		
3/Murad I		
4/Bayezid I		
5/Mehmed I		
6/Murad II	Emir Sultan Şeyh Mehmed Buharî[2]	Bursa
7/Mehmed II	Şeyh Ak Şemseddin	Edirne,[3] İstanbul
8/Bayezid II	'Nakib-ül Eşraf' (N/E)	İstanbul
9/Selim I	'Şeyh-ül İslâm' (Ş/İ), N/E, 'Silâhdar Ağası' (S/A)	İstanbul
10/Süleyman I	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
11/Selim II	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
12/Murad III	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
13/Mehmed III	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
14/Ahmed I	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
15/Mustafa I	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
16/Osman II	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
17/Murad IV	Şeyh Âziz Mahmud Hudâi, Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
18/İbrahim	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A	İstanbul
19/Mehmed IV	Ş/İ, N/E, S/A and Mevlevi Derviş Mehmed Paşa	İstanbul
20/Süleyman II	Ş/İ and 'Yeni-çeri Ağası' (Y/A)	İstanbul
21/Ahmed II	Ş/İ and N/E	Edirne
22/Mustafa II	Ş/İ and N/E	Edirne
23/Ahmed III	N/E, Y/A, S/A	Edirne
24/Mahmud I	N/E	İstanbul
25/Osman III	Ş/İ	İstanbul
26/Mustafa III	Ş/İ, N/E	İstanbul
27/Abdülhamid I	Ş/İ	İstanbul
28/Selim III	Ş/İ and N/E	İstanbul
29/Mustafa IV	Y/A (?), N/E, Ş/İ	İstanbul
30/Mahmud II	N/E, and 'Mevlevi Şeyhi' (?)	İstanbul
31/Abdülmecid I	N/E	İstanbul
32/Abdülâziz	Ş/İ, N/E	İstanbul
33/Murad V	Not performed (too ill)	——
34/Abdülhamid II	Ş/İ, and 'Mevlevi Şeyhi' (?)	İstanbul
35/Mehmed V	Ş/İ, and 'Mevlevi Şeyhi' (?)	İstanbul
36/Mehmed VI	Senusî Şeyh Seyyid Ahmed	İstanbul
37/Abdülmecid (II)	Not performed (only Caliph)	——

[1] With the exceptions of Murad II (Bursa) and Ahmed II, Mustafa II, and Ahmed III (Edirne), these all took place at Eyüb, near İstanbul.

[2] Hasluck, ii. 606, infers from the title 'Emir Sultan' that Şeyh Bohara was the head of the Mevlevi Dervishes.

[3] Presumably Mehmed II had been girded, either in 1444 or in 1451, at Edirne, before he instituted the ceremony at Eyüb.

VII

REGENCIES

As a recognized part of what may be called constitutional theory, the conception of a regency ('Naiplik'), rendered necessary by the incapacity of the ruler, was entirely foreign to the political structure of the Ottoman Empire. The Orient only understood the rule of the strong; if a sultan was not fit to govern, then he ceased to govern.

This can be seen clearly in the case of Mehmed II; when he first came to the throne he was an inexperienced lad of twelve, and it is almost inconceivable that Murad II should have abdicated leaving all the responsibility in his hands. Admittedly there were the vizirs, including Grand Vizir Halil Paşa of the traditionally powerful Çandarlı family, but they were only subjects and could not be raised to a position which would make them demi-sultans. Natural death or Fratricide had eliminated all senior males of the house, while the ladies of the harem had not yet learned to manipulate political power. There was no one, therefore, to become regent and the only solution to the impasse was the recall of Murad II.[1] It is pertinent to ask what would have happened if Murad had died and not just abdicated in 1444; one can only presume that a long period of disorder would have ensued, resulting in the indefinite postponement of the capture of Constantinople.

A unique case of regency has already been mentioned[2] when, in 1481, the Janissaries raised 583/Korkud to the throne to act as regent until his father Bayzeid II could reach İstanbul from Amasya. This action was so unprecedented that it seems to have posed as many problems as it solved.[3] Although Korkud had received the acclamation of the troops in the name of his father, yet many believed that by the fact of being acclaimed he had in his own person become *de jure* sultan and that, when Bayezid took over the throne on his arrival, he was in fact usurping his son's rights.

[1] See p. 56.

[2] See p. 39. See also Ünver's *Sultan Nichemedy*, 14: 'Ce Korkud Sultan, İshak Paşa le fit monter sur le trône impérial, non pour régner, mais pour gouverner comme lieutenant de son père Yıldırım [*sic*] Bayezid. . . .' Just previously he is spoken of as grandson of the Sultan.

[3] See Fisher, 17, 19 (n. 42), and 105.

Korkud is said to have shared these views and this is given as an explanation for his later disaffection and unqualified hatred of his upstart younger brother, Selim I. This situation was paralleled in the setting up of 1778/Oğuzhan as regent for his father 570/Cem, until the latter could reach Bursa and contest the imperial inheritance with Bayezid.

There was another type of temporary regency by which sons of various sultans were called in from their provincial governorates to take over supreme control of the central government, while the sultan himself was on campaign at the head of his invading armies. But from the individuals appointed it would seem that this was considered a minor office and never had any bearing on the succession.[1]

2162/Mehmed Sokollu Paşa was presented with an opportunity rather like Halil Çandarlı's, but he seems to have made no attempt to use it. Süleyman I had created him Grand Vizir and 'Serasker'—head of the civil and the military organization—and by marriage he was closely united to the imperial house. On his master's death he might well have challenged the unpopularity of Selim II and made himself regent to one of the latter's sons—or even aspired to the throne itself. But he never did.

It was not until the seventeenth century that a series of minorities rendered necessary some practical form of regency. By then the Ottoman Empire had begun to decline and the centre of power within the body politic had shifted from the sultan and his sons to a cabal sprung from an identity of interests between the ladies of the harem and the vizirs. So, strangely enough, the need found its solution ready to hand; to watch over the affairs of state during these minorities there came a number of extremely strong-minded and politically developed 'Valide Sultanlar' (Princess-Mothers). It was the period of palace intrigue, of backstairs politics, known to history as the 'Kadınlar Saltanatı' (Rule of the Women).[2] Chief among these ladies was the great 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Valide Sultan who in effect ruled the Ottoman Empire during the reigns of her sons Murad IV and İbrahim and that of her grandson

[1] See p. 20, and Table III, p. 23.

[2] See p. 81. But these were not regencies in the Western sense, for the 'Valide Sultanlar' did not automatically cease to rule when their sons came of age. Theirs can best be compared with the authority exercised by Catherine de Medici in sixteenth-century France.

Mehmed IV, from 1623 to her assassination in September 1651. She was followed by her rival, 229/Turhan Hadice Valide Sultan, the mother of Mehmed.

Once only was a subject legally appointed Regent of the Ottoman Empire; when Abdülâziz travelled to Paris and thence to London, on the occasion of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, provision had to be made for the maintenance of government. During the Sultan's absence, a period of almost two months and the only occasion when a reigning sultan left his dominions, all affairs of state were left in the hands of the Grand Vizir Ali Mehmed Paşa. They were not, be it noted, confided to any member of the House of Osman.[1]

The last occasion when a regency was proposed again reveals that such an institution was really foreign to the structure of the Ottoman Empire. This was when it became clear that Murad V's mental disorders were likely to be of a prolonged nature, even though—as was actually the case—there was some hope of an eventual recovery. Some of the ministers proposed that Murad's brother, Abdülhamid II, should be invited to ascend the throne in a temporary capacity, on the understanding that he would step down again should Murad regain full possession of his faculties. But this solution was considered satisfactory to no one; it seemed to raise again the possibility of a divided inheritance and to be contrary to the principle that 'there should be one supreme imam in Islam'. So Murad V was deposed after a reign of only three months and his place was taken permanently by Abdülhamid II.[2]

TABLE IX. *Minorities and 'Regents'*

Sultan	*Age at accession*	*Person exercising power*
7/Mehmed II	12 y. 5 m.	Halil Çandarlı (G.V.)
14/Ahmed I	13 y. 8 m.	180/Handan (V.S.)
16/Osman II	13 y. 3 m.	192/Mâhfiruz (V.S.)
17/Murad IV	11 y. 2 m.	191/Kösem Mâhpeyker (V.S.)
19/Mehmed IV	6 y. 7 m.	191/Kösem Mâhpeyker (B.V.S.) 228/Turhan Hadice (V.S.)

[1] On his earlier visit to Egypt, April 1863, he had still been technically within his own empire, but Grand Vizir Yusuf Kâmil Paşa acted as regent.

[2] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 164–9, and İnal, *Sadrazamlar*, 409 ff.

VIII

REBELLIONS AND PRETENDERS

THE peace of the Ottoman Empire was continually disturbed by rebellions of its subjects, both in the most distant provinces and within the capital. Where these directly affected the Succession, they have been described in the appropriate chapters;[1] others—the large majority—have no bearing at all on the subject of this book. There remains, however, a third group: the unsuccessful challenges to the throne led by, or in the name of, members of the imperial family. With few exceptions, these are confined to the Early Period, and mostly to the century prior to the capture of Constantinople.

As far as is known, the two long reigns of Osman I and Orhan were without incident, but Murad I's son 521/Savcı gave him a great deal of trouble. The records are confused and mutually conflicting, but it seems probable that he rebelled once in 1373 in conjunction with Andronicus Paleologus and that both were forgiven by their respective fathers. In 1385 Savcı was left in charge at Bursa, while Murad I was on campaign in the Balkans; seizing the opportunity, he had himself proclaimed sultan and the 'Hutba' was read in his name. This time there was no forgiveness, although it is difficult to know whether the punishment meted out to Savcı—blinding which led to his subsequent death—was inspired more by his father's or his brother's animosity, for Murad's authority and Bayezid's inheritance had been equally challenged.[2]

The disruption of the Ottoman Empire consequent on the Battle of Ankara in 1402 created an atmosphere particularly favourable to rebellions and pretenders. Strictly speaking, however, no one of the four sons of Bayezid I who contended for power during the Great Interregnum could be accused of rebellion; as long as the inheritance remained divided no one of them could lay claim to the

[1] See 'Succession' and 'Depositions', *passim*.

[2] 'It is claimed for Murad I that he was inexorably just and that he caused his "beloved son Savcı to be executed for rebellion". von Hammer believes that he had long been jealous of him, but the better opinion would appear to be that Bayezid I intrigued to have his brother condemned.' *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 673. The conflicting records are discussed in Danışmend, i. 68.

sultanate. But there were several 'hangovers' from this period which were to cause serious embarrassment to both Mehmed I and Murad II.

Early in his reign Mehmed I had to face a rebellion led by 1644/Orhan ibni 540/Süleyman and supported by the Byzantine Emperor. Orhan was captured and sent to Bursa, where he died of plague in 1429. But the chief problem was that of Mustafa. There had been present at the Battle of Ankara a fifth son of Bayezid, 538/Mustafa; but when the fighting was over, he was nowhere to be found. There was no sign of his corpse among those strewn across the battlefield, although careful search was made; nor was he among the hordes of prisoners that had been captured; nor did he show up later with any of the groups that had escaped from the scene of fighting. The manner of his disappearance has never been explained, nor his fate during the ensuing years; was he killed during the battle or while trying to make his escape? If not, then why did the Interregnum—a heaven-sent opportunity for anyone wishing to make claims to the throne—pass without a sign from the young Mustafa? Whatever the explanation, suddenly in 1416 Mehmed I was faced with a rebellion in Rumelia, led by a man who claimed to be his brother, 538/Mustafa Çelebi. Some historians consider him to have been genuine, others have labelled him 'Düzme' (False); in either case a number of important points remain to be cleared up.[1] Mustafa was defeated and fled to Byzantine protection and the Emperor agreed to intern him on Limnos. When Mehmed I died, the Emperor released Mustafa and helped to set him up as sultan and he was actually proclaimed at Edirne and minted some coins. However, on crossing into Anatolia he was defeated by Murad II, who pursued him back into Rumelia, caught and executed him in 1423.[2]

Then there was another Mustafa, this time the son of Mehmed I, who caused trouble to Murad II. No sooner had the latter disposed of his 'uncle', than this brother 554/Mustafa rebelled in Anatolia, supported by Germiyan, Karaman, and Byzantium. Again Murad

[1] Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 134, relying on the 'Enverî Düstürname', says Mustafa was taken prisoner to Samarkand by Timur and later stayed at Niğde with the Karamanoğulları; then he joined with the Byzantine Emperor and the Candaroğulları against Mehmed I. But Arabshah, 187, says: 'As for Mustafa, he was lost, and nearly thirty men of that name were killed on his account.'

[2] Danışmend, i. 181, gives a different version suggesting that Mustafa maintained his independence at Edirne from 1419 to 1422; but this is untrue since Mehmed I died there in 1421. See also Örik, in *Y.T.D.* i. 6, and İnci ,in *R.T.M.* iv. 2645.

was successful and this Mustafa, too, was executed in the same year. Murad II was also troubled by the presence in Egypt of 1645/Süleyman and 1646/Hundi, grandchildren of 540/Emir Süleyman, but he was never able to capture them and in fact they did not constitute a real danger.[1]

The next case of rebellion was in 1473 when the fourteen-year-old 570/Cem was left as regent in İstanbul while his father went on campaign against 1795/Uzun Hasan. News from the front was long overdue and the capital was flooded with rumours that Mehmed II was dead, so certain of the vizirs attempted to put Cem on the throne. However, before their plans could be consummated—which would have raised further constitutional problems, for his elder brother Bayezid would certainly have contested the choice—news of the campaign's successful termination and of the Sultan's imminent return was received. This immediately broke up the conspiracy and when Mehmed reached the capital he punished all those concerned, with the exception of the young prince; perhaps he realized that the latter was more sinned against than sinning.[2] Connected with this there is also the story that when Mehmed II died outside Üsküdar, he was about to embark on a campaign aimed at the destruction of a rebellious Bayezid II, but of this there is no proof.[3]

Apart from the early struggle against Cem and the final revolts which overthrew the unfortunate Bayezid II, that Sultan had to face a long series of rebellions on the part of his sons 584/Mahmud, 585/Mehmed, and 586/Şahinşah.[4] But it was the revolts of his surviving sons 581/Ahmed, 583/Korkud, and Selim I which caused him the greatest trouble and led to his final downfall; each was struggling for the succession and the continued existence of their father was of little importance to them.[5]

Even after Selim I had asserted his superiority over his brothers and had executed them, he was still troubled by two of his nephews. 1913/Murad ibni 581/Ahmed had escaped to Persia and the protection of 1915/Şah İsmail; it was partly to recapture him that Selim embarked on the Çaldıran campaign; Murad survived that but died in 1517.[6] His brother, 1912/Kasım ibni Ahmed, fled to Egypt where

[1] Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 137.
[2] Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 372–6.
[3] Fisher, 16 and 103; Babinger, ibid. 334.
[4] See Fisher, 103–5.
[5] See p. 62.
[6] Hoca Sadeddin tells of a 'Düzme' Murad who arose and gave Selim I much trouble.

the Mamelukes used him to good purpose. Selim I searched eagerly for him while in Egypt, but it was not until a year later that Kasım was found and executed. Selim I was also forced to execute three of his own sons.[1]

Süleyman I had continual trouble with his sons, which arose chiefly from the intrigues of 151/Hurrem Sultan. Supported by her favourite son 601/Bayezid, her daughter 1100/Mihrimâh and the latter's husband, 2126/Grand Vizir Rüstem Paşa, Hurrem struck at 606/Mustafa, son of her rival 152/Mâhidevran; she succeeded in encompassing his death, but herself died soon after. Immediately a bitter rivalry broke out between the blood-brothers, Bayezid and Selim II; the latter was more cunning in gaining his father's support. Bayezid finally fled to Persia with his family, but Şah Tahmasp was persuaded to sell them to their death in 1561.[2]

But while there were later cases of Fratricide, these were the outcome rather of suspicion and jealousy than of overt rebellion; for after 1600 all the princes were closely guarded in the 'Selâmlık' or the 'Kafes' of the saray. The princes in the 'Kafes' were mere tools of those wishing to obtain power and took no active part in the rebellions organized by the soldiery or the palace cliques.[3] No further outbreaks could be expected until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the sultans began to grant more freedom to the princes.[4]

As has been seen,[5] Abdülâziz was very keen to change the Law of Succession back to the old system with definite primogeniture. Taking advantage of this, Fuad Paşa plotted to overthrow the dynasty by way of a regency over the young 844/Yusuf İzzeddin, but nothing came of it.[6]

It is known, too, that Murad V was involved in a plot to dethrone Abdülâziz, but the only result was the placing of restrictions on his own liberty.[7] Abdülhamid II also took an active, though more care-

[1] See Danışmend, ii. 5.

[2] See Danışmend, ii. 322; Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 140, gives 1559. Possibly Süleyman favoured Bayezid, but he would do nothing to ensure his succession and the plot of Lâla Mustafa Paşa went against him; Bayezid certainly forfeited the army's support by his flight. The unrest in the country is reflected in Busbecq: Rüstem 'anticipated that, if Süleyman made an expedition into Hungary his sons were sure to seize the opportunity for some fresh attempt. . . . In view of the existing quarrels and civil war between the royal princes, I do not despair of obtaining tolerable conditions of peace' (pp. 87 and 105).

[3] See pp. 63 ff.

[4] See p. 35.

[5] See p. 12.

[6] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 45.

[7] Şehsuvaroğlu, 54.

fully concealed, part in the plans which led to the decision to depose Murad V.[1] After the latter had been driven into retirement, three successive plots were hatched to restore him to the throne, but in each case they were foiled by Abdülhamid's efficient police system.[2]

During the World War I, the Russians are said to have worked out a plan in 1915 to set up a rival sultan, ruling in Asiatic Turkey, who would eventually overthrow the Ottoman dynasty. The man they chose was Cemal Paşa (of the Young Turk Triumvirate), whom they thought to be at odds with the government. But there is no evidence that Cemal was even approached in the matter. In any case, the plan ran counter to the interests of England and France in the Middle East, and was stillborn.[3]

Finally in this section, mention must be made of the strange story of 'Padre Ottomano', though in it there is no question of a threat to the throne. The 'Kızlar Ağası', Sümbül Ağa, had a beautiful girl in the harem, but she became pregnant and was chosen to be the wet nurse of the infant Mehmed IV. The Sultan, İbrahim, seemed to prefer her child to his own to such an extent that 229/ Turhan Hadice—the 'Sultan Haseki' concerned—became extremely jealous. To prevent further trouble, the 'Kızlar Ağası' decided to go to Mekka and took both the girl and her child with him. On the voyage they were captured and taken to Malta, where the boy was brought up as a Christian; to the Knights he was known as 'Padre Ottomano' and they believed him to be a son of the Sultan.[4]

[1] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 164–70.

[2] See p. 29, n. 4.

[3] The story is told from the Russian documents in *R.T.M.* i. 12, by 'M. Z.', but no sources are given, and it seems rather far-fetched.

[4] von Hammer, xi. 312, and Castellan, ii. 60. He was baptized as Dominique de Saint Thomas; see Murat, 'Osmanlı Papazı', in *R.T.M.* v. 3101.

IX

ABDICATIONS

THE history of the Ottoman Empire was punctuated by many changes of rulers for reasons other than the death of a sultan, but few of these could be described as an abdication, a voluntary withdrawal and renunciation of power, such as was shown by Diocletian or Charles V. For the most part the retiring sultans were deposed by scheming officials, discontented Janissaries or usurping relations, though on many occasions, let it be said, these appear to have acted in the best interests of the state.

Of genuine abdications there seem to have been only two successful examples: Osman I and Murad II; one which did not mature: Bayezid II; and two doubtful cases: 44/Ertuğrul and Orhan. In each case the reason seems to have been the same: physical or mental exhaustion resulting from overwork. As one considers the growth of the Ottoman Empire in 250 years—from an insignificant clan of marcher-warriors and semi-nomad shepherds in a secluded valley of Western Anatolia to the far-flung dominion of Süleyman I—it becomes clear that such a stupendous act of creation must have made heavy demands upon the energies of those who accomplished it.

Ertuğrul is traditionally said to have renounced all authority in favour of his son Osman some years before his own death in 1281, but there is no accurate information on this point. However, if the date of Ertuğrul's birth, given in some chronicles as 1198, is at all correct then it would be only natural if the octogenarian had renounced some or all of his powers before his death. This seems the more reasonable when one considers that it was just at this time that the Ottomans were preparing to embark on a policy of expansion which would require a younger and more active leader.

Osman I probably died in the early part of 1324, but for at least five years before that little or nothing is heard of him; his son Orhan was clearly the leading figure during the campaign which reached its climax with the capture of Bursa. It is presumed, therefore, that formally or informally Osman handed over all effective

power to Orhan about the year 1320—perhaps even a little earlier.[1] In the case of Orhan's abdication the evidence is again presumptive but less tangible. There is the same lack of information regarding the Sultan's activities after about 1355, and the same prominence of a son, 514/Süleyman Paşa, during Orhan's last years—both negative but rather suggestive points. Unfortunately for Orhan, Süleyman met with a fatal accident near the Rumelian shores of the Dardanelles in 1359, and his father had to resume the reins of government. But not for long; the shock of his favourite son's death appears to have been too much for Orhan's tired spirit and within a year he, too, was dead.

Until recently accounts given of the events of 1444 have been conflicting and confused, but it is now possible to give a more coherent explanation.[2] The story that Murad II abdicated in the middle of 1444 has always seemed contrary to reason; how could he have turned over the administration of the whole empire to an admittedly inexperienced boy just at the moment when enemies were massing for the attack on both frontiers? The truth seems to be that early in June Murad left Mehmed as governor of Rumelia, whilst he himself crossed over to Anatolia to destroy the forces of Karaman before the East European powers could mobilize to strike in the west and crush the Turkish forces between hammer and anvil. Events at Edirne—the heretical preachings of the Hurufi sheikh, the incendiary activities of the Janissaries, and the imminent approach of the Crusaders—made urgent the return of the Sultan. Luckily, the campaign in Anatolia was soon ended and Murad was able to withdraw most of his forces; checked by the Christian fleet in the Dardanelles, Murad had to cross the Bosphorus and only just reached Varna in time to lead his troops to victory (10 November 1444).

Then suddenly, and contrary to the advice of his vizirs, Murad II abdicated and retired to Manisa; the 'Hutba' was read in Mehmed II's name and he ordered new coins to be struck at the various imperial mints.[3] It is impossible to assess exactly the motives behind this

[1] 'In truth, after that date [1320] the government was in the hands of Orhan. It is not clear how long Osman lived after he handed over control to his son, nor whether Orhan Bey became ruler after Osman's death, or whether the latter died after giving his son complete authority.' Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 30; and in *Belleten*, 34. 207.

[2] For what follows the author is indebted to the account given in Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 45–64, which is based on letters from various Italian eyewitnesses, including Pizzicolli.

[3] Artuk, 16.

decision, though tentative suggestions can be made. Twenty years of campaigning to east and west had clearly wearied Murad, while his recent victories over Karaman and Crusaders made it certain that the Ottoman Empire could not be threatened from without for a long time; Manisa offered a pleasant retreat from worldly cares. The deaths of his two sons, 560/Ahmed and 562/Alâeddin Ali, must have saddened Murad, particularly as he never seems to have had much affection for Mehmed II; it is possible, therefore, that he wished to follow a contemplative life among dervish companions.[1] Perhaps, also, the tensions which had arisen within the Empire between the old Turkish 'nobility' and the upstart renegade vizirs had reached such a pitch that Murad felt incapable of resolving them; his own withdrawal and the presence of a new sultan might pour oil on the troubled waters.[2]

Unfortunately, Murad's retirement lasted little more than a year and a half (December 1444–September 1446). Again, there is little positive information; it may be assumed that the *coup d'état* was engineered by the grand vizir, Çandarlı Halil Paşa, and that the story that Mehmed II himself summoned his father is apocryphal.[3] Halil's course of action probably stemmed from inability to work harmoniously with Mehmed, and a fear that the young Sultan was about to dismiss him. The Janissaries, too, were restive, irked by the ineffectiveness of their boy ruler, so that the vizirs feared for their lives and property should the disaffection of the troops not be checked immediately. Murad, however, did not rush back to the capital; having left Manisa in May, in August he was still at Bursa, where he made his will—fearful of the future? Not until September did Murad reach Edirne and become sultan-regnant for a second time, while Mehmed took his place amid the quiet surroundings of Manisa, 'exiled' from court so that he might gain more experience as a provincial governor. So ended Murad II's ill-timed and short-lived abdication.

The last voluntary abdication—or, rather, attempted abdication,

[1] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 219, n. 1, speaks only of Murad enjoying himself but in *S.T.* 82, the same writer gives as the main reason for Murad's abdication, his being dispirited by the defeat he had suffered at the hands of John Hunyadi in 1443. Hasluck, ii. 492, n. 2, quotes Phrantzes that Murad retired to Bursa as a dervish. The simple, almost ascetic terms of Murad's will—see Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 63—suggest some religious influence at work.

[2] This is the motive Babinger, ibid. 58, prefers.

[3] See *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 692.

for it was completely frustrated—came in the next reign but one. Bayezid II seems to have been of a contradictory nature, never really content and never able to turn the tide of events in his own favour. The Turks called him 'Veli' (Saint) or 'Sofu' (Devout), indicating that side of his character which would much have preferred a quiet studious life to all the strain and turmoil of imperial rule.[1] Yet it is clear that public life also attracted him; long before he came to the throne he had allied himself by marriages with the powerful cabal of court vizirs;[2] equally, having once mounted the throne, he fought doggedly against his brother 570/Cem with every available weapon of war and diplomacy to preserve intact his inheritance.[3] The strain of that struggle, lasting fourteen years, obviously tired Bayezid and, when after a few more years his own sons began manœuvring for positions from which to dispute the succession on their father's death, Bayezid felt that the time had come to retire to Dimetoka, his birthplace. This was in 1511 and he offered to abdicate in favour of his best-loved son, 581/Ahmed, but the troops would have none of it and the vizirs, realizing that the youngest son, Selim I, might eventually reach the throne, refused to endanger their own careers by countenancing the Sultan's proposals.[4] Possibly also this refusal to allow Bayezid II to abdicate was due to a memory of the confusion caused by Murad II's attempts. So Bayezid II's desire to abdicate remained unfulfilled; but a year later Selim I felt strong enough to overthrow his father and Bayezid left İstanbul for retirement in Dimetoka after all. Death, however, overtook him on the road.

Some of the later sultans may have accepted their depositions gracefully, but the only one who, in any sense, may be said to have abdicated is Mehmed VI. After the National Assembly had abolished the sultanate, he was allowed to remain as caliph, but he chose rather to flee the country.[5]

[1] *E.I.* ii. 569: 'Bayezid II is said to have intended after the death of his father Mehmed II to renounce the throne and retire to İznik [Nicea].'
[2] Fisher, 19. [3] Fisher, *passim*. [4] Fisher, 107–9. [5] See p. 72.

TABLE X. *Abdications*

Sultan	*Date*	*Comments*
44/Ertuğrul	?	To Osman; traditionally so.
1/Osman I	*c.* 1320	To Orhan; survived about five years.
2/Orhan	*c.* 1355	To 514/Süleyman Paşa; probable; on latter's death five years later he took power again for one year.
6/Murad II	12. 1444	To Mehmed II; re-ascended the throne after two years and reigned for a further five.
8/Bayezid II	1511	To 581/Ahmed; not put into effect.
36/Mehmed VI	17. 11. 1922	Fled the country after the sultanate had been abolished; caliphate passed to Abdülmecid (II).

X

DEPOSITIONS

In all the other cases where the throne changed hands, except by the death of a sultan, we must apply the word 'Deposition', for on each occasion there was a strong element of compulsion, if not of actual violence. Altogether, from Bayezid I to Abdülmecid (II), there were seventeen depositions; that is, practically half of the sultans suffered this indignity of deposition—in the case of Mustafa I, twice over.

The general history books give the impression that all these depositions were the work of small but powerful groups working entirely in their own interests, but a detailed analysis will show that there was always present some sentiment for the well-being of the state. There was enough of this feeling to suggest that the depositions were an expression of the democratic spirit implicit in the dual institution of sultanate and caliphate; there was enough, also, to ensure popular neutrality in, if not active support for, the uprisings which brought about the downfall of the sultans.[1] At least the depositions prove that the sultans were limited in their absolutism to a much greater extent than any other European monarch of the same period.[2] Fear of the consequences, should they pursue any particular policy too far, had a remarkably restraining effect on the sultans; on only too many occasions popular outcry asserted itself against the better judgement of those in power.[3] This is not to deny,

[1] Gibb and Bowen, i. 26–38.

[2] In this connexion it is interesting to recall that when Louis XIV asked 2360/ Grand Vizir Köprülüzade Mustafa to withhold recognition from William of Orange as King of England, he is said to have been told that it would ill become the Turks, who had so often dethroned their own sovereigns, to dispute the rights of other nations to change their masters. *Historians' History*, xxiv. 339.

[3] Gibb and Bowen, i. 38, say: 'Their autocracy, limited in theory by the Sacred Law, was also limited in practice by their liability to deposition. And in this respect the weakening of their power during the second period [Selim II onwards] may be illustrated by a comparison.' The authors point out that the majority of depositions (fourteen out of seventeen by the reckoning here) took place in the period of the Empire's decline, from the end of the sixteenth century. 'Nor was it their successors that were responsible for these depositions, which were oftenest brought about by the soldiery of the capital.' Zagelin, the Prussian Resident in İstanbul in 1768, said: 'Though the [Turkish] form of government is despotic, it is such that when the people

however, that the decision to depose was generally taken by some small and irresponsible group which felt strong enough to overthrow the reigning sultan; it only suggests that the groups concerned were successful because the action they took was felt to be necessary at the moment and represented the will of the majority of the people.[1] This should perhaps be qualified to read, 'the majority of the people in İstanbul', for, as in France, revolutions were made largely in the capital without any reference to the provinces.

The reasons for the overthrow of the different sultans are varied but seldom complex: failures in military or economic policy, inability to control the rebellious Janissaries and palace cliques, insanity, and, finally, neglect to study—and comply with—the wishes of the people.

An apparent exception to these is, of course, the first case of the deposition of an Ottoman sultan, that of Bayezid I, immediately after the Battle of Ankara in July 1402. This was the one occasion on which the fate of a sultan depended on forces outside and foreign to the Empire. Yet here, too, one senses something of the will of the people, a revolt against the megalomania of Sultan Bayezid which had rushed them into an unnecessary and—more important—unsuccessful war against Timur. It seems probable that the latter had had no wish to invade and conquer Anatolia, let alone to continue farther into Bayezid's European dominions. The campaign Timur embarked upon in the early part of 1402 was in origin purely strategic, an attempt to safeguard his lines of communication with İrak and Egypt against an unco-operative and truculent Bayezid. Otherwise, why did Timur content himself with the submission of Bayezid's sons and allow them to continue as rulers of their father's dominions? What was his intention in taking the captive Sultan to Samarkand; to display him in a Roman triumph and then execute him; or to release him later against a heavy ransom and let him return to rule his people? Whatever the plan, Bayezid's suicide eight months later put an end to it. But the really striking thing is that, while, technically, Bayezid was deposed by his conqueror, he had in reality been previously deposed by his own people on the field of battle. First the tributary tribes of the 'Kara Tatarlar'

is enraged, the Government is no longer master and must yield to the torrent'—quoted in Shay, 28.

[1] For the unsuccessful ones, see pp. 49 ff.

(Black Tartars) deserted to the enemy and were followed by the 'Sipahiler' (feudal cavalry) of Anatolia; then the subject Serbs fled the field. As if this were not enough, Grand Vizir Çandarlızade Ali Paşa and the Yeniçeri Ağası Hasan Ağa escaped with the 'crown-prince' 540/Süleyman Çelebi to Bursa,[1] while Çelebi Mehmed I withdrew to Amasya. Furthermore, no substantial effort was ever made to try to rescue Bayezid from his prison or even to negotiate for his release; the realization that his sons and his people had abandoned him was a potent influence in driving Bayezid I to commit suicide.[2]

The next case of deposition was also marked by unusual circumstances. The ill-timed abdication of Murad II brought to power Mehmed II, a youth of twelve, who had as yet, in the nature of things, gained little experience in the government of a state; his apprenticeship as provincial governor of Manisa had begun only a short while before. Feeling the abnormality and insecurity of his position the young Mehmed probably 'threw his weight about' too much and as a result aroused the opposition of the vizirs. It is remarkable that no one of the latter—not even Grand Vizir Çandarlızade Halil Paşa—felt himself strong enough to assume the position of a 'lord protector' and become the power behind the throne. The probable reason is that Murad II at Manisa was still too close to the seat of government and would never have countenanced such a blow to the authority of the dynasty. The only course for the vizirs was to bide their time. Remembering the troubles[3] that had arisen earlier in the year when Mehmed had been governor of Edirne during his father's absence in Anatolia—the inflammatory sermons of the Hurufi sheikh and the arson committed by the Janissaries—they might reasonably expect that, now he was Sultan, Mehmed II would not prove himself any more competent as a ruler. In fact, however, it was eighteen months before the rising tension and sense

[1] 'Süleyman, when he saw the deeds of the Tatars, certain of the calamity which threatened his father, took the rest of the flower of the army and withdrew from the battlefield and turning his back, abandoned his father in the fierce stress of battle and made his way with his men towards Bursa.' Arabshah, 183.

[2] Fisher, 11 (following Wittek), says: 'Conquests of the older Muslim states and the adoption by him of many ways common to Balkan aristocracy alienated many of the "Gazi" who . . . seized the opportunity to redirect the energies of the state to former "Gazi" practices.' Gibbons, 249 and 257, says: 'He had become a voluptuary, debauched mentally and physically. . . . Bayezid died a victim not "to his destiny" as the Ottoman historians put it, but to his vices and the abandonment of the policy of his predecessors.'

[3] See p. 55.

of frustration on both sides reached a point where Halil Paşa felt justified—or at least secure—in making an appeal to Murad to resume the reins of government. This was in May 1446, but having once agreed to return Murad did not hurry back to Edirne; after a prolonged stop in Bursa he finally reached the capital in late September. It is not clear whether the transfer took place without any incident, but this seems probable for already the Janissaries held the balance of power and it was they who wished to restore Murad. Possibly, even, on the day his father was to arrive the young Mehmed was tricked into leaving the city and so demonstrations were avoided.[1] Thus after a reign of about two years, Mehmed II was driven back to Manisa, there to complete his political apprenticeship as provincial governor. The effects of this setback and humiliation were twofold. In the first place Mehmed learned his lesson to such good effect that when, after a further five years, he was recalled to the throne at his father's death, he became the greatest of Ottoman sultans. Secondly, he never forgot or forgave the vizirs who had worked so hard to engineer his deposition; one of his first acts after the capture of Constantinople was to order the execution of Grand Vizir Halil Paşa, on the pretext of treasonable relations with the Greeks.

The next sultan to be deposed was Bayezid II, whose attempts at voluntary abdication have already been considered. Although he fought many successful campaigns, Bayezid was never a military type; his real inclinations were towards contemplation and the studious life. So it was that he never inspired the soldiers by his leadership and it was unfortunate, though only natural, that in seeking to abdicate his thoughts should have turned to 581/Ahmed, the son who most nearly resembled him. Bayezid failed to convince the Janissaries that Ahmed would make a good ruler and the only result of his well-intentioned plans was to stir up a hornet's nest of opposition. The favour shown to one son was resented by both the others; the youngest and most ambitious of Bayezid's surviving sons, Selim I, set out to destroy all possible competition and was quite prepared to crush his father, if necessary, in his fight for the throne.[2]

[1] Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 61–65. Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 41, says that this was the last time until the seventeenth century that the vizirs influenced the choice of a sultan: 'With the conquest of Constantinople Mehmed II had grown strong and, escaping from the influence of the high officials of state, took all affairs into his control'; but what of the accessions of Bayezid II and Selim I?

[2] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 229–39; Fisher, 103–12; and Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* ii. 580.

Over a period of more than three years the three sons—581/Ahmed, 583/Korkud, and Selim—intrigued with each other, with their father, with the vizirs and the army; there were bribes and threats, military expeditions and reprisals. The upshot of it all was that by 24 April 1512 Selim had possessed himself of İstanbul and the imperial garrison, and deposed his father. The Janissaries cried out, 'Our Padışah is old and sick; we want Selim Şah in his place'. Nothing less than total authority would satisfy Selim; the old Sultan was forced into retirement and within a month he was dead.[1] This is the one clear and authenticated case of usurpation in the long history of the dynasty; on no other occasion did the eventual successor to the throne work so deliberately to oust its actual occupant.[2] It is an interesting commentary on all this that Mehmed II is said to have wished to kill Bayezid and so enable his brother 570/Cem to come to the throne, simply because Bayezid had too many sons who, his father foresaw, would be a source of continual trouble.[3]

After this there were no further depositions in the Ottoman dynasty for just over a hundred years, although the Janissaries did propose in 1553 to depose Süleyman I on account of his age, retire him to Dimetoka and replace him by his son 606/Mustafa.[4] On the death of Ahmed I in 1617 the succession passed in special circumstances[5] to his brother Mustafa I, in spite of the fact that years of close confinement had unhinged his mind.[6] Barely three months had elapsed before the vizirs[7] were obliged *pro bono publico* to apply for a 'Fetva' of Deposition. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that on the deposition of his young nephew and successor Osman II in 1622, Mustafa I—and not the latter's other nephew Murad IV, then aged ten—was again placed on the throne. But once more the

[1] There is nothing to prove whether Bayezid died a natural death, worn out by all his troubles, or was put to death; considering the Law of Fratricide and Selim's character, the general assumption is that Bayezid met with a violent death.

[2] Some think that Selim was only the instrument, albeit very willing, of the Janissaries who, 'had grown conscious of their power as the Sultan's chief support and used it to bring about the deposition of Bayezid II and the accession of Selim I'. Gibb and Bowen, i. 179. For a long complaint of Bayezid against his son Selim, see Çiğ, in *T.D.* ii. 522.

[3] Fisher, 16, n. 22.

[4] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 392.

[5] See p. 10.

[6] His survival in 1603 was necessary as there were no other heirs to Ahmed I, but soon the latter began to have sons. With the birth of each new nephew, Mustafa became of less and less importance to the dynasty; so his fear of sudden death mounted and, in proportion with it, his incipient madness.

[7] Grand Vizir Halil Paşa was on campaign in Persia; action was taken by his deputy 2283/Gürcü Mehmed Paşa and the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm'.

strain of public affairs proved too heavy for his enfeebled mind and 'Deli' (Mad) Mustafa retired into the 'Kafes' again, this time for good.[1] Thus he attained to the rather dubious distinction of being the only sultan to be twice deposed and, at the same time, took his place in the line of unfortunate princes of the Ottoman dynasty for whom the name 'Mustafa' was cursed.[2]

Between the two short reigns of Mustafa I there came the brief and tragic episode of his nephew Osman II. At his accession in 1618 he was a spirited youth of fourteen and something of an idealist. 'Genç' (Young) Osman set himself the task of reorganizing the armed forces and particularly the all-powerful Janissaries; on campaigns in Europe and in Asia their unruliness had cost him the victory on more than one occasion. Concealing his plans under the pretence of going to Mekka to perform the 'Hac' (Pilgrimage), Osman prepared to bring up forces from Egypt for the destruction of the Janissaries. But they saw through the trick and, joining with the 'Sipahiler' who were also threatened, they rose in rebellion. 19 May 1622 was long remembered in İstanbul for the wild and bloody deeds which took place; the Grand Vizir, Dilâver Paşa, and the 'Kızlar Ağası', Süleyman Ağa, were torn to pieces by the mob. 'Deli' Mustafa I was dragged from the 'Kafes' to the throne-room,[3] while the rebellious horde seized and deposed Osman II. Disturbances continued all through the next day and other vizirs lost their lives. As a last resort, Osman took refuge with the Janissaries, but they only treated him as a prisoner and, on the orders of the new Grand Vizir, 2212/Dâvud Paşa, the ex-sultan was transferred to 'Yedi Kule Hisarı' (Castle of the Seven Towers) and there strangled by Kara Mezak Çavuş.[4]

[1] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 152–3. Purchas, *Relation*, 1372, says: 'Mustafa was esteemed rather holy (that is franticke) than wise and indeed fitter for a cell than a scepter.' Of the second deposition Purchas, *Coryates*, 1849, says: 'Herein consists the wonder, that all this was done without any trouble, terror, shutting up of a shop, disturbing the Merchants, rifling a Jew or tumult of the Janissaries.'

[2] See p. 121.

[3] The mob had to break into Mustafa's cell through the roof and take him out that way. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 142–3.

[4] Purchas, *Relation*, 1372, says: 'Dâvud Paşa [a brother-in-law of Mustafa I] consulted with some interested in Mustafa's preferment and thereby obnoxious to Osman to search how many of the royal blood were left alive and resolved if there remained two, to make an end of Osman. Two of his brothers were found, the one about twelve [Murad IV] the other about seven years of age [İbrahim]; and therefore the Vizir went himself to the prison with a pack of hangmen and gave orders to strangle the unfortunate prince.'

As a result of the intrigues of 2247/Grand Vizir Receb Paşa, there was a threat to depose Murad IV in 1632, but it came to nothing. The only tangible effect was that the Sultan soon after decided to execute three of his brothers and Receb Paşa.[1]

Some twenty-five years later, at the age of thirty-three, Osman's younger brother İbrahim was also deposed and assassinated. He had hardly known even the limited freedom of a reigning sultan's son, for his father Ahmed I had died when he was only two years old. For twenty-three years, until his accession in 1640, İbrahim had been kept a close prisoner in the 'Kafes', constantly in fear of his life and completely under the influence of the palace women. The result was only to be expected; İbrahim came to the throne in a state of mental perturbation, if not actual madness. With only one aim in view, he used all the resources at his disposal for the gratification of his sensual appetites.[2] Increasing financial oppression made necessary by his excesses, and failure to bring the Cretan campaign to a swift and successful termination, roused the people against İbrahim. A conspiracy was formed, in which the Sultan's mother, 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Valide Sultan, took a prominent part and in August 1648 İbrahim was deposed in favour of his seven-year-old son, Mehmed IV. Strangely enough, once deposed, İbrahim began to attract popular sympathy and support from the Janissaries; to put an end to this the vizirs obtained a 'Fetva' for his execution. So, ten days after his deposition, İbrahim was strangled in his prison by 'Cellâd' (Executioner) Kara Ali.[3]

This was a step fraught with danger for the House of Osman, for İbrahim was the only adult member of the family alive. Admittedly five, and possibly six, of his sons survived their father's death, but the eldest, Mehmed IV, was only seven years old at the time, and the rate of infantile mortality was extremely high (at least three of İbrahim's sons had already died in infancy). There was thus a grave risk of the dynasty dying out; in fact, however, Mehmed lived for many years, as did four of his brothers, and he left several sons to succeed him. In the end, after a reign of thirty-nine years, Mehmed IV was deposed in November 1687, by decision of the

[1] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 187–92.

[2] Some writers have tried to explain away İbrahim's madness; see particularly a series of articles in *T.D.* i. 242, &c., under the title 'Sultan İbrahim Deli mi, Hasta miydi?' by Ç. Uluçay; but the title rather begs the question.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 239–44.

vizirs. Always known as 'Avcı' (Hunter) Mehmed, he had throughout his reign devoted himself to the pleasures of the chase, to the almost complete neglect of affairs of state and military duties. So, to satisfy popular demand and forestall further military uprisings, Mehmed was made responsible for 2347/Kara Mustafa Paşa's failure at Vienna in 1683 and for subsequent disasters. He is said to have accepted the decision gracefully with a 'Kısmet' (Fate) on his lips.[1]

Mehmed IV's two brothers, Süleyman II and Ahmed II, both died in possession of the throne after brief reigns; his son Mustafa II was the next sultan to be dethroned. Although he had begun his reign energetically, the forces ranged against the Ottoman Empire were too strong and in 1699 Mustafa had been forced to accept the humiliating Peace of Karlowitz. The Sultan then retired to Edirne and government was left in the hands of the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm', Feyzullah Efendi, who had engineered the dismissal of Grand Vizir Amcazade Hüseyin Köprülü. Feyzullah used his high office and influence to amass a huge personal fortune and create an example of nepotism almost unparalleled—by the extent of its ramifications—in Ottoman history. Popular murmurings against the 'Şeyh' soon led to insurrections and he was cut to pieces at Edirne by an angry mob of Janissaries. The troops were also mutinous because their pay was heavily in arrears and so, to prevent further trouble, the vizirs insisted on Mustafa II's deposition in August 1703; he died a few months later in the 'Kafes'.[2]

A similar fate, for almost similar reasons, awaited Mustafa's successor Ahmed III, whose reign of twenty-seven years falls into two parts. The first from 1703 to 1718 was filled with military activity which, though often successful, ended in the bitter terms of the Treaty of Passarowitz. Ahmed managed to survive this disgrace and then pursued a policy of peace at any price. In this he was aided by his son-in-law, the new Grand Vizir, 2406/Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa, and for twelve years the Ottoman Empire enjoyed comparative tranquillity. But instead of using this breathing-space to rebuild the Empire's defences, Sultan and Vizir embarked on a life of luxury and pleasure with a nonchalance which recalls *après nous le déluge*.

[1] Uzunçarşılı *O.T.* III. i. 545. In 1691 there was a proposal to replace Mehmed on the throne.

[2] That there were religious reasons as well is shown by a popular poem; see Bayrı, in *T.D.* iii. 959.

It was the famous 'Lâle Devri' (Tulip Time), when a single bulb could sell for a gold piece and new palaces shot up overnight to provide settings for an eternal round of garden-fêtes and sumptuous entertainments. When, therefore, in 1730, Şah Tahmasp II of Persia attacked the Ottoman possessions, the Empire was completely unprepared. Infuriated by the Grand Vizir's venality, by the Sultan's life of inordinate luxury—'which was rendered the more distasteful to his subjects by its faintly European flavour'[1]—and by his hesitation in taking up the Persian challenge, the people and troops in İstanbul revolted. They were led by Patrona Halil, a second-hand clothes dealer and ex-Janissary from Albania, who seems at first to have been quite disinterested, but later fell a victim to the lust for power.[2] The Sultan sacrificed 2406/İbrahim Paşa and other vizirs to the mob, but this did not save him; after three days of wild rioting, Ahmed III was forced to accept his own deposition in October 1730. He died six years later in the 'Kafes', during which time his successor Mahmud I often consulted him on matters of state.

The rest of the eighteenth century passed quietly, but the beginning of the nineteenth brought two more depositions in quick succession. Selim III had been given a remarkably broad education by his father Mustafa III and, during the reign of his uncle Abdülhamid I, was in constant communication with the French court;[3] in Selim the seeds of reform found fertile soil. He set himself the superhuman task of reforming the whole structure of the Ottoman Empire; his energetic mind penetrated everywhere: the army, the navy, defence, finance, law, and social reform.[4] But naturally a ruler who sought to interfere so radically in the lives of his subjects—a people noted for their conservatism—was bound to meet with opposition; the more so as Selim's reforms consisted largely in the imposition of occidental customs and institutions. So, to the spirit of reaction was added the spirit of chauvinism; however excellent

[1] Gibb and Bowen, i. 38 and n. 3: 'He encouraged his courtiers, for instance, to build pavilions on the hills round the "Kâğıdhane" (Sweet Waters of Europe) in imitation of Marly. These, after his fall, were destroyed with gusto by the people—see de Tott, *Memoirs*, i. 5.'

[2] For the political story, see Shay, 17–38. 1246/Fatma, widow of İbrahim Paşa, plotted for the return of her father, Ahmed III, and was imprisoned (in the 'Eski Saray'?). Ibid. 32. A contemporary account, by the Hungarian Kelemen Mikes, is printed in *Y.T.D.* i. 175.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 5–6, 191.

[4] Karal, *O.T.* v. 57–79.

and necessary might be the work of the renegade Bonneval and the Baron de Tott, they themselves were foreigners and therefore to be execrated. Thus the really surprising thing is not that Selim was deposed, but that he was able to avoid that fate for so long. His reforming zeal carried him forward year after year but at the same time cut across more and more private interests; those most seriously affected were of course the Janissaries who saw, in the newly formed 'Nizam-i Cedit' (Troops of the New Order), a direct threat to the monopoly of political and military power which they had held almost since their creation four centuries earlier. Early in 1807 there were serious risings in the Balkans and a conspiracy—led by the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm', the 'Kaymakam' of İstanbul, and Kabakçı Mustafa Ağa—between the Janissaries and the Bosphorus garrisons culminated on 29 May in the slaughter of many leading reformers and the deposition of the Sultan.

Selim III's successor was his cousin Mustafa IV—weak and feeble-minded, if not actually mad—who was completely under the thumb of the revolutionaries. However, Selim's deposition was not to go unavenged; from Ruschuk came Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, a great military leader. When he marched on İstanbul in the summer of 1808, with the intention of restoring Selim to the throne, Sultan Mustafa took the most drastic steps to ensure his own survival. For many years the House of Osman had been remarkably unfruitful; few children had been born and the majority of these had died in their infancy.[1] So it happened that on 28 July 1808 the lives of only two princes—the ex-sultan Selim III and the future sultan Mahmud II—stood between Mustafa IV and the extinction of the dynasty. Could he but kill these two, Mustafa would be safe, for even his most convinced enemies would balk at the idea of putting an end to the House of Osman; so he gave orders for their deaths.[2] Selim was soon found in his prison and after a brave fight was cut down and his body flung at the feet of Alemdar Mustafa Paşa as he invaded the Saray. Mahmud, however, had escaped with the help of some of the harem-slaves and after an exciting chase round the chimney-pots was rescued and brought down to sit on the throne. Meanwhile Mustafa IV had been deposed and imprisoned; some four months later he was executed during a rising of the Janis-

[1] See p. 102.

[2] Karal, *O.T.* v. 92–93; and *T.D.* özel iii. 19–26.

saries in his favour. So for a period of three or four years Mahmud II did become the sole male representative of his dynasty.[1]

With one exception all the last six rulers of the Ottoman Empire (that is, including the Caliph, Abdülmecid) were deposed, though for very varying reasons. The strong reign of Mahmud II and the progressive spirit of Abdülmecid I both helped to re-establish the dynasty in the people's favour. The next sultan, however, was Abdülâziz; he was a very weak character living chiefly for the pleasures of luxury and the harem, which led him to neglect affairs of state and yet make intolerable demands on the Empire's finances. Fifteen years of his rule brought the Ottoman Empire to the brink of financial disaster and in the end a group of ministers—which included Grand Vizir Rüşdü Paşa, 'Serasker' Hüseyin Avni Paşa, and the liberal Midhat Paşa—decided that Abdülâziz must be deposed. On 30 May 1876 he was replaced by his nephew Murad V; five days later Abdülâziz committed suicide in circumstances which, to many contemporaries, suggested murder—though for the latter there is no corroborative evidence.[2]

Once more the system of eldest-male inheritance and the limitations placed on the freedom of the heir combined together against the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire. In his youth Mehmed Murad V had been granted much freedom, had received a comparatively broad education, and had shown signs that he would make a good ruler; so much so that many of the liberal leaders, like Midhat Paşa, were eagerly looking forward to his accession. But in the later years of his uncle's reign Murad had fallen under suspicion of plotting to usurp the throne.[3] For this there may have been some grounds, for he is known to have had relations with Namık Kemal and other leaders of the Young Turk Society; in any case, it led to his being kept under close surveillance and he often went in fear of his life. In compensation for these troubles Murad became a confirmed alcoholic, and the combined effect was to make him a nervous wreck. So when Murad V became sultan his mind was, at least temporarily, unbalanced; the excitement and stress of his accession made necessary the indefinite postponement of the Girding Ceremony. Almost immediately afterwards came the shock of Abdülâziz's

[1] Including the father of the historian Ata Tayyar Efendi, and Cevri Kalfa; see B. Miller, *Palace School*, 8. For Mustafa IV's death, see Şehsuvaroğlu, in *R.T.M.* iv. 1964.

[2] All the relevant documents are in Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 134–43 and İnal, *Sadrazamlar*, 516 ff.

[3] Şehsuvaroğlu, ibid. 51.

suicide, which not only increased his own nervous tension but served also to emphasize the strain of abnormality in the family. Soon after Murad received another blow with the assassination of the 'Serasker' Hüseyin Avni Paşa by Çerkes Hasan Bey, who was related to Abdülâziz through one of his wives.[1] The Sultan became more and more depressed and the ministers arranged for him to be examined by several doctors and even brought the famous mental specialist, Dr. Leidesdorf, from Vienna. The consensus of medical opinion was that, while there was some hope of an eventual cure—as in truth happened—the prospect of any immediate improvement was very doubtful.[2] In the circumstances Grand Vizir Rüşdü Paşa and the other Ministers decided that the only safe course was to declare the Sultan deposed, as there was no precedent for a regency.[3] In any case Abdülhamid refused to accept only the shadow of power, preferring to wait, if need be, for the reality. So on 31 August 1876 Murad V passed to a retirement in the Çirağan Sarayı which closely resembled imprisonment[4] and lasted twenty-eight years. His place on the throne was taken by his brother Abdülhamid II, who had been intriguing to that end for some time.[5]

When Abdülhamid II succeeded to the throne he gave guarantees —some say written ones[6]—to proclaim a Constitution and this was done in December of the same year. Three months later, having dismissed Midhat Paşa and the other liberal leaders, Abdülhamid dissolved the Chamber which had just been elected and suspended the Constitution; but it remained in people's minds as the ideal of government. For the next thirty years the Sultan ruled as an absolute despot, with subservient ministers and an empire-wide system of spies and denunciations.[7] In spite of this an underground opposition steadily grew; generically it was known as the Young Turk movement and was spread throughout the Ottoman Empire and among political exiles abroad; specifically there were various organizations, the most important of which was the 'İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti' (Committee of Union and Progress—or C.U.P.),

[1] Çerkes Hasan was a son of İsmail Bey and so a brother of 405/Nesrin, who was in the harem of Abdülâziz.

[2] Şehsuvaroğlu, ibid. 163; Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 38. 317. [3] See p. 48.

[4] Not unnaturally when one considers the attempts to restore him to the throne—see p. 29.

[5] Şehsuvaroğlu, ibid. 164–73. [6] Ibid. 171.

[7] A vivid picture of the effects of this system on the ordinary lives of the people is given in H. Edib's novel, *Sinekli Bakkal* (in English, *The Clown and his Daughter*).

centred in Macedonia. In 1908 the foreign relations of the Empire were in a dangerous state, chiefly because of troubles in the Balkans and consequent threats of interference by the Powers (the Anglo-Russian meeting at Reval). The C.U.P., therefore, showed its hand and various units of the Third Army Corps, stationed in Macedonia, revolted and demanded of the Sultan the restitution of the Constitution of 1876. Abdülhamid submitted to the limitation of his powers and on 23 July the Constitution was brought into force again. There was great popular rejoicing as the Young Turks took over the government with Kâmil Paşa as grand vizir, but they were inexperienced in the art of administration and divided among themselves as to their aims and interests.

Outwardly the most correct of constitutional monarchs—so that many observers believed him genuinely converted—Abdülhamid lost no time in planning the overthrow of the Constitution once again; he disbursed large sums of money to finance subversive activities and secretly gave his support to such reactionary groups as the 'Cemiyet-i Mehmediye' (The Muhammedan League). On 13 April 1909 a counter-revolution broke out among the troops garrisoned in the capital. Immediately Mahmud Şevket Paşa, commander of the Third Army Corps, rallied the forces at his disposal and marched on İstanbul without delay to re-establish the C.U.P. and the Constitution; he arrived in the city on 24 April and crushed the mutiny with little bloodshed. Two days later Abdülhamid was a virtual prisoner in Yıldız Sarayı and after a further twenty-four hours a deputation from the National Assembly visited him. Headed by General Esad Paşa, it announced to the Sultan the 'Fetva' of Deposition.[1] The same evening a further deputation informed the Sultan that he was to be transferred a prisoner to the Villa Allatini near Salonika; he left by special train in the early hours of 28 April. During the Balkan Wars, when Salonika was threatened by the enemy, the ex-sultan was brought back to İstanbul (1.10.1912) and spent the remaining years in Beylerbeyi Sarayı.[2]

It is clear that with the deposition of Abdülhamid II the sultans had moved into a new era, when they no longer had to deal with secret palace intrigues or the revolts of disaffected sections of their

[1] See p. 75, n. 1.

[2] His return to İstanbul in the German Embassy boat *Lorelei* is described in *R.T.M.* i. 1, by S. Lozan; his last days at Beylerbeyi in *R.T.M.* i. 562 by Z. Şakir. For the events of 1908–9 see the books of eyewitnesses like Abbott and McCullagh.

troops, but were faced with the openly expressed will of political parties—representative of large groups of the people—working through parliamentary institutions and backed by responsible military forces. Here at last was the rational fulfilment of the 'democratic contract' implicit in the dual institution of sultan-caliphate.

The last sultan to be deposed was the last of all the sultans, Mehmed VI Vahdeddin. The World War of 1914–18 left the Ottoman Empire crushed and dismembered but, for some at least of her people, suffering had only served to strengthen their patriotism. The Sultan and his government were cowed and completely submissive to every dictate of the Occupying Powers, but in Anatolia there was a rising wave of unrest, which might well prove a source of trouble between conquered and conqueror. To assert his own authority and at the same time satisfy the Allied demands, the Sultan on 15 May 1919 dispatched Mustafa Kemal Paşa to Samsun with a mission for the general pacification of Anatolia. Unwittingly Mehmed VI had chosen the one person in Turkey most bitterly opposed to the authorities in İstanbul and at the same time most capable of leading the Turkish people and binding them into a strong, compact nation. By 11 October 1922 (Armistice of Mudanya) Mustafa Kemal had united the country, fought a successful campaign against a foreign invader, and was in a position to treat on more than equal terms with the Sultan, his liege lord. Mehmed VI, on the other hand, seemed ready to take advantage of all that the Nationalists had gained and yet set them aside completely, with intent to retain all power in the hands of his own palace-government. But Mustafa Kemal was not the one to stand quietly by and watch the clock being put back; his reply was immediate, characteristic, and unmistakable. On 1 November 1922, under his directions, the Grand National Assembly sitting in Ankara abolished the sultanate, took over the government of the whole country—subject only to the controls of the Occupying Powers in İstanbul—and left Mehmed VI with only such shreds of power as attached to the caliphate. Thus checkmated and fearing to be put in prison, Mehmed VI decided on flight; he applied to the Powers for political asylum and escaped secretly on H.M.S. *Malaya*, first to Malta and then the Riviera.[1] As soon as the news of his flight was learned in Ankara the 'Şeriye Vekili' (Minister for Religious Affairs) issued, at the request of the Grand National

[1] See Şehsuvaroğlu, in *R.T.M.* i. 406, and Sertoğlu, in *T.D.* iv. 1342.

Assembly, the 'Fetva' of Deposition, accusing him of collusion with, and seeking the protection of, the enemy, and of abandoning the caliphate.[1] In one sense Mehmed VI can be said to have abdicated, since he left the country of his own volition; but he had certainly been deposed from the position of sultan, and the conditions in which he had been allowed to continue as caliph can at best be described as 'under duress'. Admittedly his flight was undignified and served to increase the unpopularity of himself and his dynasty; even such a friend as 2618/Şerif Ali Hayder could write in his diary: 'I was both amazed and disgusted at his action! May God preserve us from such a weak-kneed Sultan.'[2] Yet it was only the recognition of a *fait accompli*; had Mehmed VI chosen to remain and insist on his rights, the manner of his going might have been much more unpleasant.

This was the first step in Mustafa Kemal's logical plan for creating the New Turkey. On 18 November 1922 Mehmed VI's cousin Abdülmecid (II) was designated caliph and he assumed office six days later; but it was a ceremony shorn of all its glory and there could, of course, be no Girding with the Sword at Eyüb. Within a year the country had been proclaimed a Republic (29 October 1923) and all the time Mustafa Kemal was preparing the way to abolish the caliphate as well. Again Ali Hayder's comments are illuminating:

'I quite see that a Republic is more suitable under the changed conditions, provided that everything is placed on a sound footing. A Republic should give a better form of government to the people and enable them to progress. The Caliph, however, should be retained as the head of all the Muslims and his office respected; but I foresee that the trend of opinion in the government will lead to the abolition of the caliphate with the consequent disintegration of Muslims. This, to my mind, is bad; but the Turkish Imperial Family are largely to blame.'[3]

Abdülmecid was not unpopular at first, but he failed to appreciate the spirit of the times; by many little acts—from signing himself: 'Abdülmecid bin Abdülâziz Hân', to employing a veritable 'royal' language—he dug his own grave. 'Abdülmecid has tried to make

[1] Ibid. 407; the text is in İnal, *Sadrazamlar*, 1745.

[2] See Hayder, 250. There is a story that Talat Paşa had planned to get rid of Mehmed VI soon after his accession, because of incompatible policies; but it was abortive. See Sazlıdere, in *R.T.M.* iii. 1361.

[3] Hayder, 266. Mustafa Kemal had, in 1920, invited Abdülmecid to join the Nationalists, but the latter refused; see Ataker, in *R.T.M.* iii. 1498.

himself both a caliph and a sultan, and he has not properly associated himself with the National Party—neither has he tried to adapt himself to the changed conditions. If he had adopted the simple life of the caliphs of old, he might have saved himself and his position.'[1] These things made it all the easier for Mustafa Kemal to persuade his followers—many of them conservative and deeply religious—to his own way of thinking. His task was accomplished on 3 March 1924, when the Grand National Assembly voted the Abolition of the Caliphate. The wider international aspects of this decision, which of course directly affected the whole of 'Sunni' (Orthodox) Islam, have no place in this book.[2]

At the same time it was decided to rid the country of the remaining scions of the House of Osman; all members of the royal family were declared exiled and forbidden to return to Turkey—a provision which has been relaxed since 1947. So it was a numerous contingent which accompanied or prepared to follow the last Ottoman ruler on the night of 4 March 1924 on his journey from İstanbul to the frontier.[3]

It is thus possible to distinguish five separate groups in the list of depositions.[4] The first consists of three cases, spaced out over slightly more than a century and each one unique for the causes which brought it about: military defeat, premature abdication, and filial usurpation. The third and major group of eight depositions were much of a muchness; sometimes the sultans were to blame, but in every case action was taken by some small group aiming to improve its own position at the expense of a change of sultan. Only the last of these, the deposition of Abdülâziz, reveals the same feeling for the welfare of the state as marks the three depositions in the fifth group. Curiously, the three main groups are marked off from each other by depositions for madness, permanent and incurable in the case of Mustafa I, temporary in that of Murad V.

[1] Hayder, 268.

[2] These are discussed in Hayder, 270, &c.

[3] All this is described in a series of articles in *T.D.* i. 24, &c., by Yalkın, who was present during the negotiations with Abdülmecid. For the subsequent fate of these princes and princesses, see A. R., in *R.T.M.* i. 480, and Örik, in *R.T.M.* iii. 1782. The law imposing permanent exile on the House of Osman was modified in 1947 and 1951; some members have since returned to Turkey and have reassumed Turkish nationality, see newspaper reports (*Cumhuriyet*, &c.) for 22 Oct. 1953 and 17 March 1955; typical of these are 1430/Fatma Ulviye and her husband 2723/Ali Haydar.

[4] See Table XI, p. 76.

Except for the depositions of the first group, the legal procedure for deposition was always completed, application for a 'Fetva' being made to the 'Fetva Emini', an officer under the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm'. Attributed to a fictitious person, the sultan's faults were set out in detail; the hypothetical question was then put whether such a person, if sultan, would have merited deposition.[1] The 'Fetva Emini' and his superior were always sufficiently alive to the current political issues—and the safety of their own skins—to give an affirmative answer, but the due process of law was never neglected.

Once deposed, a sultan had to retire completely from the scene of action, even if he avoided a more tragic fate. Young Mehmed II was sent back to his province, while the aged Bayezid sought to retire to Dimetoka. From the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth, the ex-sultans spent their remaining years in the 'Kafes'. But, beginning with Abdülâziz, a more enlightened policy prevailed and they were allowed to retire under close guard to some smaller palace or were sent into exile.[2] The salient point is that under Muslim Law there could not be two sultans—once one had been effectively deposed by 'Fetva' and replaced, he ceased to have any rights to the throne. There was, therefore, never any question as to who was the rightful sultan and who the usurper: *de facto* was also *de jure*. As a result few attempts were ever made to replace a deposed sultan and—excepting Mehmed II and Mustafa I—they all ended tragically; İbrahim, Selim III, and Mustafa IV lost their lives and Murad V's imprisonment became more strict.[3]

No dynasty in history, showing such a general record of permanence as the 650 years of the House of Osman, has at the same time been so subject to individual upheavals, with its total of seventeen depositions shared among thirty-seven rulers.

[1] Typical is the 'Fetva' of Abdülhamid II, quoted in Abbott, *Turkey*, 258. 'Question: If Zeid, Imam of all the Faithful, after having caused certain holy books to be burned, appropriated public estates contrary to the Sacred Law, killed, imprisoned and banished many of his subjects, and after having perpetrated all sorts of other abominations swore to re-enter the path of righteousness, but broke his oath and raised a civil war; if from many parts of the country came messages that they consider the aforesaid Zeid as deposed; and if it were beyond doubt that his preservation would be prejudicial, while his deposition might be beneficial—is it lawful either to ask him to abdicate his office of Imam and Sultan, or to dethrone him according as men competent and wise may think best?—Answer: Yes.'

[2] Abdülâziz to Feriye Sarayı, Murad V to Çirağan Sarayı, Abdülhamid II to Villa Allatini and Beylerbeyi Sarayı; Mehmed VI and Abdülmecid (II) to exile in the south of France.

[3] See p. 52.

TABLE XI. *Depositions*

	Sultan	*Date*	*Comments*
A.	4/Bayezid I	28. 7. 1402	By Timur; military defeat; survived for eight months.
	7/Mehmed II	9. 1446	By Vizirs and Janissaries; for incapacity; re-accession five years later.
	8/Bayezid II	24. 4. 1512	By Selim I and Janissaries; for incapacity; survived one month.
B.	15/Mustafa I	26. 2. 1618	By Vizirs; for madness; re-accession four years later.
		10. 9. 1623	By Vizirs; for madness; survived sixteen years.
C.	16/Osman II	19. 5. 1622	By Janissaries; for attacks on Janissaries; assassinated one day later.
	18/İbrahim	8. 8. 1648	By popular ill will and palace intrigue; for luxury and military failure; assassinated after twenty days.
	19/Mehmed IV	8. 11. 1687	By Vizirs; for military failures; survived five years.
	22/Mustafa II	23. 8. 1703	By Vizirs; for military failures and Feyzullah scandal; survived four months.
	23/Ahmed III	1. 10. 1730	By Patrona Halil and the Army; for military weakness and luxury; survived six years.
	28/Selim III	29. 5. 1807	By Janissaries; for Western ideas and attacks on Janissaries; assassinated after fourteen months.
	29/Mustafa IV	28. 7. 1808	By Alemdar Mustafa Paşa; for revenge; assassinated after four months.
	32/Abdülâziz	30. 5. 1876	By Vizirs; for luxury and financial failures; committed suicide after five days.
D.	33/Murad V	31. 8. 1876	By Vizirs; for presumed madness; survived twenty-eight years.
E.	34/Abdülhamid II	27. 4. 1909	By Young Turks; for unconstitutional despotism; survived nine years.
	36/Mehmed VI	1. 11. 1922	By Turkish Nationalists; for reaction and intrigues with the Occupying Powers; survived three years.
	37/Abdülmecid (II) only Caliph	3. 3. 1924	By Turkish Nationalists; for reaction; survived twenty years.

XI

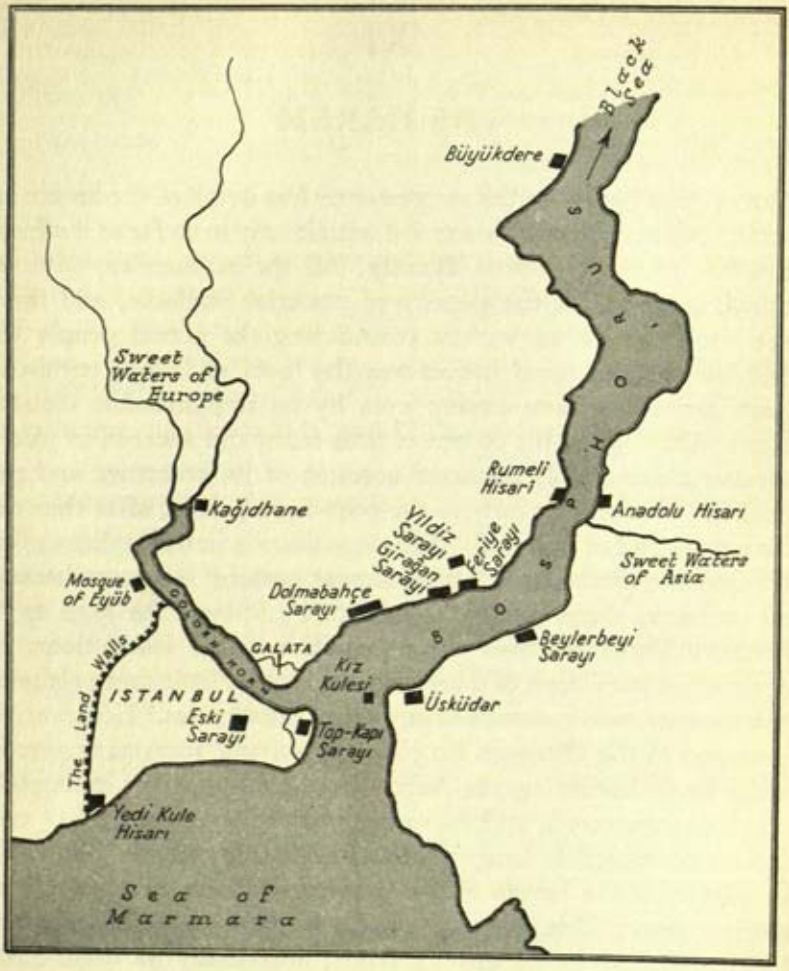
THE HAREM

THERE exist many studies in greater or less detail of the harem as a whole,[1] but here we are concerned with it only in so far as it affected members of the Ottoman dynasty. All the authorities, with one accord, complain of the paucity of material available, and this is even more true when we are considering the actual people who inhabited it. The royal harem was the 'holy of holies' within the Saray, protected from prying eyes by an impenetrable cloud of taboos. Although in the course of time many did succeed in piecing together a reasonably accurate account of its structure and personalities, this applies only to the post-1453 period, after the court was established in İstanbul. Of its organization in the earlier capitals of Yenişehir, Bursa, and Edirne almost nothing is known because, one suspects, there was very little to be known. As long as the Ottoman Turks retained their primitive tribal institutions, the harem must have been of a very simple nature, little more elaborate than the women's quarters of any other tribal ruler.[2] However, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the sultans' increasing prestige in the lands bordering the Aegean, coupled with the example of luxurious ceremonial still surviving at the Byzantine court,[3] must all have combined to bring about a heightening of the dignity and complexity of the harem of the Ottoman sultans, as a little 'court within a court'. This process probably began with the transfer from Bursa to Edirne in Murad I's reign; admittedly its organization must have suffered severely during the Interregnum, although 540/ Emir Süleyman did maintain some state at Edirne. It is clear, however, that its machinery was functioning steadily once more by the time of Murad II, when we see the preparations made for the

[1] It figures largely in the accounts of the old travellers, there are special studies like those of B. Miller and Penzer, and detailed references in Gibb and Bowen, i. 73 ff., and Lybyer, *passim*.

[2] An interesting, if imaginative, picture of Osman I's harem is to be found in Tülbentçi's novel *Osmanoğullari*, *passim*.

[3] Which Orhan, for one, must have witnessed at the time of his relations with 1531/ John Cantacuzenus.



İSTANBUL AND ITS ENVIRONS

Scale 1:187,500

selection of a bride for Mehmed II and for the reception of the chosen 120/Sitt Dulkadırlı.[1]

When Mehmed II had conquered Constantinople, he proceeded to build a palace in the centre of the city (the site of the present University) and after some time the harem was brought there from Edirne. Later Mehmed II decided to build a second and more magnificent palace, the one known to history as Top-Kapı Sarayı (Cannon-Gate Palace), on the site of the ancient Byzantium. At first, this was kept entirely separate as an administrative building, while the Sultan's family remained in the earlier palace, which came to be known as the Eski Saray (Old Palace). Gradually the harem sought to infiltrate into the newer buildings, but it was not until a fortunate fire destroyed her apartments, *c.* 1550, that 151/Hurrem Sultan could persuade Süleyman I to grant her permanent quarters in the Top-Kapı Sarayı. By 1585, however, all the principal ladies had been transferred there,[2] the Eski Saray being reserved for women who had lost their status in the harem. The harem was thus established on the doorstep—or, more exactly, the back-doorstep—of the 'Divan' (Council-chamber) and the way was open for expansion into politics and so to the 'Kadınlar Saltanatı'.

There the harem remained, with minor excursions to Kağıdhane, Üsküdar, Büyükdere, and occasionally to Edirne, until the nineteenth century, when the sultans began building on an extensive scale along the shores of the Bosphorus. Then the harem came to be housed successively in Dolmabahçe Sarayı and Yıldız Sarayı; under Mahmud II the Eski Saray was appropriated to the War Ministry and so its female inmates were allowed to enjoy the faded glories of the Top-Kapı Sarayı.

Apart from the multitude of female slaves and eunuch-guards, the harem contained a group of women chosen for their beauty and destined for the pleasure and service of the sultan. They were organized in pyramidal form, at the base of which were the 'Şagirdeler' (Novices),[3] from which class, after wholesale eliminations, the most talented in arts and beauty were promoted to be 'Gedikliler' (Privileged Ones). It was at this stage that they first came into

[1] See Babinger, *Sitt*, 223. [2] Lybyer, 121; Z. Ergins in *T.D.* i. 362.

[3] It must be remembered that the harem was organized in the same way as the Palace School for men (see B. Miller's book). There were two chambers for the recruits, where they were taught housework, sewing, embroidery, manners and deportment, Islamics, dancing, music, and culture—see Lybyer, 78.

direct personal contact with the sultan and in accordance with his desires, he chose those who were to share his bed.[1] A girl thus honoured was known as 'Gözde' (In Favour) and if the relationship showed any signs of permanence, she was promoted to the rank of 'İkbal' or 'Hasodalık' (Fortunate), envied by all for her good fortune and courted for the influence she might wield.

Should the relations of the 'İkbal' with her master lead to the birth of a child, she rose still higher in the harem hierarchy. The mother of a son received the title of 'Haseki Sultan' (Princess Favourite), the mother of a daughter that of 'Haseki Kadın' (Lady Favourite). The four senior 'Hasekiler'[2] formed an inner group, who were in receipt of special incomes ('Has' or 'Başmaklık'—what might be called 'pin-money');[3] they dominated the social activities of the harem and were led by the 'Baş Haseki Sultan' (Chief), mother of the Sultan's eldest son.[4] But over all was the presiding genius of the 'Valide Sultan' (Princess Mother).[5] Her day of triumph came when her son ascended the throne and she succeeded as 'the first lady in the land', above all the 'Hasekiler'. Particularly during the Later Period, when son did not succeed father directly, the sultan's wives were relegated to the 'Eski Saray' at his death or

[1] The old story of the sultan dropping his handkerchief at the feet of the favoured girl is largely discredited.

[2] Under Mahmud I there were six and under Abdülhamid I seven. Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 152, and in *İ.A.* 'Haseki', says that the position of the 'Hasekiler' did not depend on the birth of a child, but this is contrary to the opinion of most of the old writers (such as von Hammer and d'Ohsson) whom he quotes.

[3] It was the wild extravagance of these payments under İbrahim which forced the vizirs to embark on a wholesale scheme for the sale of offices to raise extra revenue; this corruption gravely aggravated the decline of the Empire. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 233–4.

[4] 'And if it happened that the first begotten son of the Queen (heir to the Emperor) should die, and another of the Sultanas [*sic*] should have a second son, then her son being to succeed the deceased heir, she is immediately made Queen, and the former shall remain a Sultana only; so the title of Queen runneth from one Sultana to another by virtue of the son's succession.' Source unknown.

[5] Chalcocondyles, 116: 'Les Othomans ont d'ordinaire aussi peu d'amitié pour leurs sœurs qu'ils ont beaucoup de respect pour leurs mères; lesquelles peuvent facilement si elles ont tant soit peu d'adresse et de conduite, retenir l'empire que la nature leur a donné sur eux et avoir bonne part au gouvernement, mais si elles en abusent la milice ne le souffre pas, et contraint leurs fils à les renfermer au fonds d'un sérail.' Deny, in *E.I.*, 'Valide Sultanlar', points out that the title means 'Sultan Mother' and not 'Mother of the Sultan'. In the Early Period they had been known by the Seljuk title of 'Hatun' (Lady), but from the reign of Selim I this was changed to 'Valide Sultan'—Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 154, says from the time of Murad III. Other titles used were: 'Mehd-i Ulyây-i Saltanat' (Cradle of the Great Sultan) and 'Sedef-i Dürr-i Hilafet' (Shell of the Pearl of the Caliphate). See p. 83, Table XII.

deposition; so it was there that the new 'Valide Sultan' was to be found, and she was brought back to the harem with great ceremony.[1] Should there be no 'Valide Sultan' living, or should she die during her son's reign, the office and sometimes the title devolved on the Sultan's wet-nurse[2] or on the 'Hazinedar Usta' (Chief of the Harem Women), or occasionally on a stepmother of the new sultan.[3]

This is not the place to describe the 'Kadınlar Saltanatı'; suffice it to say that during the seventeenth century the ladies of the harem, led by the 'Valide Sultanlar', exercised enormous influence over the government of the Ottoman Empire. The most remarkable of these ladies were 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker and 245/Râbia Gülnûş, each of whom filled the office for two of her sons; the former achieved the greater distinction by virtue of the power she wielded. Even on the deposition of her second son İbrahim, she avoided relegation to the Eski Saray and retained power during the first three years of the reign of her grandson Mehmed IV, ruling with the title of 'Büyük Valide' (Grandmother).[4] In the end, however, the young Sultan's mother, 229/Turhan Hadice Valide Sultan, asserted her own rights and took part in the plot to assassinate Kösem.

On the death of a sultan the social structure of the harem collapsed. The 'Valide Sultan', if still alive, all his 'Hasekiler',[5] and any unmarried daughters were transferred to the Eski Saray.[6] The position of the 'Valide Sultan' was then hopeless, unless she had another son who might one day reach the throne. Similarly, the mothers of sons were confined *in perpetuo* unless their sons should

[1] For the 'Vâlde Alayı' (Mother's Procession) see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 154–6. Deny, ibid., quotes Andréossy to the effect that on this one occasion the 'Valide Sultan' might appear in public unveiled.

[2] Deny, ibid., gives her title as 'süt-valide', 'taya kadın', or 'daye hatun'.

[3] Abdülhamid II's mother died while he was still a boy and he was adopted by his stepmother 390/Perestu Hanım, who also took the title. The same thing happened to Mehmed VI.

[4] On many occasions she seems to have actually taken part in meetings of the Divan. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 251. From the letters published by Uluçay, *Haremden Mektuplar*, it is clear that from the earliest times the wives of the sultans interested themselves in political appointments, see *Y.T.D.* i. 162–3; and 361/Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan had quite a strong influence—see Şehsuvaroğlu, in *R.T.M.* iv. 2098.

[5] If any of these then married outside the Saray and it subsequently transpired that they were pregnant by the late sultan, any such children were not recognized. 593/Üveys P. is said to have been a son of Selim I, Grand Vizir Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa of Mustafa II, and Zülüflü İsmail Paşa of Abdülmecid I, but there is no proof of such parentage.

[6] The only exception was 430/Safinaz, whom Abdülhamid II obtained from his uncle's harem while Abdülâziz was still ruling—see Nuri, quoted in *T.D.* i. 444.

one day succeed to the throne, when they automatically became 'Valide Sultanlar'. From this it followed that the mother of the heir-presumptive was the person treated with the greatest deference in the Eski Saray. Mothers of daughters only were, it seems, free to leave the Saray and marry again, as were the late sultan's 'Gedikliler'. Daughters remained in the Eski Saray until such time as some future sultan saw fit to marry them to his vizirs; their only consolation was the annual visit of the sultan on the third day of 'Şeker Bayram' (Sugar Festival), when they also were allowed to present their congratulations to him.[1]

In spite of repeated attempts to limit the harem, it always tended to reach enormous proportions and at peak periods must have contained upwards of two thousand women. In 1861 Abdülâziz made heroic efforts at economy by disbanding his predecessor's extensive harem and by declaring that he would keep only one wife; but he ended his reign with seven 'Hasekiler' and about two hundred concubines of lesser rank.[2] It was not until after the dispersal of Abdülhamid II's harem that it was again reduced to reasonable proportions.[3]

[1] An interesting case was that of 1392/Fehime and 1393/Hadice, both daughters of Murad V, who were allowed to join Abdülhamid's harem on condition they never saw their father again. They repeatedly protested at not being married; finally their trousseaux were exposed at the palace and husbands were found.

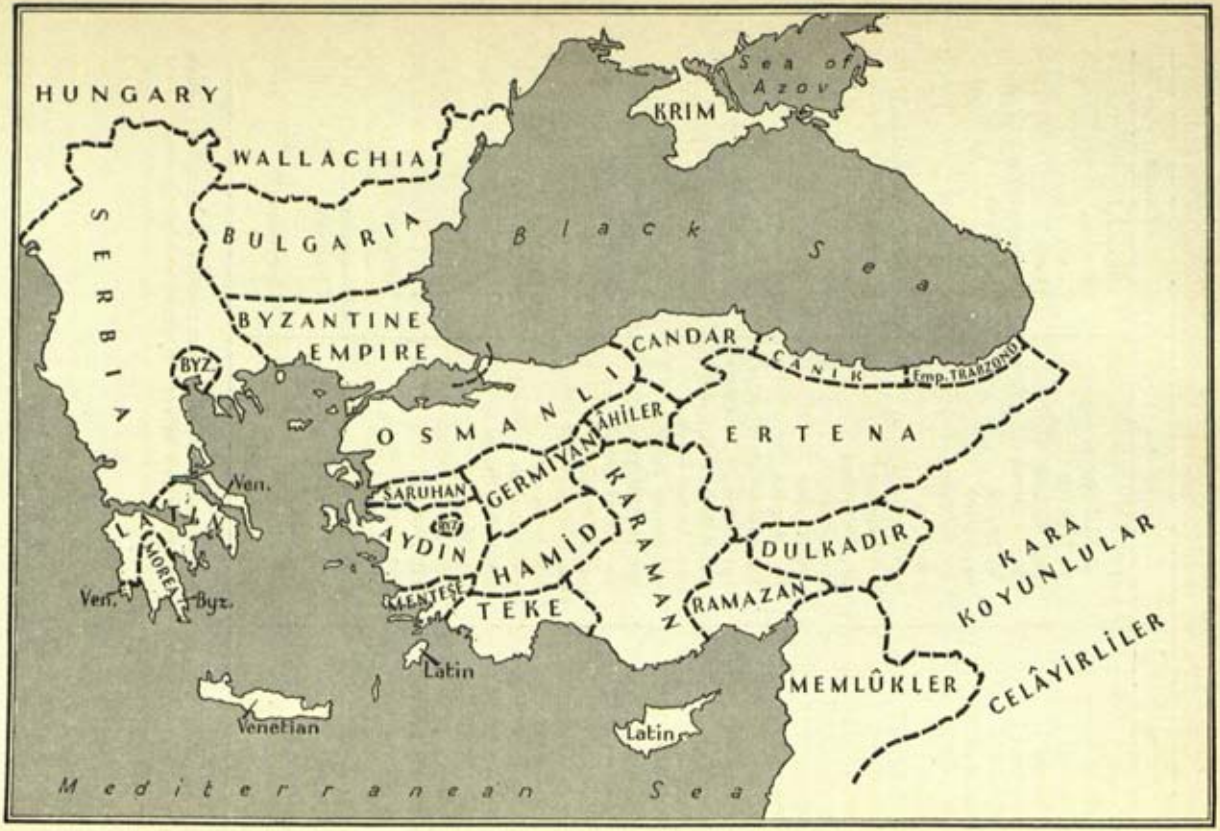
[2] Brockelmann, 369: 'But all İstanbul had an interest in the expenditure connected with the Harem; consequently it was impossible for him to swim against the stream and in a short time the new sultan developed into an arch-libertine.'

[3] McCullagh, 213, describes how relatives were summoned from the Caucasus and elsewhere to reclaim the women—the emotions engendered and the subsequent tragedies of maladjustment may be easily imagined.

TABLE XII. *Mothers of the Sultans*

Sultan	*Mother*	*Origin*
1/Osman I	?	Ottoman?
2/Orhan	56/Mal Hatun	Ottoman
3/Murad I	62/Nilüfer	Greek
4/Bayezid I	70/Gülçiçek	Greek
5/Mehmed I	82/*Devletşah*	Germiyanoğlu
6/Murad II	90/Emine	Dulkadırlı
7/Mehmed II	102/Hümâ	?
8/Bayezid II	115/*Gülbahar*	Ottoman
9/Selim I	130/Ayşe	Dulkadırlı
10/Süleyman I	141/*Hafise* (Hafsa)	Ottoman/Circassian?
11/Selim II	151/Hurrem	Slav?
12/Murad III	161/*Nûrubânû*	Venetian?
13/Mehmed III	173/*Safiye*	?
14/Ahmed I	180/*Handan*	?
15/Mustafa I	180/Handan	?
16/Osman II	192/Mâhfirûze (Hadice)	Greek?
17/Murad IV	191/*Kösem Mâhpeyker*	Greek
18/İbrahim	191/*Kösem Mâhpeyker*	Greek
19/Mehmed IV	229/*Turhan Hadice*	Russian?
20/Süleyman II	225/*Saliha Dilâşub*	?
21/Ahmed II	220/Hadice Muazzez	?
22/Mustafa II	245/*Râbia Gülnûş*	Cretan
23/Ahmed III	245/*Râbia Gülnûş*	Cretan
24/Mahmud I	265/*Saliha*	?
25/Osman III	266/*Şehsuvar*	Russian
26/Mustafa III	276/Mihrişah	?
27/Abdülhamid I	278/Râbia Şermi	?
28/Selim III	314/*Mihrişah*	Georgian
29/Mustafa IV	322/*Ayşe Seniyeperver*	?
30/Mahmud II	327/*Nakşidil*	?
31/Abdülmecid I	361/*Bezmiâlem*	Georgian
32/Abdülâziz	373/*Pertevniyal*	?
33/Murad V	396/*Şevkefza*	Circassian
34/Abdülhamid II	397/Tirimüjgân	Circassian
35/Mehmed V	382/Gülcemal	?
36/Mehmed VI	383/Gülüstü	Circassian
37/Abdülmecid (II)	403/Hayranidil	?

Note. Only the mothers whose names are in italics were entitled to be called 'Valide Sultan'; as far as is known, all the others died before the accession of their sons.



THE ANATOLIAN EMIRATES AND THE BALKANS

c. 1355

Scale 1 : 13,500,000

With acknowledgements to F. R. Unat

XII

MARRIAGES AND DIVORCE

THE key to the history of many dynasties lies in their marriage policies. The pattern of marriages[1] in the House of Osman is extremely complex, not only because of the influence of polygamy, but more because there are variations on five different types of marital union during four distinct periods. These periods[2] are: 'Early' (1280–1451), 'Transition' (1451–1520), 'Middle' (1520–1870), and 'Late' (1870–1924). The types of marriages are: first, with women of conquered peoples, Christian or Muslim, as a proof of subjugation or because of personal attractions; second, with women of Christian ruling families to cement alliances;[3] third, with women or men of Muslim ruling families, also to cement alliances; fourth, with women or men of Ottoman race; fifth, with female slaves of varied and generally unknown origin.

During the Early Period it is a little difficult to distinguish among marriages of the first three types. It often happened that, having defeated and occupied a state, the Ottoman Turks withdrew according to the terms of a treaty, which was to be guaranteed by a marriage between the two ruling families.[4] It is a moot point whether particular unions were arranged as a clear proof of subjugation or to solidify an alliance. Clearly, the marriage of Orhan with 62/Nilüfer of Yarhisar in 1299 symbolized the annexation of her father's estates, though her personal qualities may have counted as well.[5] But the series of marriages with the rulers of Serbia and Karamania were border-line cases. 81/Despina married Bayezid I subsequent

[1] Unless specifically given other meanings, the following words are used only in the general sense explained here: 'marriage' is any kind of union between the sultans or their sons and women, or between the sultans' daughters and men; the words 'husband' and 'wife' are used of the partners of any such union; 'harem' is the collection of a man's womenfolk.

[2] It is only in this chapter that the terms 'Early Period' and 'Late Period' have these particular meanings.

[3] There are no examples of the daughter of a sultan being given in marriage to a Christian ruler. See Table XXIV, Bayezid I, note 25.

[4] For example, (Ta)mara Shishman's marriage to Murad I, 1370, was a pledge of fealty to a new suzerain on the part of her brother, John Alexander III.

[5] von Hammer, i. 186, gives a strange story that later Osman I took Nilüfer from his son and made her his own third wife—incredible.

to the defeat of her father on the field of Kosova, 1389, but her marriage was equally the guarantee for the presence of Serbian troops at the Battle of Ankara in 1402.[1] The marriage of 103/Mara Brankovich to Murad II in 1435 was a continuation of this policy; in fact her father's 'only safeguard was the Sultan's belief that tributary states were more profitable to Turkey than annexation'.[2] Similarly, the marriage of 1020/Nefise, daughter of Murad I, with 1580/Alâeddin Karamanoğlu in 1378 marked a pause in the long struggle between these two rivals for power in Anatolia.

But this Early Period did see many purely diplomatic marriages, made for specific political reasons; examples may be cited among the numerous marriages with Byzantine princesses[3] and with members of the Dulkadırlı and Candaroğlu families. Professor Wittek has suggested that after the Interregnum Mehmed I followed a definite policy to set himself up as the leader of a new Turkish 'Millet' (Nation) and recreate the Ottoman Empire; therefore, for his own and his sons' wives he looked deliberately to the other Turkish ruling families and turned away from the demoralizing influence of marriages with Christian women.[4] At least it is certain that never again was a Christian wife to have such power as had been wielded by 81/Despina over Bayezid I.[5]

Apart from the two wives of Osman I—55/Bâlâ and 56/Mal—

[1] Gibbons, 182: 'Bayezid took Despina, daughter of Lazar, as wife by a formal marriage act, which was read in the mosque of Alacahisar, near Kruchevatz, at the foot of Mount Iastrebatz, twenty miles north-west of Nish. This was the last marriage ever contracted by a sovereign of the House of Osman.' The latter statement is clearly false; all the sultans down to Süleyman I contracted legal marriages, as did Osman II and İbrahim.

[2] *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 469. 103/Mara's marriage is notable for several features. First, the actual ceremony had to be postponed until she reached puberty. Then, when Mehmed II came to the throne in 1451, he sent his stepmother back to Serbia, out of generosity or indifference; there she quarrelled with her brother Lazar and had to seek sanctuary again with Mehmed. Thirdly, Mehmed II did lay claim to the Kingdom of Serbia by reason of this marriage—a most unusual procedure.

[3] Orhan's marriage to 63/Theodora Cantacuzenus was made by the Sultan to give him influence with the Byzantine Empire and also to free his hand in the West, whilst he took action against the Turkoman states in Anatolia. Compare the marriage of 537/Emir Mûsa to the daughter of 1630/Mirchea of Wallachia.

[4] Wittek, in *Belleten*, 27. 582. Fisher, 13, makes a similar point: 'Whereas Bayezid I had conquered these areas and had come to live and act as the successor of Byzantine and Balkan rulers, Mehmed I and Murad II married Turkish ladies and thoroughly identified themselves with the Turkish people. Thus, through marriage and a more tempered pressure, they regained control of Western Anatolia.'

[5] Later wives, who reached influential positions, may have been born Christians, but on entering the harem they were all converted to Islam.

there were not many cases of marriages with Ottoman women during the Early Period. Nor were there as yet many examples of a sultan's daughters being given to his leading officials, although 1685/Karaca Çelebi Paşa, 1701/Mahmud Çandarlı Paşa, and 1731/Zağanos Mehmed Paşa were thus honoured. As in later times, slaves proper were taken into the harem during this period, but probably on a small scale, and they are difficult to identify.

The Transition Period covers the three reigns of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and Selim I; during these seventy years there was a steady change of emphasis in the marriage-policy pursued by the sultans. Mehmed's harem was full of Christian women and their names are the record of his military conquests: 121/Tamara Phrantzes of Constantinople, 112/Anna Erizzo of Negroponte, 117/Helen Paleologus of the Morea, 119/Maria Gattilusio, and 111/Anna Comnenus of Trabzond. But these were not official marriages, for the sultans were beginning to feel too superior to have such formal relations with conquered peoples.[1] Of conquered Muslim women the chief representative was 142/Taclu, wife of 1915/Şah İsmail I, who passed into Selim I's harem for a short time after the Battle of Çaldıran, 1514, but was later presented to Cafer Çelebi.

There were no diplomatic marriages with Christians during this period, because the Ottoman Empire was now too powerful to require such instruments of policy. The only possible case was the romantic union of 570/Cem with 1772/Hélène de Sassenage, during his exile in France.[2] There were several marriage alliances with Dulkadırlılar and Ak-Koyunlular during the Transition Period, but these also were among the last of their kind.[3] The only other

[1] Whilst these women were all taken into the harem on the conquest of their countries, it is doubtful whether any of them achieved any degree of intimacy with Mehmed II. 112/Anna Erizzo is said to have been executed immediately for refusing his advances—W. Miller, *Latins*, 477; 111/Anna Comnenus was soon after presented to 1731/Zağanos Mehmed Paşa and later to Evrenuz Paşa.

[2] This is a convenient point to note that, in spite of repeated stories to the contrary, there is no satisfactory evidence of there ever having been any marriage between the sultans and the French royal family. Deny, *E.I.*, 'Valide Sultanlar', says they were all Turkish inventions to explain the favour shown to the French by the grant of the title 'Padişah' to the French king, &c. Equally, there is no evidence to substantiate the identification of Aimée Dubuc de Rivéry (cousin of Josephine Beauharnais) with Nakşidil Valide Sultan (mother of Mahmud II). Careful examination of Morton's *Veiled Empress* reveals no tangible support for the theory, but only a gross misuse of sources. See Table XLV, Abdülhamid I, note 3.

[3] The fact that both Dulkadırlılar and Safeviler were of the unorthodox Shii sect seems to have raised no obstacles to marriages with Sunni Ottomans.

Muslim powers were the Mamelukes of Egypt[1] and the Safeviler of Persia. With the latter one or two marriages did take place during the reign of Bayezid II, but they had no power to ward off the blows of Selim I, or to bring 1915/Şah İsmail an accession of Turkish territory.[2] Selim I also contracted a marriage with 140/Ayşe, daughter of 1950/Menkili Giray, Tartar Han of the Crimea, who was the widow of his brother 585/Mehmed. It is remarkable, when one considers the position traditionally occupied by the Krim Hans as possible heirs to the Ottoman Empire,[3] that this and the marriage of Selim's daughter, 1097/D., to 2065/Saadet Giray were the only marriages between the two families.

It was during this Transition Period, however, that the policy of marriages between the sultans' daughters and their most influential subjects began to develop on a broad scale. Bayezid II arranged a whole series of such marriages for his daughters, a policy which he had initiated while still only heir-presumptive; it paid excellent dividends in the form of support received in his struggle against 570/Cem, and one of his most loyal subjects was his son-in-law, 1976/Grand Vizir Ahmed Hersekoğlu. But even this type of marriage was one-sided; the sultans generally refused to take any of their own Turkish subjects into the harem and contented themselves with slaves of obscure origin.

Throughout the Middle Period, marriages of the first three types were non-existent, for there were no suitable dynasties with whom marriage-alliances on a basis of equality could be arranged, while the rulers of the subject states of the Ottoman Empire had already been absorbed. The sultans continued to take only unknown slaves into the harem,[4] while the princes were precluded from any form of marriage by the restrictions of the 'Kafes'. Thus marriages of the

[1] Fisher, 93, says that Bayezid II sent a daughter, 1082/D., to Cairo in 1501 to cement friendship with Egypt. The only other marriages traced are those of 1646/Hundi, a great-granddaughter of Bayezid I, and of 1779/D., a daughter of 570/Cem, but both were devoid of political significance.

[2] Of these marriages Fisher, 93, writes: 'It was *not the usual custom* in Turkey to give daughters of the Sultan in marriage to foreign princes, but Bayezid II disregarded this usage and married two daughters outside the empire.' Surely the above paragraphs and the genealogical tables show that such a statement is unjustifiable.

[3] See p. 15.

[4] There was one exception: in 1622 Osman II insisted on marrying 201/Ukayle, daughter of 2260/Şeyh-ül İslâm Haci Mehmed Es'adullah Efendi. He claimed that his intention was to purify the dynasty of debased slave blood, but the girl's dowry—reputed to be six hundred thousand ducats—was another potent reason.

fourth type were the only outlet and from this time forward increasing numbers of high officials married into the imperial family. Such great vizirs as 2036/Makbûl İbrahim, 2126/Rüstem, 2162/Mehmed Sokollu, 2347/Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa, 2366/Çorlulu Ali, and 2406/Nevşehirli İbrahim were but a few of the important figures who received the title 'Damad' (Son-in-law).

In the Late Period there were again no marriages of the first two types, for the same reasons as before. There were, however, occasional instances of members of the dynasty, both male and female, marrying individual Christians of European and American origin; but these had no dynastic significance and in more than one case the Head of the Family withheld recognition of the union.[1] With the reappearance of independent Muslim dynasties in the Near East—Egypt in the nineteenth century and the Arab kingdoms after 1918—a new series of marriages began with the ruling families of those countries, but these, too, were practically devoid of political importance. The only exception was the marriage of 1440/Dürrüşehvar Sultan, daughter of Caliph Abdülmecid (II), to the Prince of Berar, heir to the Nizam of Hyderabad. This took place in 1931, but it was clearly only the consummation of a long-standing alliance between the Caliph and the Nizam; the latter had been of great help to the Caliph during his short reign.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that in 1866 Grand Vizir Fuad Paşa insisted, for reasons of state, that Abdülâziz should not marry Tevhide, daughter of Khedive İsmail of Egypt, with whom he was infatuated. Such an alliance would have given the proposed father-in-law too much influence at court, and have raised difficulties had Tevhide wished to visit her own country. Fuad Paşa was dismissed, but his advice was respected.[2]

Marriages with the vizirs also continued until the downfall of the dynasty; one of the last grand vizirs, 2559/Ferid Paşa, was generally known as 'Damad' Ferid. In this connexion it is interesting to note the marriages of 2535/Enver Paşa to 2532/Emine Sultan[3] and of 2616/İsmail Hakkı Bey to 2615/Behiye Sultan. The

[1] Indicated in the Tables by 'N. R.'; but these were mostly subsequent to 3 March 1924.

[2] See Tülbentçi, in *R.T.M.* ii. 1133.

[3] Emine Sultan was already engaged to a cousin, but Enver insisted on his choice. On going into exile in 1918, Enver confided his wife and family to his brother 2536/Kâmil, with the request that should Enver die, Kâmil would marry his widow. When Enver was assassinated in 1922, his brother loyally fulfilled the promise, in spite of the temporary scandal it caused. Z. Şakir, in *R.T.M.* i. 378.

philosopher Ziya Gökalp is said to have suggested that the imperial family needed strengthening by the infusion of new blood, which could best be provided by marrying some of the princesses to leading officers. His proposal pleased the leaders of the C.U.P. and Grand Vizir Hilmi Paşa advised Mehmed V to approve the measure.[1]

Having considered all the different types of marriages, certain more general matters, chiefly concerned with the diplomatic marriages, require further elaboration. It is of importance to discover whether there was any long-term policy behind the series of marriages with the different Turkoman dynasties of Anatolia.[2] Those with the Karamanoğulları were an attempt to appease or neutralize a power which the Ottoman Empire was not yet in a position to destroy. With the Dulkadırlılar the aim was rather to check the power of Karaman and Kara-Koyunlu, by establishing a force friendly to the Ottomans on their farther borders and thus be in a position to threaten them with war on both fronts.[3] Those with the Candaroğulları were equally strategic in intention: to safeguard the northern flank of the Empire and its lines of communication as it advanced south and east. At the same time these marriages were of value to the 'other partner' states, for Dulkadır and Karaman were being menaced by the Mamelukes, while Candar was eager to postpone the evil day of its own destruction. But, taking the Early and Transition periods as a whole, one can discern no general attempt to foster marriage-alliances with the intention of using them to extend the boundaries of the Empire. In fact, except for lands included in a dowry, the marriages were never made the basis for a claim to territory or to justify subsequent conquests.[4] It is also interesting that the later Chronicles, for all their interest in

[1] Z. Şakir, *R.T.M.* i. 378. Dr. Heyd says that he has never heard of such ideas; in any case they are based on false premises as such marriages of daughters could in no way affect the subsequent history of the dynasty.

[2] Atiya, *Crusade*, 21: 'It was not until the fifteenth century that the process of Turkish unification in Anatolia by means of marriages, intrigues and conquests was complete.'

[3] *E.I.* i. 960 says: 'As Dukas tells us, Sultan Murad II wished this alliance—Mehmed II with Sitt Hatun—in order to have an ally in the prince of Dulkadır against the Karamanoğulları and the Kara Yusuf.'

[4] D'Ohsson, 7. 88, says that dowries in land were never taken, but if this was the general rule there were exceptions, the most notable being the extensive lands round Kütahya which formed the dowry of 82/Devletşah Germiyanoğlu on her marriage to Bayezid I.

genealogy, never suggested that the Ottoman sultans were heirs by marriage of the Seljuk sultans of Rum. The explanation, in both cases, probably lies in the inferior status of women in Islam, so that the idea of any succession or inheritance through the female line was entirely foreign to their minds.[1]

The genealogical tables are also interesting for the marriages one expects to, but does not, find. The paucity of marriages with the Mamelukes, Safeviler, and Krim Hans has already been commented upon. But equally there was only one with the rulers of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and none with the early noble families of the Empire: Evrenuzoğulları, Mihaloğulları, Malkoçoğulları, and Turhanoğulları. In the Middle and Late Periods also one can discern no system in the bestowal of a sultan's daughters on leading vizirs; the grand vizirs and the 'Kapudan Paşalar' (Admirals of the Fleet) were often honoured, but a great many important vizirs never reached the eminence of 'Damad'. Only one of the great Çandarlı family married a princess; Hüseyin Paşa, conqueror of Crete, was passed over and likewise all but one of the vizir-members of the Köprülü family; Alemdar Mustafa Paşa and the great reformers like Midhat Paşa were equally neglected. Also, with one exception,[2] there were no marriages with the Ulema, though there is no indication whether this was a matter of religious or political principle or just coincidence.

In discussing the question of inter-marriage and its effects on the Ottoman dynasty, Professor Lybyer makes calculations regarding the amount of Turkish blood which remained to flow in the veins of the last Sultan.

> If Orhan be set down as of pure Mongolian descent, and if it be supposed, as is certainly near the truth, that all the mothers of succeeding sultans were not of Turkish blood, and if the mother be assumed to contribute to the child an influence equal to the father's, the proportion of Mongolian blood in the veins of the reigning Sultan, who is of the twentieth generation from Orhan, can readily be calculated, about one part in a million.

As the last four sultans and the last caliph were all of the nineteenth

[1] See p. 14.

[2] The one case is Osman II's marriage to the daughter of 2260/Mehmed Es'adullah—see p. 88, n. 4. İbrahim also tried to marry the daughter of 2292/Muid Ahmed Efendi. The only other connexion with the Ulema is the marriage of Abdülhamid I's granddaughter, 2477/Atiyetullah, to 2479/Molla Mahmud; their son, 2480/Ahmed Muhtar became 'Şeyh-ül İslâm'.

—and not the twentieth—generation from Orhan, the figure should be 'one part in five hundred thousand'.[1] Whilst Lybyer's general thesis, that the mothers of the sultans were usually non-Turks, is true, there were notable exceptions. Mehmed I's mother was 82/Devletşah Germiyanoğlu, Murad II's was 90/Emine Dulkadırlı, Bayezid II's was 115/Gülbahar (probably of Ottoman blood), Selim I's was 130/Ayşe Dulkadırlı, and Süleyman I's was 141/Hafise (perhaps of Ottoman blood). These reduce the proportion to one in sixteen thousand (1/16,384) and it is possible that the mothers of some of the other sultans were also of Turkish blood, though this is not so likely.[2]

From this follows a further question, whether the mothers had any direct influence on their sons, in such matters as the formation of character. In the period prior to 1600, when princes were often accompanied by their mothers when they were appointed to provincial governorates, it is quite possible that the latter did have a formative influence which would embody something of their own upbringing, either Christian or Muslim. This may have been the reason why Bayezid I, son of a Greek woman 70/Gülçiçek, was so ready to absorb the influence of his Serbian wife 81/Despina. But the matter is one for speculation rather than historical record.[3] Obviously, during the 'Kadınlar Saltanatı' the 'Valide Sultanlar' must have wielded immeasurable power over their sons, but one gets the impression that it was rather by direct interference than by the moulding of character. From the eighteenth century onwards their influence slowly declined as they were elbowed out of politics; then, perhaps, they went back to the more subtle way. At all times,

[1] Lybyer, 17. Actually 1/2 to the power 20 is 1/1,048,576 and not 1/1,148,576 as Lybyer gives; so the correct figure for the power 19 is 1/524,288. Danışmend, *O.T.K.* ii. 104, says the same thing: 'Especially from the time of Kanuni Süleyman I the Ottoman dynasty began to show a very strange fusion of sultans on the father's side with slaves on the mother's side. A special feature of this fusion was that for centuries the Turkish blood coming from the husband was mixed only with the foreign blood of the wives.'

[2] See Table XII, p. 83. The origin of Bayezid II's mother is discussed in Babinger, *Sitt*, 217. Possibly as a survival of exogamy, traditional among nomadic Turks, the sultans of the Middle and Late Periods usually chose their wives from women of the Circassian race.

[3] Pears, *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 673, says: 'Murad I was the son of a Christian woman, Nilüfer. . . . It is a question which has been discussed, whether the influence of his mother had any effect in moulding the character of her distinguished son. Murad seems to have possessed traits quite unlike those of his father and grandfather; a singular independence, a keen intelligence, a curious love of pleasure and luxury, and at the same time a tendency towards cruelty which was without parallel in his ancestors.'

however, the sultans seem to have bowed to their mothers' decisions in matters relating to the harem.

From the study of the people with whom the sultans and their children married, we pass on to consider the marriages themselves. Islamic Law allowed a man four wives, on condition that he maintained them all adequately, and an unspecified number of concubines.[1] The earlier sultans usually had several of the latter attached to their harem, but ranking above them were two or three wives of full legal status. Concerning the weddings in those days there are no records, but they presumably consisted of the simple religious ceremony normal in Islam,[2] followed by a great public feast for the leading members of the tribe. As the sultans became more powerful and their brides were more frequently daughters of important princes—both Muslim and Christian—whom it was politic to please, so also the weddings became more elaborate.[3] They ceased to be merely an occasion for public rejoicing and took on all the panoply and splendour of court ceremonial, with receptions, offerings of gifts and congratulations. Such was the marriage of Orhan with 63/Theodora Cantacuzenus. The fact that a new wife was a Christian did not affect the wedding ceremonies at all, although usually she was allowed to keep and practise her religion in private.[4]

In 1389 Bayezid I married 81/Despina, a princess of Serbia.[5] After her husband's defeat at Ankara she, too, was taken prisoner; it is said that Timur grossly insulted Despina by making her perform menial tasks and act as cup-bearer at table—all this in front of

[1] Brockelmann, 44. The essential proof of a legal marriage was the granting of a dowry; Süleyman I gave 151/Hurrem 'the position of a legal wife and bestowed a dowry upon her, an act which is the surest pledge of a legal marriage among the Turks. . . . The dowry is the only thing which distinguishes a lawful wife from a concubine; for no slave has a dowry.' Busbecq, 28, 118.

[2] Of a wedding in later times, Withers, in Purchas, 1588, writes: '. . . celebrating the nuptial rites; which is nothing else but in the presence of the Mufti to give each of them their assent to matrimony of which the Mufti maketh "Hoget" ["Hüccet"], that is an authentical writing or testification, not only of the consent of the two parties contracted, but also of the dowry which the King is to allow her (his daughter, being given in marriage).'

[3] See Babinger, *Sitt*, 224. Compare, 'This week took place in the city an event without precedent in the annals of previous Sultans. The Grand Signior [*sic*] took to himself as Empress a slave woman from Russia called Roxelana and great feasting followed' —records of Genoese Bank of St. George, quoted by G. Young in *Constantinople*.

[4] Such practice of Christianity 'behind the lines' of Islam must have been comparatively easy; on the position of religion in the marcher lands, see Wittek, *R.O.E.* 28, and Brockelmann, 258.

[5] See p. 86, n. 1.

the whole court and more particularly of her captive husband.[1] This story was seized upon by later writers[2] as a convenient explanation of why the succeeding sultans refused to contract legal marriages: for fear that their wives might be subjected to similar humiliations, a fate which would not be so shameful if it fell only on a concubine. Pleasantly chivalrous as such reasoning may be, it cannot be taken seriously.

To begin with, the explanation is more humiliating than the facts it argues by; it suggests that the Ottoman Empire was likely to suffer again and repeatedly, as it had just done at the hands of Timur. Put thus baldly, the argument would be an insufferable blow to Turkish pride; and, in fact, the Empire was at this time entering upon two hundred years of unchallenged supremacy. More to the point, however, there certainly were marriages subsequent to 1402. It is difficult to imagine that the respective families of 90/Emine Dulkadırlı (who married Mehmed I), 100/Hadice Candaroğlu (Murad II), 120/Sitt Dulkadırlı (Mehmed II), and 130/Ayşe Dulkadırlı (Bayezid II)—or, for that matter, of 103/Mara Brankovich (Murad II)—would have allowed them to enter the harem of an Ottoman sultan as mere concubines whose status would be entirely dependent on their masters' will and whim. In support of this contention one has only to consider the elaborate embassies which were sent out to fetch both 103/Mara and 120/Sitt—as previously for 82/Devletşah—and the magnificent reception which the latter, at least, received on her arrival at court.[3] In this respect, one other case may be cited: that of 140/Ayşe Giray who married Selim I. Her previous marriage to his deceased brother 585/Mehmed, added to her lineage, marked her as a free Muslim woman, who could not be taken into the harem as a slave; here also there must have been a legal marriage.

The actual change in policy in this matter of legal marriages seems to have come about during the reign of Selim I, though no

[1] Arabshah, 188: 'As soon as the cloud of veils were scattered from the sun of the cup-bearers . . . İbn Othman [Bayezid I] saw that the cup-bearers were his consorts and that all of them were his wives and concubines; then the world seemed black to him.'

[2] Busbecq, 28, says: 'Those who followed Bayezid on the throne abstained from marrying wives so that whatever fate befell them, they might not suffer a similar misfortune, and only begat children by women occupying the position of slaves, upon whom, as it was thought, disgrace would fall less heavily than upon legal wives.'

[3] von Hammer, iii. 255; Danışmend, i. 64, 191; Babinger, *Sitt*, 224.

specific rules were made; it probably arose from two factors already touched upon. Firstly, by 1520 there were no independent Christian or Muslim dynasties surviving with which marriage alliances on a basis of equality could be contracted.[1] Secondly, as a corollary of this, the Ottoman sultans had by that time come to consider themselves too powerful to recognize any status of equality in the women of another dynasty. The sultans became more and more aloof, while marriage alliances, ceasing to be necessary to Ottoman diplomacy, became abhorrent as likely sources of intrigue, whether among foreign states or powerful subjects.[2] A third explanation lies in the sudden expansion of the Slave Household and particularly of the harem, consequent on the capture of Constantinople,[3] when legal marriages would have laid too great a financial strain on the Empire.[4]

After 1520 only three legal marriages took place. The earliest was that of Süleyman I to 151/Hurrem Sultan. She had entered the harem as a slave-girl, probably when he was a provincial governor in Kefe, had found favour with her master and borne him a child—presumably 604/Şehzade Mehmed.[5] Her new position as a mother gave Hurrem her freedom and Busbecq tells that she then withheld herself from Süleyman until he would agree to legalize their

[1] Gibbons, 183, n. 2, rather begs the question by saying: 'At a time when family alliances meant so much in Europe, the Ottoman Empire suffered greatly from this disability.' One can hardly imagine an Austrian Archduchess entering the harem of a seventeenth-century sultan, or the latter's daughter becoming wife of the czar of all the Russias. There is, however, a rather fanciful story of Murad V and Abdülhamid II getting entangled with an English princess during their visit to London in 1867. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 40, and in *R.T.M.* i. 211.

[2] However, as Deny, in *E.I.*, 'Valide Sultanlar', points out, possible pressure from a wife's family was occasionally replaced by that of the 'patron' and his political associates. By 'patron' he presumably means the man who had presented a particular slave to the sultan. Any such influence must have been very tenuous once the girl passed into the harem.

[3] Lybyer, 45 ff.

[4] Rycaut, 155, deals with both these ideas and points out that the 'Başmaklık' (Pin-money) for a wife should have been equal to that of the Valide Sultan, 'which is four or five hundred thousand dollars [*sic*] yearly rent; so that were this custom in use, and meeting with the disposition of some Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of the Women. . . . Besides were it the custom for the Sultans to take wives it would contract that main principle of Policy amongst them, of avoiding Alliances and foreign Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principal reason of the murder of Sultan Osman, it being objected that he had marryed a Soltana [*sic*] whereby he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the Fundamental Constitution of the Empire.' Rycaut does not make it clear that Osman's wife was one of his own subjects, but this does not invalidate his argument. The financial side is also mentioned by Withers, in Purchas, 1588: 'Sometimes the Queen was wont to be wedded to the King, but now she passeth without the "Kebin", that is without an assignment of any jointure.'

[5] See Table XXX, Süleyman I.

marriage.[1] Then, as already seen, Osman II insisted on marrying the daughter of the 'Şeyh-ül İslâm' in 1622, and in 1647 İbrahim, infatuated with his slave-woman 228/Telli, went through a form of marriage with her after which she took the name Hümâşah. Both marriages were considered contrary to the best interests and the customs of the Empire, and were among the causes for the subsequent depositions of the two sultans concerned. In later times, when it was occasionally discovered that presumed slave-women were in reality free-born Turks, the sultans did marry them quietly, but this was a matter of conscience not politics.[2]

That there were normally no marriages is clear from the system of promotion in the harem. The sultan had relations with his slave-women at pleasure, but as soon as one gave birth to a child, she advanced to the rank of 'Haseki'; the chief of these, the mother of the first male child, was second only to the 'Valide Sultan' within the harem.[3]

From the sultans' marriages we turn to those of his children. Prior to 1600 those sons who were sent out to provincial governorates and had reached puberty, set up their own miniature harem of slave-girls under the eagle eye of their mothers, who usually accompanied them. If they were to be partners in some more brilliant marriage alliance, then the sons were recalled to the capital for the occasion: this happened to Mehmed II in 1449, when he was brought from Manisa to Edirne for his marriage to 120/Sitt Hatun. After 1600 the rule of the 'Kafes' shut the princes off from all normal relations with women and this continued until after 1870, when greater freedom was granted them to maintain private establishments.

With the daughters of the sultans it was a different story. In the early days quite a number of these became instruments of foreign

[1] Busbecq, 118, says that concubines 'obtain their freedom if they bear children. Advantage was taken of this privilege by Roxolana [Hurrem], Süleyman's wife, when she had borne him a son while she was still a slave. Having thus obtained her freedom and become her own mistress, she refused to have anything more to do with Süleyman, who was deeply in love with her, unless he made her his lawful wife, thus violating the custom of the Ottoman sultans.' This is supported by the Genoese Bank records—see p. 93, n. 3—but the date given, 1546, is very late.

[2] D'Ohsson, vii. 64, writes: 'S'il n'en a pas la preuve et qu'il veuille néanmoins vivre avec elle, il doit pour le repos de sa conscience l'affranchir et l'épouser. Le Sultan épouse alors sans le moindre appareil son esclave affranchie, en présence du Mufti.' Deny, *E.I.*, 'Valide Sultanlar', instances Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I as doing this, but does not say with which wives. After the Restoration of the Constitution in 1908, Abdülhamid II freed many of his slave-women.

[3] See p. 80.

policy[1] and set off with their dowries for harem life in one or other of the Turkish states in Anatolia. But these were a minority compared with the number of princesses who were married to Ottoman vizirs, from 1701/Çandarlı Mahmud Paşa in 1424 to 2559/Ferid Paşa in 1886 and 2535/Enver Paşa in 1912. In general the daughters were not significant figures in the Ottoman body-politic; the most famous was 1100/Mihrimâh Sultan, wife of 2126/Rüstem Paşa, who, with her husband and mother, played an important part in the reign of Süleyman I. 2162/Mehmed Sokollu's wife 1110/Esmahan Gevher Sultan was also influential. Further, one can see the value to a sultan of his daughters as an aid in winning over the support of his most powerful subjects; this was particularly true in the case of Bayezid II who was allied by marriage to most of the great vizirs. Another example of this is the way in which 191/Kösem Mâhpeyker Valide Sultan maintained her position partly by marrying her daughters to different vizirs.[2]

The position of the husbands of these princesses was an equivocal one, often unenviable and almost unavoidable, though there is the record of at least one vizir who refused the honour.[3] The title 'Damad' (Son-in-law) was within the reach of the humblest of the sultan's subjects but, whilst it might bring him power and influence,[4] it certainly did not in the least particle bridge the gap between subject and sovereign.[5] The conditions under which a pasha married

[1] On several occasions in the Early Period, the princesses did act as definite ambassadors; 1020/Nefise Sultan (daughter of Murad I) repeatedly acted as mediator between Ottoman and Karaman forces, while 1042/Selçuk (A) Sultan (daughter of Mehmed I) tried to smooth over the difficulties between Bayezid II and Cem. In 1499 a sister of Bayezid II was a member of an embassy to the new Mameluke Sultan, Kansu.

[2] Her three daughters, 1152/Ayşe, 1153/Fatma, and 1154/Gevherhan, were all married in infancy and, when a husband died or was executed, a new marriage was soon arranged: Ayşe probably had six husbands, Fatma six, and Gevherhan three.

[3] 2338/Sarıkçı Mustafa Paşa refused to marry a daughter of İbrahim, but in 1675 was persuaded to marry 1202/Hadice, daughter of Mehmed IV.

[4] Mordtmann, in *E.I.*, 'Damad', writes: '*Till* the time of Süleyman I, the "Damad" were usually sent into the provinces as governors to prevent their having any personal influence on the affairs of the Sublime Porte.' Should it not read '*After* the time . . .', for there were comparatively few such marriages before the time of Süleyman I, and they were all with men about the court?

[5] Knolles, Introduction: 'Where the prize is for vertue and valour set up, and the way laied open for every common person, be he never so meanly born, to aspire. . . even unto the nearest affinity of the Great Sultan himself, if his valour and other worth shall so deserve.' But Withers, in Purchas, tells us: 'The pashas and other subjects, though by marriage they become uncles, sons-in-law or cousins to the Grand Sultan, may not by virtue of their affinity challenge any more familiarity or freedom with his Majesty than if there were no such matter of kindred between them . . . they remaining

into the sultan's family were arduous. First he had to put away all the women already in his harem, even though they were mothers of his children;[1] then he had to bring many costly presents ('Ağırlık') and pay a heavy dowry ('Kebin'); he was subjected to many humiliations, symbolized by the dagger ('Hançer') which his wife always wore; finally he could be put away by his wife, in favour of another, if she so wished. In return, the princess usually brought with her some dowry from the sultan, together with her own personal possessions and up to twenty of her slaves; a furnished palace was often provided for the couple and the wife received a stipend out of the 'civil list', of from 1,000 to 1,500 'akça' a day. Sometimes even a measure of affection was shown by the wife, as when 1111/Fatma Sultan pleaded for the life of 2175/Siyavuş Paşa from her brother Murad III. Mehmed IV's daughter 1202/Hadice Sultan insisted on joining 2339/Moralı Hasan Paşa in his province, just as 1176/Kaya Sultan joined 2243/Melek Ahmed Paşa, although this was contrary to custom.[2]

The ceremonies connected with the marriages of the sultans' daughters were usually magnificent and consequently a great drain on the resources of the Treasury.[3] Doctor Covel gives a very fine description of one such wedding in 1675, that of 2338/Sarıkçı Mustafa Paşa to 1202/Hadice Sultan.[4]

still slaves as the others do.' One exception was 2036/Makbûl İbrahim who, in his letters to his wife 1091/Hadice, speaks familiarly of the sultan as 'Kardeşim' (My Brother), and of the latter's wives as 'Abla' (Elder Sister) and 'Yenge' (Sister-in-law)—see Uluçay, *Aşk Mektupları*, 52. In any case there were compensations: 'All these bargaynes (appointments of Vizirs, etc.) are made by the Sultanas [*sic*] that are married to pashas.' Sherley, *Discours*, 4.

[1] Again an exception, 2036/Makbûl İbrahim seems to have been able to maintain a second wife, Muhsine Hatun, alongside his princess, 1091/Hadice Sultan. Uluçay, ibid. 61. Further, when 2497/Ahmed Fethi Paşa married 1331/Atiye (daughter of Mahmud II) she only discovered his previous marriage to 2498/Şemsinur Hanım afterwards and was very jealous indeed. If he did not come home at night, she would send men to fetch him. Öz, in *T.T.A.E.* v. 5, n. 1.

[2] In the Early and Transition periods princesses had always accompanied their husbands to the provinces they governed and—like a sultan's sons—could not move without the sultan's express permission; see the case of 1071/Fatma, given by Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* i. 338 and ii. 456. All this was changed, probably about the time the 'Kafes' was introduced.

[3] When Abdülmecid's daughter 1355/Fatma was married to 2554/Ali Galib Paşa in 1854, the Sultan spent more than forty million francs on the trousseau and wedding. Jonquière, i. 468.

[4] Covel, 227 ff. It covers: the bridegroom's present, the appointment of proxies, the drawing-up of the marriage-contract, and the settling of the dowry by the husband (equal to the annual revenue from Egypt—£33,750 sterling at that period). Then comes the procession of the dowry given by the sultan, the transfer of the bride from the Saray

A complication was brought into these marriages by İbrahim, when he began the practice of marrying off the princesses while still very young. As a result of the recently introduced 'Kafes' system, there were neither sons ready for circumcision feasts, nor marriageable daughters whose weddings would add splendour to the life of the court—and so distract popular attention from failures in governmental affairs. Moreover, and this was a very dangerous precedent, İbrahim was looking round for political support among his chief subjects. A third reason was purely financial: once the engagement ('Nişan') had taken place the prospective husband ('Namzet') was held responsible for the young princess's education and the maintenance of her household at a standard in accord with her position. These child marriages often came to a sudden end with the death of the husband, when the widow was married again to some other deserving vizir; in extreme cases a daughter might be married four or five times.[1] As these child-marriages could not be consummated until the bride reached puberty, it sometimes happened that after a whole series of marriages the princess was still a virgin. It is notable that, after the long break in royal births during the eighteenth century, Mahmud II refused to be hurried into marrying his daughters and patiently waited until they reached maturity before finding them husbands.

The only really inexplicable marriage is that of Selim I's daughter 1090/Fatma to her second husband 2266/İbrahim, for his descriptive names of 'Hadım' and 'Tavaşi' indicate that he was a eunuch.[2]

Of Divorce there is little to write, for although it is a matter easily arranged under Islamic Law, it hardly affected the marriages of the sultans and their children. If a sultan lost interest in one of his legal wives, married to him to cement some political alliance, he could not very well divorce her, but she retired from active court life; 120/Sitt Hatun is said to have spent most of her married life thus.[3] The

to her new home, and sports in celebration. In this connexion it should be noted that it is not always clear whether the date given for a marriage is that of the day when the husband's candidature ('namzet') first received official approval, or when the actual marriage took place. There was often a long interval between them, during which death sometimes intervened. Even when the marriage ('tezviç') had taken place, the consummation ('zifaf gecesi') might be some weeks later.

[1] See p. 97, n. 2, and add 1194/Gevherhan Sultan (daughter of İbrahim).

[2] For a more particular discussion of the marriage of eunuchs, see Penzer, 145.

[3] Babinger, *Sitt*, 228. Sometimes in the Early Period a sultan's wife was conveniently exiled by sending her to live with her son in his provincial governorate—see p. 18, n. 3.

mothers of a sultan's children, particularly of sons, could not be dispossessed either, but if out of favour they led a rather solitary life in the harem. With the concubines it was much simpler: they could be ignored, exiled to the Eski Saray, or married to some courtier. The same remarks apply to the wives of the sons of the sultans, during the period when they could maintain a harem. But neither for the sultans nor their sons was divorce ever really necessary, for their harem was sufficiently large to offer discreet asylum for the unwanted. For daughters of the sultans, the situation was even easier; the princesses always retained a position of great superiority over their husbands and could divorce them at will,[1] though it is not unlikely that on some occasions an embarrassing husband was removed by more violent means. On the other hand, a princess could only be repudiated by her husband with the express permission of the sultan.

Brockelmann[2] describes divorce in the Muslim world as a 'necessary compensation for the separation of the sexes, which almost excludes marriages of affection', and it was certainly so considered during the years after 1876. The princes of that period, newly freed from the restraints of the 'Kafes' system, but still prevented from taking an active part in the life of the Empire, indulged freely in the pleasures of the harem, while their fundamental instability showed itself in a disproportionate series of divorces. Moreover, their example was soon followed by the princesses, so that the last years of the dynasty were marked by a collapse in social morality which the people were not slow to notice; it was the people's repudiation of this 'amorality' which largely facilitated the task of the Nationalists in overthrowing the dynasty. It was some of these marriages which failed to receive the recognition of the head of the family.

[1] Jonquière, i. 177, says: 'Un jour 2058/Lütfi Paşa avait ordonné qu'une mahométane, surprise au milieu de ses débauches fût mutilée à coups de rasoir. La barbarie de cet ordre révolta tous les esprits de sa femme 1094/Şahhuban. La princesse indignée lui fit les reproches les plus vifs et les plus amers . . . l'accabla d'injures, le traita d'impudent, de barbare, de tyran. Transporté de colère, le ministre met la main sur une masse d'armes et se précipite sur elle. Aux cris de la sultane, les filles esclaves et les eunuques préposés à la garde volent à son secours. Süleyman blâma hautement la conduite de Lütfi Paşa, ordonna sa séparation de la sultane, le dépouilla de sa dignité, et l'envoya en exil à Dimetoka', where he wrote history.

[2] Brockelmann, 44.

XIII

BIRTHS AND CIRCUMCISIONS[1]

THE student of Ottoman history tends to gather the impression that all the sultans had very large families; the hyper-virility of Murad III, Ahmed III, and Abdülmecid I—who each had more than forty children—obscures the complete sterility of Mustafa I, Süleyman II, Osman III, and Selim III. In reality the families of the sultans averaged only fourteen children, a figure which is not inordinately large, considering the number of wives available. Further, the two sexes were almost equally represented among the children, with an average of seven sons and seven daughters. These figures apply equally to the whole dynasty and to the two periods, Early and Late, taken separately. To continue the statistical study, in a total of over five hundred births, there appear to have been less than a dozen cases of twins. It is of course possible that there had been others in earlier times but, considering the celebrations which marked the birth of Ahmed II's sons 710/İbrahim and 711/Selim in 1692, it is unlikely that any previous case of twins would have passed unrecorded.[2]

Reasons for the comparative smallness of the families are not hard to find. In the Early Period, even though they contracted many unions for diplomatic advantages, the sultans were generally faithful to one or two wives; Osman I had his 55/Bâlâ Hatun, Orhan his 62/Nilüfer, Bayezid I his 82/Devletşah and 81/Despina, and Süleyman I his 151/Hurrem Sultan. Moreover, these early sultans were largely fighting men, engaged on protracted military operations. It was only in the short intervals between campaigns that warriors liked Mehmed II, Selim I, and Süleyman I would partake of the pleasures of the harem. In this respect the sultans seldom tried to mix pleasure with business; unlike 1915/Şah Ismail, the Turkish

[1] Throughout this chapter particularly, it is necessary to remember that the information set out in the genealogical tables is incomplete. In spite of every effort it is almost certain that, firstly, some births, especially those of daughters, have not been included, because they were never recorded. Secondly, some of those given anonymously as 'S' or 'D' should be identified with previously named children—but which ones? Thirdly, many dates of births and deaths are missing, a fact which invalidates to some extent the statistical calculations.

[2] See Cantemir, 386. For a list of twins, see Table XIV, p. 106.

sultans were not accompanied by members of the harem while on campaign. Nor did the latter normally travel with the sultans on any of their journeys through the Empire.[1]

With the gradual demoralization of the sultans, which began with Selim II and was brought about by the change to a life of ease and luxury, there came for a short time a rapid increase in the size of the sultans' families, the crowning achievement being the reported one hundred-odd children of Murad III.[2] But very soon the devitalizing effect of the 'Kafes',[3] instituted at about this time, began to act as a strong counter-balance, so that on the average families were no bigger, while cases of complete sterility occurred and the rate of infantile mortality increased steadily.[4]

All children born in the harem, whether of legally married wives, foreign princesses, or slave women, were legitimate and of equal lineage in the eyes of Islam, on the one condition that they were acknowledged by their fathers.[5] In this respect it is notable that the development of the harem ruled out any legal significance or family pride in the maternal line of descent.[6] But the birth of a child, and more particularly of a son, greatly influenced the position of the mother within the harem hierarchy, so that the early deaths of many infant sons must have ruined numberless dreams of greatness.[7]

In the Early Period children were often born to the sons of

[1] This only applies after the seclusion of the harem was established in 1453. Even then 151/Hurrem Sultan seems to have enjoyed certain privileges, and travelled to Bursa. The only one who travelled widely was 245/Râbia Gülnûş, who followed her husband, Avcı Mehmed IV, on many of his hunting expeditions in Thrace.

[2] The figure generally given, 104, is almost certainly an exaggeration; in the tables it has been possible to account for only 56, and then in a most arbitrary manner.

[3] See p. 34. Lamb, 268, strangely talks of 'the disastrous *inbreeding* of the Harem', but there is no evidence at all for such a statement; the odd cases of marriages between cousins did not affect the main line of the dynasty at all.

[4] It may be that the 'increase' in infantile mortality is illusory and results only from more detailed records being available in the Later Period; but extensive study of the genealogical tables, together with a consideration of the conditions of life in the harem of the Saray, compared with the less inhibited existence of women and children in the Early Period, will suggest that the 'increase' was real. At any rate the smooth flow of the Succession was most in danger after the 'Kafes' had been substituted for Fratricide. The figures are as follows: from Ahmed I (1603) to Abdülmecid (II) (1924), 62 out of 147 sons and 46 out of 174 daughters died before reaching their tenth birthday, most of them in early infancy. The difference in percentages, as between the sexes, 43·6 to 26·4, is normal and supports the figures. Comparable figures for the Earlier Period cannot be given, since few dates of birth and death are known.

[5] Brockelmann, 44. Wittlin, 1 ff., gives an over-dramatized account of how Abdülmecid I withheld recognition of Abdülhamid II for a whole week, because of suspicions regarding the circumstances of his birth.

[6] Busbecq, 29.

[7] See p. 80. For the actual ceremonies see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 106.

sultans while they were still stationed in their provincial governorates; Süleyman I was born at Trabzon and Ahmed I at Manisa.[1] As a result, these births received comparatively little attention in the capital, largely because—under the early Law of Succession—there was nothing to indicate which of a sultan's grandsons would eventually inherit the throne. However, with the termination of the system of governorates and the introduction of the 'Kafes', a sultan had no sons—let alone grandsons—until after his accession and all their births took place in the capital. It was thus easy to turn them into occasions of popular rejoicing ('Velâdet-i hümâyun'), especially if affairs of state happened to be going rather unfortunately at the time. Ahmed III had so many offspring that, with the celebration of the children's births, the sons' circumcisions, and the daughters' marriages, there was a holiday atmosphere in the Saray throughout his reign.[2]

Many authorities state that in order to limit the number of males who could lay claim to the throne, the daughters of the sultans were not allowed to have sons when they married; and if by any chance boys were born, the umbilical cord was left untied.[3] But reference to the genealogical tables makes it clear that, if this was the Law, it was not closely observed. Taking the dynasty as a whole, 149 daughters contracted marriages and gave birth to 60 sons and 55 daughters. Even taking the 'middle' period from Selim II to Abdülâziz (1566–1876), when restrictions were most effective, 88 daughters married and gave birth to 21 sons and 28 daughters, all of whom were apparently allowed to take the normal course of life. If the restrictions did exist at all, then the figures suggest that daughters were almost equally discouraged with sons.[4] There are several explanations for these small families; in the first place,

[1] See Table XIII, p. 105, for the dates and places of birth of the sultans.

[2] Karal, *I.A.* iii. 168, says: 'Colour and perfume increased the atmosphere of festivity with which all the Tulip Age passed.' Covel, 153, says: 'The Turks at Bayram, and at all victories and births of the princes, make great mirth. It happened the Sultana [*sic*] was delivered of a second son [Ahmed III] this last Ramas, December 1673. The mirth was put off till the Bayram, and then it was doubled....' The length of the ceremonies depended on which son it was; see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 167–71, and Sirer, in *R.T.M.* iv. 2433.

[3] D'Ohsson, vii. 93, says: 'C'est à ces dispositions rigoureuses et cruelles que la maison othomane doit sa stabilité.'

[4] The sons concerned are: 2163–5, 2176, 2213, 2234, 2281, 2340–3, 2371, 2408–9, 2419, 2430, and 2443–4, together with three grandsons of Abdülâziz. Of these at least two, 2164 and 2281, had children in their turn, the former's being the famous İbrahim-hânzadeler, who were supposed to have a claim to the throne; see p. 15, and the articles 'Damad' and 'İbrahim Hân' in *I.A.*

sterility presumably affected the female line as much as the male. Secondly, many of the daughters were married before they reached puberty, or their marriages were of short duration because of their husbands' sudden deaths. These, combined with the rule that after six months of married life in İstanbul a vizir or pasha had to return to his post, wherever that might be, leaving his wife in the capital,[1] all helped to reduce the birth-rate.

With Births, it is convenient to discuss the Feasts of Circumcision, which usually took place when the princes were between the ages of eight and sixteen; once the ceremony had been performed, they were given separate apartments in the 'Selâmlık' (Men's Quarters). The word 'sûr' means a wedding-feast and is used equally in speaking of the weddings of girls ('sûr-u cihaz') and of the circumcisions of boys ('sûr-u hatan').[2] In Islam the wedding-feast was in honour of the bride, as the husband had already celebrated his feast at the time of his circumcision; both were considered as compensations for the suffering endured.

From the earliest times the Ottoman sultans celebrated the circumcisions of their sons and grandsons with great ceremonial and distribution of largesse, which became ever more prodigal as time passed. As early as 1457 Mehmed II held a four-day festival at Edirne for Bayezid II and 571/Mustafa, after which they returned to their governorates, but probably the most elaborate of all circumcision feasts was that given by Murad III for his son Mehmed III in 1582, which lasted practically two months.[3] The actual operation, the *raison d'être* of the festivities, was usually though not invariably performed during the first few days. Ahmed I, Murad IV, and Mehmed IV were all circumcised after they came to the throne, the operation taking place as soon as possible after the accession.

[1] The only exceptions were those husbands attached to the central administration, but even then only during their tenure of office. A remarkable case was 1202/Hadice Sultan, who insisted on accompanying her husband the ex-grand vizir, 2339/Moralı Hasan Paşa, into provincial exile in 1704.

[2] See von Hammer, i. 271; and the various 'Sûrname-ler'.

[3] There is a detailed day-by-day description in Fugger, 63 ff., and also in Danışmend, iii. 58. Describing another circumcision, Fugger's correspondent wrote: 'The results of the Circumcision were presented to the mother of the Crown Prince in a golden dish, and the blood-stained knife to the mother of the reigning Sultan.' Ibid. 261, n. A detailed account of the preparations for, and performance of, a much later circumcision is given by Z. Şakır, in *R.T.M.* i. 613 and 659; the victim was 864/Mehmed Âbid, youngest and favourite son of Abdülhamid II. The operation was performed—after much religious discussion—with the aid of anaesthetics.

TABLE XIII. *Dates and Places of Birth of the Sultans*

Sultan	*Date*	*Place*
1/Osman I	1258	Söğüt (?)
2/Orhan	1288	?
3/Murad I	1326	Bursa (?)
4/Bayezid I	1360	Edirne (?)
5/Mehmed I	1389	Edirne (?)
6/Murad II	1404	Amasya
7/Mehmed II	30. 3. 1432	Edirne
8/Bayezid II	1. 1448	Dimetoka
9/Selim I	1470	Amasya
10/Süleyman I	6. 11. 1494	Trabzond
11/Selim II	28. 5. 1524	İstanbul
12/Murad III	4. 7. 1546	Manisa
13/Mehmed III	26. 5. 1566	Manisa
14/Ahmed I	18. 4. 1590	Manisa
15/Mustafa I	1592	Manisa
16/Osman II	3. 11. 1604	İstanbul
17/Murad IV	29. 8. 1609	İstanbul (on Bosphorus)
18/İbrahim	4. 11. 1615	İstanbul
19/Mehmed IV	2. 1. 1642	İstanbul
20/Süleyman II	15. 4. 1642	İstanbul
21/Ahmed II	25. 2. 1643	İstanbul
22/Mustafa II	5. 6. 1664	Edirne
23/Ahmed III	31. 12. 1673	Hacioğlu Pazarı
24/Mahmud I	2. 8. 1696	İstanbul
25/Osman III	2. 1. 1699	İstanbul
26/Mustafa III	28. 1. 1717	İstanbul
27/Abdülhamid I	20. 3. 1725	İstanbul
28/Selim III	24. 12. 1761	İstanbul
29/Mustafa IV	8. 9. 1779	İstanbul
30/Mahmud II	20. 7. 1785	İstanbul
31/Abdülmecid I	23. 4. 1823	İstanbul
32/Abdülâziz	9. 2. 1830	İstanbul
33/Murad V	21. 9. 1840	İstanbul
34/Abdülhamid II	22. 9. 1842	İstanbul
35/Mehmed V	3. 11. 1844	İstanbul
36/Mehmed VI	2. 2. 1861	İstanbul
37/Abdülmecid (II)	29. 5. 1868	İstanbul

TABLE XIV. *Twins Born to the Dynasty*

Parents	*Twins*	*Date of birth*
A. 21/Ahmed II 250/Râbia	710/İbrahim 711/Selim	7. 10. 1692
B. 22/Mustafa II 264/Hafise	721/Ahmed (B) 726/Murad (B)	3. 3. 1703
C. 23/Ahmed III	1262/Ümmügülsüm 1266/Zeyneb (A)	11. 2. 1708
D. 23/Ahmed III	731/Abdülmecid 732/Abdülmelek	12. 12. 1709
E. 23/Ahmed III	747/Selim (B) 1259/Saliha	21. 3. 1715
F. 30/Mahmud II	810/Mahmud 812/Mehmed (B)	18. 2. 1822
G. 31/Abdülmecid I 382/Gülcemal	1358/Hadice 1366/Refia	8. 1. 1842
H. 31/Abdülmecid I	830/Mehmed Nizameddin 829/Mehmed Vamık	19. 4. 1850
I. 34/Abdülhamid II 421/Behice	862/Ahmed Nureddin 865/Mehmed Bedreddin	22. 6. 1901
J. 842/Mehmed Seyfeddin 2581/Nervaliter	2582/Ahmed Tevhid 2584/Fatma Gevheri	2. 12. 1904

It is curious that of the ten cases of twins, five should be the children of only two sultans, though admittedly Ahmed III and Abdülmecid I had two of the largest families.

It seems possible that 627/Cihangir (A) and 639/Süleyman, both born to Murad III in 2. 1585, were twins.

Some say that Mustafa III was a twin of 742/Mehmed (D), but von Hammer and Sürreya give separate dates.

XIV

DEATHS AND FUNERALS

THE cause of death of each of the sultans, as far as is known, is set out in Table XV.[1] Where death resulted from illness, it is often difficult to make a clear diagnosis on the available evidence, particularly as there are sometimes conflicting reports. Some sultans, however, died in a more dramatic way: Murad I was stabbed to death by Milosh Kobilovich in the very hour of victory on the field of Kosova. Two sultans committed suicide, although it was strictly contrary to the tenets of Islam: Bayezid I, in despair over his defeat and imprisonment at the hands of Timur, took poison; Abdülâziz, depressed by his deposition, cut his veins with a pair of scissors.[2] It is not clear whether Bayezid II also took his own life or merely died of depression; perhaps, even, his death on the road to Dimetoka was arranged by his son Selim I. Osman II, İbrahim, Selim III, and Mustafa IV were all executed subsequent to their depositions.[3] The only other remarkable death was that of Mahmud I, who collapsed while on horseback returning from the 'Cuma Selâmlığı' (Friday Prayers); there is a completely unauthenticated tradition that he did not actually die, and was accidentally buried alive.

It was, perhaps, in death that the sultans were best able to assert their superiority over their subjects, by repeated contraventions of the customs of Islam, which were tolerated by the Ulema. The Prophet ordained that death and burial were to be occasions for humility and simplicity, to be completed as soon as possible; but the deaths of the sultans were often marked by prolonged display. The reason for this became clear when considering the Succession; to prevent disorder it was often essential to conceal the death of a sultan until his successor could reach the capital.[4]

[1] See p. 110.

[2] For Bayezid I's death see Köprülü's two articles, in *Belleten*, 2. 591 and 27. 591. There has been much controversy over the manner of Abdülâziz's death; Mordtmann in *E.I.* ii. 342 and iii. 332 says suicide, but Süssheim, *E.I.* i. 36, says murder, as does Giese, 256—'er wurde abgesetzt und bald darauf ermordet'. All the Turkish writers in *İ.A.*, and Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, accept the theory of suicide; the latter sets out all the contemporary documents and opinions. It is notable that Abdülâziz's son Yusuf İzzeddin also committed suicide in 1916—see Baykal, in *T.D.* i. 487, &c.

[3] See p. 64 ff.

[4] See p. 37.

Such concealment could only be achieved by deliberate trickery, which involved the immediate embalming of the sultan's corpse and the apparent maintenance of his normal daily routine. It can best be seen in the account of the lengths to which 2162/Grand Vizir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa went to prevent the soldiers learning of Süleyman I's death.[1] Grand Vizir Mehmed Karamânî Paşa, on the other hand, took too many precautions over Mehmed II's death, the suspicions of the Janissaries were aroused and the secret discovered, with fatal results.[2] Murad III was the last sultan whose death had to be concealed, for his son and successor Mehmed III was the last prince to be sent out to a provincial governorate; thenceforward the heir to the throne was always at hand in the 'Kafes'.[3]

Delays in burial, embalming, and the transportation of corpses over long distances were all alike forbidden to Muslims, exception only being made in favour of the sultans.[4] It was probably these general prohibitions which made the concealment of a particular sultan's death a comparatively easy task, as being something completely outside the experience of the ordinary Turk, and therefore unsuspected.[5] Apart altogether from political necessity, embalming must have been practised by the Ottoman dynasty to allow of the transportation of corpses to the family mausoleums; prior to the

[1] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 403 and Danışmend, ii. 352.

[2] See Ünver, *Nichemedy*, 14.

[3] Similar cases can be quoted from other countries. In 1249 the death of the Eyubite sultan of Egypt, Malek Saleh, was concealed for three months whilst the struggle against the Crusaders continued. The record is surely held by Tibet: 'The sixth Dalai Lama did not die until 1680. . . . When he did, the Chief Ministers wishing to keep the power and to use the Dalai Lama's authority to complete the massive pile of the Potala, concealed his death for nine years, telling the people that he was in spiritual seclusion and none must interrupt him.' Bell, 32 and 262.

[4] Cantemir, 43, n. 26: 'Mahometan Law strictly forbids every person, besides the Emperor, to keep a dead body in his house till the second day, or to remove them beyond the space of three Italian miles. So, should the Prime Vizir die in a journey, he is to be buried in the same place where he falls, or the next town if within distance. But the corpse of the Emperor, should he die even upon the utmost bounds of India, is by his successor to be embalmed and with the greatest speed conveyed to its sepulchre in the Mosque built by himself or, for want of that, into some sepulchre of his ancestors.' The two longest transportations were from Akşehir to Bursa (Bayezid I) and from Sigetvar to İstanbul (Süleyman I). These privileges were extended to the sultan's sons; in 1553 602/Cihangir's body was brought from Halep.

[5] 'Mehmed I's corpse was embalmed according to ancient Turkish custom.' Danışmend, i. 183. At the death of Selim II, the new 'Valide Sultan' took control and ordered his corpse to be put in ice. Ibid. ii. 421. Süleyman II died at Edirne and his body also was packed in ice and sent to İstanbul for burial; the body was brought as far as Silivri by road and then transferred to a special boat—as also was Ahmed II's; see Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı*, 7 and 16.

capture of Constantinople the sultans and their families were all buried in Bursa, but after 1453 the graves of all the sultans and most of their relatives were dug in İstanbul.[1] Only Mehmed VI and Abdülmecid (II) died in exile and were buried there.

The actual funeral of a sultan was not usually the occasion for a great display, except in the Early Period; ceremonial and processions there were, but any atmosphere of public mourning and the wearing of black robes was usually overshadowed by the general rejoicing—or at least display—connected with the new sultan's accession.[2]

[1] 570/Cem, however, was buried in Bursa in 1499.

[2] For details see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 53–56. For Mehmed II's funeral see Ünver, *Nichemedy*, 14–17; for Murad III's see Rosedale, 26; and for Abdülhamid II's see Refik, in *T.D.* i. 94, and Şakir, in *R.T.M.* ii. 754 and 804.

TABLE XV. *Causes of the Sultans' Deaths*

Sultan	*Date and place of death*	*Cause of death*
1/Osman I	1324—Söğüt	Apoplexy/gout
2/Orhan	4. 1360—?	Depression/gout
3/Murad I	6. 1389—Kosova	Assassination
4/Bayezid I	10. 3. 1403—Akşehir	Suicide (poison)
5/Mehmed I	26. 5. 1421—Edirne	Dysentery/poison (?)
6/Murad II	3. 2. 1451—Edirne	Apoplexy (drink)
7/Mehmed II	3. 5. 1481—Maltepe	Gout/poison (?)
8/Bayezid II	26. 5. 1512—Dimetoka	Depression/suicide/assassination (?)
9/Selim I	22. 9. 1520—Çorlu	Cancer
10/Süleyman I	7. 9. 1566—Sigetvar	Apoplexy
11/Selim II	15. 12. 1574—İstanbul	Concussion/alcohol
12/Murad III	16. 1. 1595—İstanbul	Apoplexy/stone
13/Mehmed III	22. 12. 1603—İstanbul	Depression/apoplexy
14/Ahmed I	22. 11. 1617—İstanbul	Typhus
15/Mustafa I	20. 1. 1639—İstanbul	Mental, physical collapse
16/Osman II	20. 5. 1622—İstanbul	Execution
17/Murad IV	9. 2. 1640—İstanbul	Cirosis
18/İbrahim	18. 8. 1648—İstanbul	Execution
19/Mehmed IV	6. 1. 1693—Edirne	Gout/depression/poison (?)
20/Süleyman II	22. 6. 1691—Edirne	Dropsy
21/Ahmed II	6. 2. 1695—Edirne	Dropsy, depression/apoplexy
22/Mustafa II	29. 12. 1703—İstanbul	Dropsy
23/Ahmed III	1. 7. 1736—İstanbul	General/poison (?)
24/Mahmud I	14. 12. 1754—İstanbul	Apoplexy
25/Osman III	30. 10. 1757—İstanbul	Apoplexy
26/Mustafa III	21. 1. 1774—İstanbul	Heart failure
27/Abdülhamid I	7. 4. 1789—İstanbul	Apoplexy
28/Selim III	28. 7. 1808—İstanbul	Execution
29/Mustafa IV	16. 11. 1808—İstanbul	Execution
30/Mahmud II	1. 7. 1839—İstanbul	Cirosis/anxiety/tuberculosis
31/Abdülmecid I	25. 6. 1861—İstanbul	Tuberculosis
32/Abdülâziz	4. 6. 1876—İstanbul	Suicide (cutting veins)
33/Murad V	29. 8. 1904—İstanbul	Diabetes
34/Abdülhamid II	10. 2. 1918—İstanbul	Heart failure
35/Mehmed V	2 .7. 1918—İstanbul	Heart failure
36/Mehmed VI	15. 5. 1926—San Remo	Heart failure
37/Abdülmecid (II)	8. 1944—Paris	Heart failure

Note. Sultans 1–6 were buried at Bursa, 7–35 in İstanbul, 36 at Damascus, and 37 in Medina.

XV

TITLES USED BY THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY

THE titles assumed by, or given to, members of the House of Osman may be separated into four classes, indicating respectively: personal characteristics, personal achievements, personal rank, or the extent of the Empire.

The first were in the nature of personal 'Lakap' (Nickname), pointing to the interests, habits, or character of the sultan or his family. They ranged from the 'Veli' or 'Sofu' of Bayezid II to the 'Mest' or 'Sarhoş' of Selim II, from the 'Deli' of Mustafa I and İbrahim to the 'Avcı' of Mehmed IV, from the 'Adlî' of Mahmud II to the 'Kanlı' of Abdülhamid II. Closely connected with these titles, but looking rather to individual achievements, were others such as 'Gazi', accorded to a sultan who led his troops victoriously into the 'Dar-ul Harb'; or Murad I's 'Şehid', in memory of his martyr's death at Kosova; the 'Fatih' which recorded Mehmed II's capture of Constantinople, or the 'Kanuni' given to Süleyman I in recognition of his work as a law-giver. It is these two classes of titles which are shown in the genealogical tables, appended to this book.

Those titles indicating personal rank were much more widely distributed and lacked the individuality of the two preceding groups. There were the 'Çelebi', 'Şehzade', and 'Efendi' which, at different periods, distinguished a sultan's sons; and the carefully graded titles which marked the progress of a favoured lady through the harem from 'İkbal' to 'Valide Sultan'. Then came the series of administrative titles: 'Sancak-bey', 'Beylerbey', 'Paşa', 'Vizir', and 'Vizir-i Âzam'; only certain of these could be accorded to males of the House of Osman but all were within the reach of the 'Damad' who married into the family.[1]

These in turn lead on to the titles which marked the steady rise

[1] In the tables only the highest rank attained by an individual is given, although it may be presumed that in the vast majority of cases such a person had passed through all the lower ranks of the hierarchy; see B. Miller, *Palace School*, 160 ff., and Gibb and Bowen, i. 77–137 and 329–63.

in dignity of the Head of the Ottoman Tribe: from 'Hân' and 'Emir' through 'Sultan' to 'Padişah';[1] and those which indicated the assumption of spiritual authority: 'Halife', 'Hâdim-ül Haremeyn', and 'Emir-ül Muminin.'[2] Combined with the above was the long list of territories which owned the sultan's sway. The whole can best be seen in the official correspondence, where each separate claim to distinction is set forth, like a jewel to dazzle the eye of the beholder.[3] They can also be seen in the 'Tuğra' which decorated so many official documents;[4] so the prestige of the sultans was blazoned to the four corners of the earth.[5]

TABLE XVI. *Titles used by the Ottomans (and Glossary)*

Adlî. 'The Just.' Given to Bayezid II, Mehmed III, and Mahmud II.

Ağa. 'Commander.' Given to senior officers of the Army and the Household, such as 'Yeniçeri Ağası' and 'Kızlar Ağası'.

Ahretlik. 'Adopted.' Given to 1302/Dürrüşehvar.

Ak-başlı. . 'White-headed.' Given to 46/Aktimur.

Alp. 'Companion in Arms.' Frequently used in the Early Period, when the close tribal organization still existed.[6]

[1] 'Orhan had from his accession been conscious that he had succeeded to the rule of a greatly increased number of subjects and of a larger extent of territory than his father, and judged that he was entitled to abandon the title of "Emir" and to assume the more ambitious one of "Sultan of the Ottomans".' *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 633; see *Sultan*, below.

[2] 'It is well-known that the Ottoman rulers, as they developed, took the titles of "hân", "emir", "sultan" and—after the conquest of Byzantium—"lord of the lands and seas"; when Syria, Egypt and Arabia were added they took those of "protector of the Holy Cities" and "Caliph". Of these titles "caliph" appears on "fermanlar" and in the Friday sermons, while we can read the others on coins.' Artuk, 6.

[3] The prelude of a letter from Süleyman I to Francis I in 1525, reads: 'I who am the Sultan of Sultans, the Sovereign of Sovereigns, the distributor of crowns to the monarchs of the surface of the globe, the shadow of God upon Earth, the Sultan and Padishah of the White Sea [Mediterranean], the Black Sea, Rumelia, Anatolia, Karamania, Rum, Dulkadır, Diyarbekir, Kurdistan, Azarbaycan, Persia, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Mekka, Medina, Jerusalem, all Arabia, Yemen and the other countries which my noble ancestors—may God brighten their tombs—conquered and which my august majesty has likewise conquered with my flaming sword, Sultan Süleyman Hân, son of Sultan Selim, son of Sultan Bayezid; you who are Francis, King of France, you have sent a letter to my Porte, the refuge of sovereigns. . . .' Other examples may be found in von Hammer, ii. 524, Danışmend, i. 169, and Vakıf Dergisi, ii. 439.

[4] For interpretations of the various 'Tuğra', see Orgun, in *T.T.A.E.* v. 263 ff., and Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xviii. 311 ff.

[5] In 1489 Yusuf Adilşah founded a dynasty in Bijapur, India, and to heighten his dignity claimed that he was a son of Sultan Murad II, who had been obliged to flee with his mother and had subsequently been sold into slavery and taken into the army of the Bahmanides. *E.I.* i. 139. The idea and not the veracity of the claim is the significant point. Under Süleyman I, the 'Kapudan Paşa' Sidi Ali Paşa visited India and found that the name of the 'Padişah' had considerable influence at the Mogul capital.

[6] See Tankut, in *Belleten*, i. 26.

Amca. 'Uncle', on the father's side.

Amcazade. 'Uncle's son', and so 'Cousin'.

Arslan. 'The Lion' or 'Lion-hearted'. See 2009/Mehmed.

Avcı. 'The Hunter.' Given to Mehmed IV, whose chief interest in life was hunting, which he indulged around Edirne.

Bahir. 'Naval.' See 2472/Mustafa.

Bahtî. 'The Fortunate.' Given to Ahmed I, and used by him as a nom-de-plume for his poetry.

Baş. 'Head', 'Chief'. Generally used in conjunction with some other title, as 'Baş-Çuhadar' or 'Kapıcı-başı'.

Bedros. 'Peter.' This is a common Armenian name and was given to Abdülhamid II in reference to his supposedly Armenian features. Wittlin, 1, gives a story that his father was not Abdülmecid I, but an Armenian who managed to have a liaison with his mother. The simpler explanation is that his mother, 397/Tirimüjgân, was probably an Armenian.

Bey. 'Lord', 'Prince'. In the course of time it lost its significance and became a courtesy title, rather like the English 'esquire'.

Beyceğiz. 'Little Lord.' Given to 2288/Mustafa.

Beylerbeyi. 'Lord of Lords.' Given to the ruler of a great province.[1]

Beyzade. 'Son of a Lord.' Given to the sons of a sultan's daughters; it replaced the earlier title 'Sultanzade' q.v.

Bıyıklı. 'Whiskered.' Given to 2278/Mehmed.

Boşnak. 'Bosnian.' See 2052/Mustafa.

Büyük. 'Big.'

Cedd-ul Osman. 'Father of the Ottomans.' Given to 40/Süleyman Şah.

Cemca. 'Powerful as Cemşid.' One of the honorific titles of the sultan.[2]

Cerrah. 'Surgeon.' See 2187/Mehmed and 2327/Kasım.

Cihandar. 'Lord of the World.' Given to Selim III.

Civan. 'Young.' Given to 2138/Mehmed.

Çakırcı. 'Falconer.' See 2185/Hasan.

Çavus. 'Petty-officer', 'Messenger'. See 2320/Mehmed.

Çelebi. 'Gentleman', 'Gracious Lord', 'Young Master'. Up to the time of Mehmed II this was given to the sons of a sultan. It was given personally to Mehmed I.

Çelebi-Sultan. 'Gentleman-prince.' Up to 1594 it was the title given to those of a sultan's sons who governed provinces.

Çelik. 'Steel.' Given to 2455/Mustafa.

Çerkes. 'Circassian.' See 2440/Osman.

Çuhadar. 'Chamberlain.'

Damad-i Şehriyarî. 'Imperial son-in-law.' Given to those who married daughters of the sultans. Technically, it should only be applied to the

[1] See p. 17, and Gibb and Bowen, i. 139.

[2] See von Hammer, iii. 451.

husbands of those daughters who married during their father's reigns. It was only habitually used to distinguish among several vizirs of the same name.

Daye. 'Foster-mother.'

Dayı. 'Uncle', on the mother's side.

Defterdar. 'Treasurer.'

Deli. 'Mad.' Given to the two sultans, Mustafa I and İbrahim, &c.

Divitdar. 'Bearer of the Writing-case.' See 1549/S.

Doğancı. 'Keeper of the Hawks.' See 2224/Yusuf.

Düzme(ce). 'False.' Given to 538/Mustafa at the time of the rebellions in his name, and indicating doubt as to his origin.

Eb'ul Feth. 'Father of Conquests.' Given to Mehmed II.

Efendi. 'Sir', 'Esquire'. From the time of Abdülmecid I given to the sons of the sultans. Also the recognized title for members of the spiritual hierarchy.

Eğri. 'Crooked.' Given to 602/Cihangir, who was lame.

Eğri-Fatihi. 'Conqueror of Eğir' (Eger or Erlau). Given to Mehmed III.

Emir. 'Ruler', 'Prince'. It applied to a semi-independent ruler and was used by Osman I as long as he recognized the overlordship of the Seljuks. It reappeared during the Great Interregnum to indicate that from 1402 to 1413 no one of Bayezid I's sons could claim to be supreme ruler.

Emir-ül Muminin. 'Commander of the Faithful.' One of the attributes of the caliph, which passed to the Ottoman sultans after Selim I's conquest of Egypt (cf. 'Halife').

Enişte. 'Brother-in-law.' See 2339/Hasan.

Ermeni. 'Armenian.' Used of 2265/Süleyman.

Fahreddin. 'Glory of the Faith.' Given to Osman I.

Fatih. 'The conqueror.' Given to Mehmed II for his conquest of Constantinople.

Fatih-i Bağdad. 'Conqueror of Bağdad.' Given to Murad IV.

Frenk. 'Frank.' Used of those from France, and by extension loosely of anyone of European origin. Given to 2036/İbrahim.

Gazi. 'Fighter for the True Faith' (Islam). Given to those who carried the sword into 'Dar-ul Harb' and were victorious against the Christians; it was associated particularly with Osman I, Orhan, Murad I, Bayezid I, Mehmed II, and Murad IV.[1]

Genç. 'Young.' Given to Osman II and 2408/Mehmed.

Gözde. 'In the eye—Favourite.' For a sultan's female slaves.

Gül. 'Rose.' Given to 2389/Ahmed.

Gülec. 'Laughing', 'merry'. Given to 2421/Ali.

[1] Wittek, *Deux Chapitres*, 305, quotes an inscription at Bursa (1337) which calls Orhan, 'Sultan, son of the Sultan of the Gazis, Gazi, son of Gazi, lord of the horizons, hero of the world'. Sürreya, ii. 57, even uses it of Abdülmecid I.

Gürcü. 'Georgian.' See 2283/Mehmed, &c.

Güreşçi. 'The Wrestler.' Given to Mehmed I for his strength; there is some doubt whether this or 'Kürüşçü' (q.v.) was the correct form as applied to this sultan.

Güvey. 'Bride-groom', 'son-in-law'. Given to 1959/Sinan.

Güzelce. 'Handsome.' Given to 2070/Mahmud and 2002/Rüstem.

Hace, Haci. 'Pilgrim.' The feminine and masculine forms respectively, of the title given to those who completed the Pilgrimage to Mekka.[1]

Hâdim-ül Haremeyn-iş Şerîfeyn. 'Protector of the Two Holy Cities' (Mekka and Medina). Given to Selim I in 1517 by the Sherif of Mekka, who sent him the keys of these cities (see 'Halife').

Hadım. 'Eunuch.' Used of 2032/İbrahim.

Hâfız. 'Guardian', and, by extension, one who knows the Koran by heart. Given to 2228/Ahmed, 2416/Ahmed, &c.

Hakani. 'Imperial.' Given to 2132/Mehmed.

Hakan-ül Berreyn vel Bahreyn. 'Lord of the Lands and Seas.' One of the sultan's honorific titles, expressive of his grandiose claims to power.

Halife. 'Caliph.' The transfer of this title to Selim I and his heirs in 1517—though some think it was retained by the last Abassid Caliph until his death in 1538—has ever since given rise to a great deal of acrimonious discussion in Islam. . . . *Cam. Mod. Hist.* i. 91, says: 'It is one of the fundamental principles of Islam that all Muslims shall be governed by a single Imam, and that Imam must be a member of the "Koreiş", the tribe of the Prophet. At this time, 1517, the Imamship was in the hands of a shadow, Mehmed Abu Cafer, of the race of Haşim, who kept up the semblance of a Court at Cairo. The last of the Caliphs of the Abassid line, he resigned the Caliphate to the Sultan Selim. This formal transference is the basis of the claims of the Sultans of Turkey to be the Imams or supreme rulers of Islam, though they have not a drop of "Koreiş" blood in their veins. The translation of the Caliphate was confirmed by the recognition which Selim received at the same time from the "Şerif" of Mekka, who sent him the keys of the Kaaba, thus designating him as the Protector of the Holy Places.' S. Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, 265, 355, says: 'The second or Egyptian dynasty of Abassid Caliphs were restricted to such spiritual functions as the ritual of the mosque afforded. They formed, however, the technical centre of Islam and served to connect the old Caliphate of Bağdad with the modern Sultans of Turkey, to whom they bequeathed such rights as they were able to bestow. . . . The legality of the inheritance is repudiated not only by the Shiah, but by the majority of learnèd Sunni, who are aware that a caliph must belong to the Prophet's tribe of the "Koreiş"; but whatever they may be "de jure", the Sultans of Turkey have been "de facto" caliphs of the greater part of orthodox Islam ever since the death of Mütevekil.'

[1] See p. 125.

Note also the position of Abdülmecid (II), who was allowed to assume the position of caliph in 1922, without being sultan.[1]

Hân. 'Lord', 'Prince'. As used by the rulers of Krim. Given by Selim II to his grandson, 2165/İbrahim.

Hançerli. 'With a Dagger.' Given to 1945/Fatma.

Hanım. 'Lady.'

Hanım Sultan. 'Princess Lady.' Given to the granddaughters of the sultans in the female line.

Hantal. 'Clumsy.' Given to 2392/Hafaf.

Haseki Sultan. 'Princess Favourite.' Given to those favourites of the sultan who bore him sons; generally limited to the first four or six to become mothers.

Haseki Kadın. 'Lady Favourite.' Given to the mothers of the sultan's daughters.

Hatun. 'Lady.' Used in the Early Period for the sultan's legal wives, and instead of the later 'Valide Sultan'.

Helvacı. 'Seller of Sweetmeats.' Given to 2321/Yusuf.

Hezârpâre. 'A Thousand Pieces.' Given posthumously to 2311/Ahmed, in reference to his assassination.

Humayun. 'Royal.' From 'Humay', the royal vulture.

Hunkâr. 'Sovereign.' Given to Murad I and Mehmed II.[2]

Hüdavendigâr. 'Dominator', 'Lord'. Given to Murad I, and then transferred to his 'sancak' of Bursa. Also applied to Orhan and Murad II.[3]

İkbal. 'Fortunate.' The first rank of advancement in the harem.

İlhami. 'Inspired.' Given to Selim III.

Kadın. 'Lady.'

Kalaylikoz. 'Blanched Nut.' Given to 2160/Ali.[4]

Kanbur. 'Hunch-backed.' Given to Mahmud I and 2239/Mustafa.

Kanlı. 'Bloody.' Given to Abdülhamid II, for his repressive policies.

Kanuni. 'The Law-giver.' Given to Mehmed II[5] and more particularly to Süleyman I.

Kapıcı-Başı. 'Head Door-keeper.'

Kapudan Paşa. 'Admiral.' Title held by the head of the Ottoman Navy.

Kara. 'Black.' Given to Osman I and many others.

Karacehennem. 'Black Hell.' Given to 2620/Faik.

Karakaş. 'Black-browed.' Given to 2230/Mehmed.

Kehle-i İkbal. 'The Louse of Fortune.' Given to 2126/Rüstem.[6]

Kel. 'Bald.' Given to 2381/Ahmed.

Kethüda. 'Steward.'

[1] See Gibb and Bowen, i. 31–34; *İ.A.*, 'Halife'; Hayder, 17, 270; Danışmend, ii. 29, 36, 43.

[2] See *İ.A.* v. 578.

[3] Ibid.

[4] For another explanation see Danışmend, iii. 560.

[5] See *Cam. Med. Hist.* iv. 705.

[6] See Danışmend, ii. 248.

Kız. 'Daughter.'
Kızıl. 'Red.' See 693/Ahmed.
Koca. 'Big.'
Kozbeyci. 'Nut-seller.' Given to 2241/Yusuf.
Kömürcü. 'Coke-seller.' Given to 2404/Ali.
Köse. 'Beardless.' Given to 2472/Mustafa.
Kral. 'King.' A Serbian title.
Kul. 'Slave.'
Kuloğlu. 'Son of a Slave.' See 2337/Süleyman.
Kundakçı. 'Incendiary.' See 2239/Mustafa.
Kunduracı. 'Cobbler.' See 2393/Mehmed.
Kurt. 'Wolf.' See 2604/Ahmed.
Küçük. 'Little.'
Kürüşçü. 'Maker of Bow-strings.' Given to Mehmed I, as this was the trade he followed. (Cf. 'Güreşçi'.)
Lâla. 'Tutor.' Given especially to the tutors attached to the young princes, both at court and when transferred to their provincial governorates. See 2200/Mustafa, &c.
-li/-lı/-lu. 'From. . .' Attached to place-names, it is used to indicate the town of origin of a person; e.g. 2406/Nevşehir-li İbrahim, and 2347/Merzifon-lu Mustafa.
Makbul. 'Favourite.' Given to 2036/İbrahim.
Maktul. 'Assassinated.' Given to 2036/İbrahim and 2347/Mustafa.
Mehd-i Ulyâ-i Saltanat. 'Cradle of the Great Sultan.' Another name for the 'Valide Sultan'.
Mekri. 'Cunning.' Given to 2126/Rüstem.
Melek. 'Angel.' Given to 2243/Ahmed and 2275/İbrahim, &c.
Mest. 'Sot.' Given to Selim II.
Meyvei. 'Fruit-seller.' Given to 2190/Hasan.
Mirahor. 'Keeper of the Stables.' From 'Emir Ahor'.
Mirza. 'Prince.' A Persian title. See 2377/Mehmed.
Molla. 'Mullah.' See 2480/Ahmed.
Muhassıl. 'Tax-collector.' See 2365/Abdullah.
Muhsin. 'Benefactor.' See 2401/Mehmed.
Muhteşem. 'Magnificent.' Given to Süleyman I by Europeans, not Turks.
Muid. 'School usher.' Given to 2292/Ahmed.
Musahip. 'Companion', and by extension 'Favourite'.
Müfettiş. 'Inspector.' Given to 2296/İsmail.
Müverrih. 'Historian.' Given to 2058/Lütfi.
Nabil/Nabila. 'Prince/Princess.' An Egyptian title. See 2614/Kerime.
Naip. 'Regent.'
Nakkaş. 'Decorator.' Given to 2255/Mustafa.
Namzet. 'Candidate.' Those engaged to a sultan's daughters, where the marriage is not yet completed.

Nişancı. 'Keeper of the Seal.'[1]

-oğlu. 'Son of. . . .'

Oğuz. 'Pure' or 'Young Bull'. Given to 2246/Mehmed.

Osmancık. 'Little Osman.' For Osman I.

Öküz. 'Ox.' Given to 2246/Mehmed.

Padişah. 'Sovereign.' A title of Persian origin, indicating supreme rank and jealously guarded by the sultans, for its use by any other person would imply equality of rank with the sultan. In later times it was accorded to the French kings.[2]

Palabıyık. 'With long, curved moustaches.' Given to 2321/Yusuf.

-pâre. 'Bit', as in 'Hezârpâre and 'Şekerpâre'.

Paşa. 'Lord.'

Pehlivan. 'Champion', 'Wrestler'. Given to Mehmed I.

Perişan. 'Wild.' Given to 2455/Mustafa.

Reis-ül Küttab. 'Chief of the Secretaries.'[3]

Rum. 'Rumelia.' Basically it stands for Rome and territories of the Roman Empire. Thus the Seljuks of Anatolia were distinguished by it from those of Persia. It also stood for the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, as in 'Rum Beylerbeyi'.[4]

Sahib-i Kiran. 'Lord of his Age.' Given to Süleyman I and Murad IV.

Sahib-ul Aşeret-el Kamilet. 'He who completes the number ten.' Also given to Süleyman I, as the tenth sultan.

Sancak. 'Flag', 'Province'.

Sancak-beyi. 'Governor of a Province.'

Sarhoş. 'Drunkard.' Given to Selim II, and 2421/Ali.

Sarı. 'Yellow', 'Pale'. Given to Selim II, 2280/Hüseyin and 2297/Kenan.

Sarıkçı. 'Turban-maker.' See 2338/Mustafa.

Sedef-i Dürr-i Hilafet. 'Shell of the Pearl of the Caliphate.' Another title of the 'Valide Sultan'.

Semen/Semiz. 'Fat.' Given to 2129/Ahmed and 2138/Mehmed.

Serasker. 'Commander-in-Chief.' Given to the Head of the Army.

Seyyid. 'Descendant of the Prophet.' See 2461/Ahmed and 2473/Mustafa.

Silâhdar. 'Sword-bearer.' One of the sultan's personal attendants; see 2317/Yusuf, &c.

Sinek. 'Fly.' Given to 2447/Mustafa.

Sipahi. 'Cavalry officer.' See 2310/Mustafa.

Sirke. 'Vinegar.' Given to 2335/Osman.

Sığır. 'Stall-fed Ox.' Given to Selim II.

Sofu. 'Devout.' Given to Bayezid II.

Sultan. 'Sultan', 'Prince', 'Princess'. It had at least three distinct uses. Strictly speaking, when used to indicate the Head of the State, it should be used

[1] See Gibb and Bowen, i. 117.

[2] But İbn Batuta, 140, uses it of Süleyman of Kastamonu.

[3] See Gibb and Bowen, i. 117.

[4] See Le Strange, 127.

with 'Hân', as in 'Sultan Hân Murad'. Without 'Hân' and used in front of a name it had the meaning of 'Prince' and in this form was often used for the sons of a sultan, particularly from the time of Mehmed II. If used after a name, however, it meant 'Princess', as in Fatma Sultan. It was also combined with 'Haseki' and 'Valide' (qq.v.).[1]

Sultan-ül Güzât. 'Sultan of the Gazis.' An early title given to Murad I and others.

Sultanzade. 'Son of a princess.' Given to the sons of a sultan's daughters, or their grandsons.

Süt-Kardeşi. 'Foster-brother.'

Şah. 'Emperor.' A Persian title.

Şah-i Alem Penah. 'Emperor', 'Refuge of the world'. One of the sultan's honorific titles, Persian in origin.

Şahin. 'Falcon.' Given to 2162/Mehmed Sokollu.

Şahzade/Şehzade. 'Son of the Emperor.' Introduced by Mehmed I and given to the sultan's sons.

Şehit. 'Martyr'; i.e. one who died for the Faith in a Holy War. Given to Murad I and Osman II.

Şehri. 'Town-dweller.' Given to 2311/Ahmed.

Şeyh. 'Head Preacher', 'Sheikh'. Given to 1500/Edebâli.

Şeyh-ül İslâm. 'Mufti.' Under the Caliph, the Head of Islam.

Şeytan. 'Devil.' Given to 2275/İbrahim.

Şücaeddin. 'Hero of the Faith.' Given to Orhan.

Tavaşi. 'Eunuch.' Given to 2032/İbrahim.

Tavîl. 'Tall.' Given to 2162/Mehmed Sokollu.

Tekfur. 'King.' From the Armenian 'Tagavor'.

Tırnakçı. 'Swindler.' Given to 2243/Ahmed and 2329/İbrahim.

Tiryaki. 'Addict.' Usually indicating addiction to drugs or smoking. Given to 2216/Hasan.

Topal. 'Lame.' Given to 2247/Recep and 2297/Kenan.

Turşu. 'Pickled' or 'Peevish'. Given to 2425/Mehmed.

Tüccar. 'Merchant.' See 2288/Mustafa.

Uğurlu. 'Lucky.' Given to 1796/Mehmed.

Uzun. 'Long.' See 1795/Hasan.

Vali. 'Governor.'

Valide. 'Mother.'

Valide Sultan. 'Princess-Mother.' Given to the mother of the sultan, during his reign; introduced in the sixteenth century.

Veli. 'Saint.' Given to Bayezid II.

Veliaht. 'Crown-prince.' Given in the Later Period to the heir-presumptive, but it was not really legalized until the Constitution of 1876 fixed the

[1] For a detailed study, see *E.I.*, 'Sultan', and Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 230–4. Orhan clearly seems to have been the first to use this title (see p. 114, n. 1); on this point, see Atiya, *Nicopolis*, 157–60.

Succession in the 'Eldest Male' and so defined who was the heir at any given time. Mehmed VI was even given the title of 'Veliaht-i saniî saltanat' (Second Heir to the Throne), similar to the position of 'Nureddin' among the Krim Hans.[1]

Vezir. 'Bearer of the Burden', 'Minister', 'Vizir'.

Vezir-i Âzam. 'Chief Minister', 'Grand Vizir'. Another form of this was 'Sadr-ı Âzam'.

Voynuk. 'Bulgarian Skirmisher.' Given to 2229/Ahmed.

Voyvoda. 'Governor', of one of the Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia).

Yağlıkçı. 'Napkin-seller.' See 2469/Yusuf.

Yavuz. 'Grim.' Given to Selim I.

Yemen-Fatihi. 'Conqueror of the Yemen.' Given to 2072/Sinan.

Yemişçi. 'Fruit-seller.' Given to 2190/Hasan.

Yeniçeri. 'New Troops.' The famous Janissaries.

Yıldırım. 'Thunderbolt.' Given to Bayezid I.

-zade. 'Son of. . . .' Its meaning is generally extended to 'Descendant of . . .'

[1] See Örik, in *R.T.M.* iv. 2387.

XVI

NAMES USED BY THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY

THE Ottoman family appears to have had a fairly catholic taste in regard to the choice of names. Among some two hundred and fifty sons there are just over fifty names, of which Mehmed is easily the most common, followed by Ahmed, Süleyman, and Murad. For a similar number of daughters there are almost eighty different names, of which Fatma, Hadice, and Esma occur most frequently.[1]

A definite trend, dating from the seventeenth century, can be noticed for the introduction of Arabic names in place of those which may be described as more typically Turkish. Alongside this process came the increasing popularity of 'double-barrelled' names, such as Mehmed Vahdeddin or Rukiye Sabiha, in the Later Period.

One other general custom with regard to names was that, if one of a Sultan's children happened to die young, his or her name was often given to the next child of the same sex to be born. So one comes across the five Ahmed of Mahmud II, and the four Mehmed and three Hadice of Ahmed III.[2]

The most remarkable, though by no means the most popular, of names which recur through the dynasty is that of Mustafa, which seems to have borne a curse for the House of Osman. The first prince to bear the name was 538/Mustafa, the son of Bayezid I; he disappeared after the Battle of Ankara and returned—or was impersonated—to cause trouble during his brother Mehmed I's reign. He was executed by Murad II early in 1423. Soon afterwards another, 554/Mustafa, son of Mehmed I, also rose in rebellion and he, too, was executed in the same year.[3] Mehmed II's son, 571/Mustafa, met with an unfortunate death in 1474, while resident in

[1] The figures are: Mehmed 37, Ahmed 21, Süleyman 16, Murad 15, followed by Mahmud and Selim, Mustafa and Bayezid; Fatma 22, Hadice 15, Esma 11, Ayse 10, and Rukiye 7.

[2] 'The custom, still prevalent in Anatolia, of giving the name of a dead son to the next son to be born, can be traced back to that time [Bayezid I].' Kepçioğlu, in *Vakıf Dergisi*, ii. 409.

[3] For these two see p. 50.

his governorate.[1] 606/Mustafa, son of Süleyman I, was hounded to death by his stepmother 151/Hurrem and half-brother Selim II in 1553. Selim II's own son 613/Mustafa was executed in 1574 on his brother's accession, and Murad III's son 635/Mustafa suffered the same fate in the fratricidal purge which marked the accession of Mehmed III in 1595. The first Sultan to bear the name, Mustafa I, ruled twice, but was twice deposed on account of his incurable madness. Osman II is said to have had a son, 671/Mustafa, but there is no record of what happened to him. Sultan Mustafa II was deposed, while Mustafa IV, the last prince to bear the name, was both deposed and executed in 1808. Mustafa III alone seems to have been able to ward off the evil influence of his name.

Several other names deserve to be mentioned as well. Professor Uzunçarşılı points out that Osman I named two of his sons by courtesy after two of his more important contemporaries in Anatolia: 502/Çoban after the 'İlhanlılar Beylerbeyi' Emir Çoban, and 503/Hamid after Hamidoğlu Dündar Bey.[2]

Then Professor Wittek, commenting on the religious heterodoxy of Simavna Bedreddin, asks whether there was any significance in the names chosen by Bayezid I for three of his sons: 540/Süleyman (Solomon), 537/Mûsa (Moses), and 532/İsa (Jesus). This is quite possible, but other explanations could be put forward. To begin with, Süleyman was already a name of importance in the Ottoman family, having been borne by 40/Süleyman Şah and 514/Süleyman Paşa. Even the other two might equally be expressions of the influence of the Sultan's Christian wife 81/Despina, who wielded great power over Bayezid.[3]

Finally, there is the case of the three sons of Abdülhamid I: 770/Abdullah, 771/Abdülâziz, and 772/Abdürrahim; as all three were stillborn, they should not have received any name at all.[4]

[1] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 108.
[2] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 30, n. 2.
[3] Wittek, 'Ankara', in *Belleten*, 27. 587, n. 42.
[4] Sürreya, i. 53, 'Bi-ruh olarak tevellüd ettiler'. (They were born without souls.)

XVII

TRADES OF THE SULTANS

ALTHOUGH the sultans came to hold such an exalted position in the world, yet they were brought up 'in conformity with the old Turkish tradition that everyone, even royalty, should be trained in some one trade or craft, that might prove a resource in event of misfortune'.[1]

Quite possibly this custom really had its origin in the connexion between the early Ottoman sultans and the 'Ahiler', of whose activities we catch glimpses in the pages of Ibn Battuta. Certainly they and their descendants, the Trade Guilds described by Busbecq and others, were always very influential in the ceremonial life of the court and capital.[2]

Records of the trades of the different sultans are not complete, but there is sufficient evidence to show that they were taken seriously by the sultans. More than that, they reveal a wide variety of interests. The first of whom anything is known is Mehmed I, whose name 'Kürüşçü' shows that he was a maker of strings for bows. Mehmed II was a gardener, 'attaining much skill in this occupation and deriving such pleasure from it, that he spent much of his leisure, in the intervals between campaigns, working in the gardens of the Grand Seraglio and other palaces'.[3] Selim I and Süleyman I turned their hands to the art of the goldsmith, while Selim II made crescents for the staffs of pilgrims on their way to the Holy Cities. Murad III made arrows, while Mehmed III was skilful in making spoons and the special thumb-rings used by archers, as was his son

[1] See B. Miller, *Palace School*, 27, based on Spandugino, ibid. 97: 'There is not any prince or lord so great, even the Emperor himself, that he does not cause his children to be instructed in some art or science by means of which he could earn his livelihood, in case he should fall upon evil days.'

[2] Purchas, 1829: 'The Grand Sultan—Ahmed I—is of the Company of Archers, as most of the Sultans of the Ottoman family have been free of some company or other. His father Mehmed was of the Company of Ring-Makers.'

[3] B. Miller, *Palace School*, 27, and quoting Angiolello, ibid. 98: 'This same Mehmed was also accustomed to fashion rings for the bow, buckles for the girdle, and sheaths for the sword, which things he did merely for passing the time.'

Ahmed I.[1] Mehmed IV was so much a poet that it might almost be regarded as his trade; he even wrote military dispatches in verse. One of the last sultans to exercise a trade was Abdülhamid II, who was interested in inlaid damascene work.

While there was never any pecuniary interest in these works, they did bring in quite a steady revenue to the sultans concerned. Small examples of the sultan's handicraft were often presented as gifts to those attending the court, an action which called for immediate reciprocation with a gift of far greater value.

[1] Sandys, 73: 'Ahmed's occupation, for they are all tied to have one, is the making of ivory rings, which they wear upon their thumbs, when they shoote, whereupon he works daily.'

XVIII

THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY AND THE 'HAC'

It is remarkable that, although the Ottoman dynasty was at all times Muslim and from the time of Selim I the sultans held the supreme office of caliph, yet less than half a dozen members of the House of Osman ever earned the title of 'Haci, Hace' (Pilgrim) by performing the pilgrimage to Mekka which is enjoined on all good Muslims.

The first member of the family to reach the Holy City was a woman, 1045/D., the daughter of Mehmed I and widow of 1701/Mahmud Çandarlı Paşa; then there was 1646/Hundi, while engaged to Zâhir Çakmak, in 850 [5.1.1447].[1] Two other women, 270/Ayşe Buhari, wife of Ahmed III, and 290/Ayşe, wife of Mahmud I, also made their pilgrimages in the eighteenth century.

It is said that Bayezid II was on the point of leaving Amasya for Mekka when he received the news of his father's death and immediately gave up his intention for the more important work of asserting his title to the throne. It is reasonable, knowing Bayezid's character, to think that this tradition is true.[2] The period of civil war which followed, ended in the flight of 570/Cem to the court of the Mameluke sultan Kaitbay. While in Egypt Cem decided to fulfil his religious duties and set out for Mekka early in 1482, but it is not quite clear whether he actually reached the Holy City.[3] Bayezid II's son 583/Korkud also set out on a pilgrimage, but was turned back when he reached the frontier of Egypt.

Surprisingly enough, although Selim I was presented with the keys and declared Protector of the Holy Cities, by the 'Şerif' of

[1] Von Hammer, iii. 351, and Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 68. 524, respectively.

[2] Cantemir, 116: 'Bayezid was now at Amasya and thinking of "Hac", or a pilgrimage, to Mekka, when an unexpected message came to him from the Vizir that his father was dead and had appointed him his successor. He received also a letter signed by the Vizir and the rest of the great men, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure.' Cantemir then goes on to say that piety won the day and Bayezid sent Korkud to act as regent for nine months while he performed his pilgrimage—a complete travesty of the facts.

[3] Compare von Hammer, iv. 14, *E.I.* i. 1034 and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 159. Fisher, 26, says he did it for propaganda purposes.

Mekka, while in Cairo in 1517, he never seems to have considered seriously the idea of performing his pilgrimage. Was it fundamental irreligion on his part or merely military necessity which kept him away—since he was there at the proper time of the year?

Nothing more was heard of Mekka—apart from the annual caravan of gifts sent by the sultan[1]—until in 1622 Osman II announced his intention of going there. As we have seen,[2] his real intentions, however, were far from religious; his idea was to go as far as Syria or perhaps Arabia and there collect a loyal and well-disciplined army with which he might return to the capital and crush the Janissaries. The 'Şeyh-ül İslâm'—Osman's father-in-law 2260/Esad Efendi—warned him of the danger of leaving the capital and sent him a 'Fetva' declaring that it was unnecessary for a sultan to make the pilgrimage. Osman was all ready to cross the Bosphorus on the first stage of his journey, but the Janissaries rose against him. They obtained a second 'Fetva', aimed at those who had suggested the pilgrimage; with this they forced the Sultan to remain in the capital, where they soon deposed and executed him.[3]

The last of the dynasty, Mehmed VI, visited Mekka soon after his deposition, but on realizing that Şerif Hüseyin was manœuvring for the transfer to himself of the title 'Caliph', Mehmed VI withdrew from Mekka as soon as possible, without waiting to perform the pilgrimage.[4] So ended the connexion between the sultans and the Holy Cities of which they had been the special Protectors.[5]

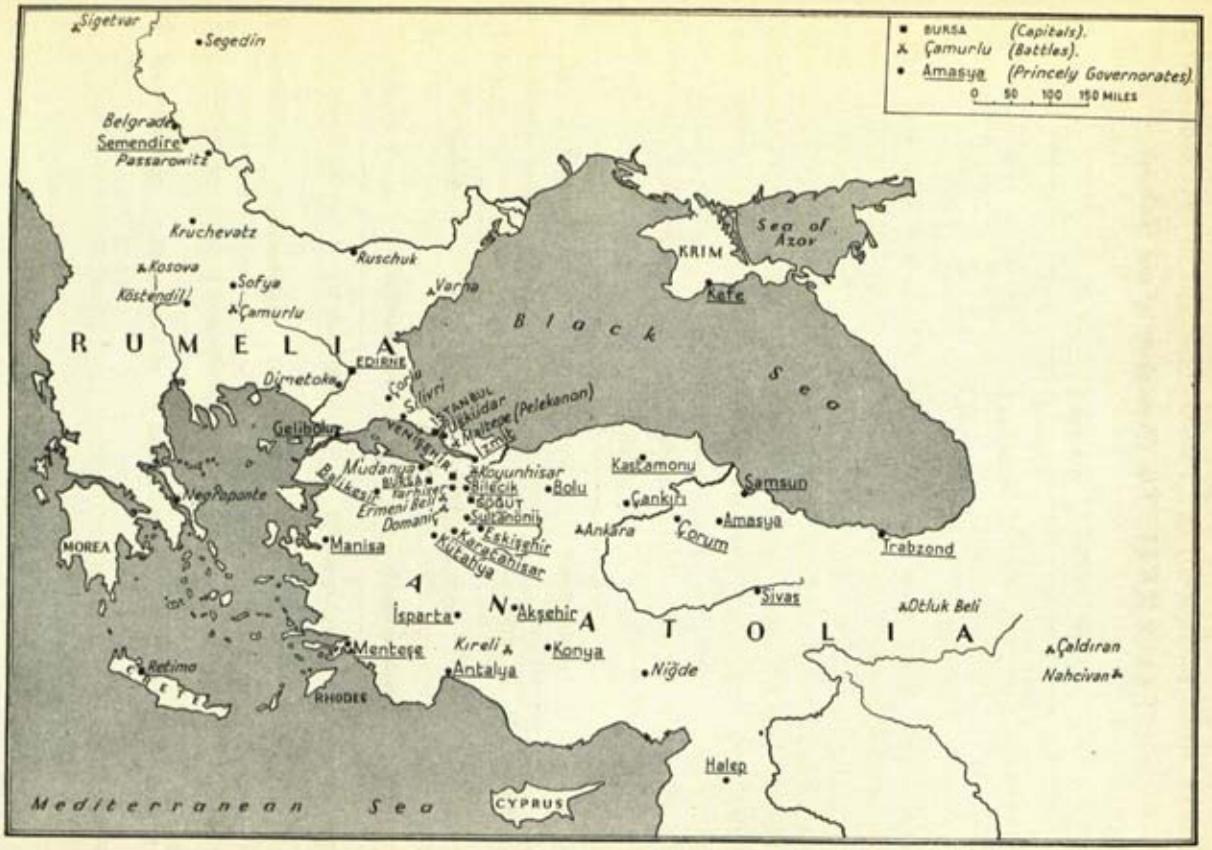
[1] The 'Sürre Alayı' (Procession of Gifts), led by the 'Emir ül-Hac', and the many acts of charity performed by the sultans may all be considered as 'İskat-i Hac', an act of appeasement.

[2] See p. 64.

[3] See von Hammer, viii. 290.

[4] See Hayder, 251–2.

[5] It is possible that minor members of the family have made their pilgrimages in recent years, but they have not been recorded.



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Scale 1: 15,000,000

TABLE XVII. *The Genealogy of the Sultans*

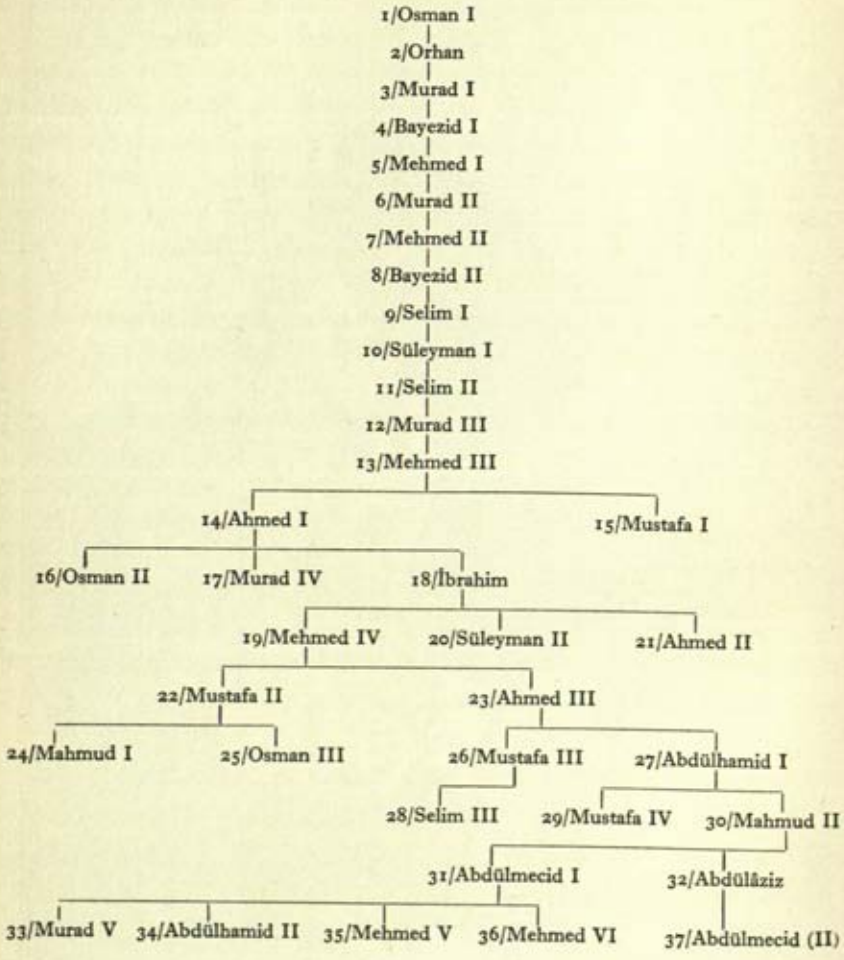


TABLE XVIII. *The Sultans, with Dates of Accession*

Sultan	*Date of accession*
1/Osman I	680 [1281] (Tribal Authority)
	699 [1300] (Independence)
2/Orhan	724 [1324]
3/Murad I	761 [1360]
4/Bayezid I	791 [6. 1389]
(Fetret Zamanı)	804 [28. 7. 1402]
5/Mehmed I	816 [5. 7. 1413]
6/Murad II (A)	824 [26. 5. 1421]
7/Mehmed II (A)	848 [1. 12. 1444]
Murad II (B)	850 [9. 1446]
Mehmed II (B)	855 [3. 2. 1451]
8/Bayezid II	886 [3. 5. 1481]
9/Selim I	918 [24. 4. 1512]
10/Süleyman I	926 [22. 9. 1520]
11/Selim II	974 [7. 9. 1566]
12/Murad III	982 [15. 12. 1574]
13/Mehmed III	1003 [16. 1. 1595]
14/Ahmed I	1012 [21. 12. 1603]
15/Mustafa I (A)	1026 [22. 11. 1617]
16/Osman II	1027 [26. 2. 1618]
Mustafa I (B)	1031 [19. 5. 1622]
17/Murad IV	1032 [10. 9. 1623]
18/İbrahim	1049 [9. 2. 1640]
19/Mehmed IV	1058 [8. 8. 1648]
20/Süleyman II	1099 [9. 11. 1687]
21/Ahmed II	1102 [23. 6. 1691]
22/Mustafa II	1106 [6. 2. 1695]
23/Ahmed III	1115 [22. 8. 1703]
24/Mahmud I	1143 [1. 10. 1730]
25/Osman III	1168 [14. 12. 1754]
26/Mustafa III	1171 [30. 10. 1757]
27/Abdülhamid I	1187 [21. 1. 1774]
28/Selim III	1203 [7. 4. 1789]
29/Mustafa IV	1222 [29. 5. 1807]
30/Mahmud II	1223 [28. 7. 1808]
31/Abdülmecid I	1255 [1. 7. 1839]
32/Abdülâziz	1277 [25. 6. 1861]
33/Murad V	1293 [30. 5. 1876]
34/Abdülhamid II	1293 [31. 8. 1876]
35/Mehmed V Reşad	1327 [27. 4. 1909]
36/Mehmed VI Vahdeddin	1336 [3. 7. 1918]
	1341 [1. 11. 1922] (Caliph only)
37/Abdülmecid (II)	1341 [19. 11. 1922] (Caliph only)
	to 1342 [3. 3. 1924]

TABLE XIX. *Ages and Reigns of the Sultans*[1]

Sultan	*Age at accession*	*Length of reign*	*Age at end of reign*	*Age at death*
1/Osman I	23	43	66	66
2/Orhan	36	36	72	72
3/Murad I	34	29.2	63	63
4/Bayezid I	29	13.1	42	43
5/Mehmed I	24	7.11	32	32
6/Murad II	17; 42	23.7; 4.4	40; 47	47
7/Mehmed II	12.8; 18.11	1.10; 30.3	14.6; 49.1	49.1
8/Bayezid II	33.3	31	64.3	64.4
9/Selim I	42	8.5	50	50
10/Süleyman I	25.11	46	71.10	71.10
11/Selim II	42.3	8.3	50.7	50.7
12/Murad III	28.5	20.1	48.6	48.6
13/Mehmed III	28.8	8.11	37.7	37.7
14/Ahmed I	13.8	13.11	27.7	27.7
15/Mustafa I	25; 30	—.3; 1.4	25.3; 31	46
16/Osman II	13.4	4.3	17.7	17.7
17/Murad IV	14	16.5	30.5	30.5
18/İbrahim	24.3	8.6	32.9	32.9
19/Mehmed IV	6.7	39.3	45.10	51
20/Süleyman II	45.7	3.7	49.2	49.2
21/Ahmed II	48.4	3.7	51.11	51.11
22/Mustafa II	30.8	8.7	39.3	39.7
23/Ahmed III	29.8	27.1	56.9	62.5
24/Mahmud I	34.2	24.2	58.4	58.4
25/Osman III	55.11	2.11	58.10	58.10
26/Mustafa III	40.9	16.3	57	57
27/Abdülhamid I	48.10	15.3	64.1	64.1
28/Selim III	27.4	18.2	45.5	46.7
29/Mustafa IV	27.9	1.2	28.11	29.2
30/Mahmud II	23	30.11	53.11	53.11
31/Abdülmecid I	16.2	22	38.2	38.2
32/Abdülâziz	31.4	14.11	46.4	46.4
33/Murad V	35.8	—.3	35.11	63.11
34/Abdülhamid II	33.11	32.8	66.7	75.5
35/Mehmed V	64.6	9.2	73.8	73.8
36/Mehmed VI	57.5	4.4	61.9	65.3
37/Abdülmecid (II)	54.5	1.3	55.8	76.2
Average[2]	31.9	17.3	50.5	51.4

[1] All ages are calculated to the nearest month.

[2] The averages are calculated as if Murad II, Mehmed II, and Mustafa I each reigned once only.

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It is with a certain hesitation that references to a number of articles in three Turkish magazines—*Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, *Tarih Dünyası*, and *Yeni Tarih Dünyası*[1]—have been included. These magazines are essentially 'popular' in aim and the articles are often far from scientific and lack proper documentation, but for two reasons they must find a place. In them many hitherto unpublished documents are presented, while some articles are the memoirs of those who actually took part in the events described.

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INDEX

N.B. A name, with number, in brackets indicates the father or mother. For any particular name, wives, sons, or daughters are given first, followed by other persons, each group chronologically. Roman numerals refer to Genealogical Tables.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

How to Use the Tables

THE following Tables contain such a mass of information that a great deal of abbreviation has been necessary; the necessary explanations are given below.

1. *The Numbers.*
   (*a*) 1–37 are for the Sultans.
   (*b*) 40–50 are for the Ancestors of Osman.
   (*c*) 55–465 are for the Wives of the Sultans.
   (*d*) 500–900 are for the Sons of the Sultans.
   (*e*) 1000–1450 are for the Daughters of the Sultans.
   (*f*) 1500–2725 are for all other persons.

2. *Dates.*
   (*a*) 748 [1347]; 748 is A.H. and 1347 is A.D.
   (*b*) B. 748 [1347]; B. is for 'birth'.
   (*c*) D. 748 [1347]; D. is for 'death'.
   (*d*) *c.* 748 [1347]; *c.* is for *circa* (about).
   (*e*) → 748 [1347]; → means 'before 1347'.
   (*f*) 748 [1347] →; → means 'after 1347'.

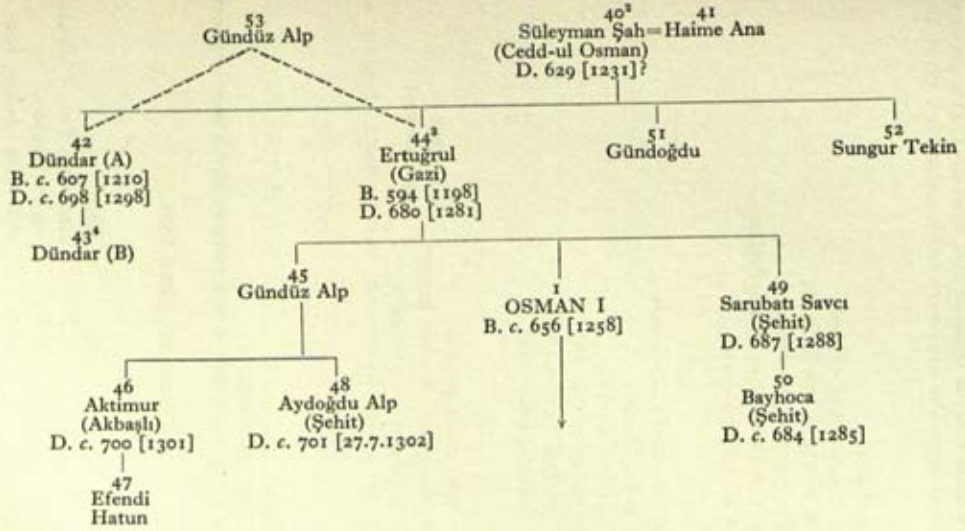
3. *Names.*
   (*a*) 1510/S.; S. is for 'son', male person.
   (*b*) 1519/D.; D. is for 'daughter', female person.
   (*c*) 1519/DD(2); DD(2) means 'two daughters'.
   } (names unknown)
   (*d*) Mehmed (A), (B), &c.; used to separate two or more children of the same name.

4. *Marriages.*
   (*a*) ═══: is for marriage.
   (*b*) (1) ═══: shows a first marriage.
   (*c*) (1) ═══(2): shows a first marriage of one partner and a second marriage of the other partner.
   (*d*) ═══╤: shows there were children, not given here.

5. *Other Abbreviations.*

Ab.	abdicated.	K.	King.
Ac.	accession.	K.P.	Kapudan Paşa (Admiral).
ass.	assassinated.	N.R.	not recognized.
B. (after name)	Bey (Lord).	*o.s.p.*	*obiit sine prolie* (no children).
Blby.	Beylerbey (Provincial Ruler).	P.	Paşa (Pasha).
Byz. E.	Byzantine Emperor.	q.v.	*quod vide* (which see).
Div.	divorced.	v.	*vide* (see).
Dp.	deposed.	V.A.	Vezir-iÂzam (Grand Vizir).
Eng.	engaged.	V.S.	Valide Sultan (Princess-Mother).
ex.	executed.		
Gov.	Governor.		

TABLE XX. THE ANCESTORS OF OSMAN I[1]



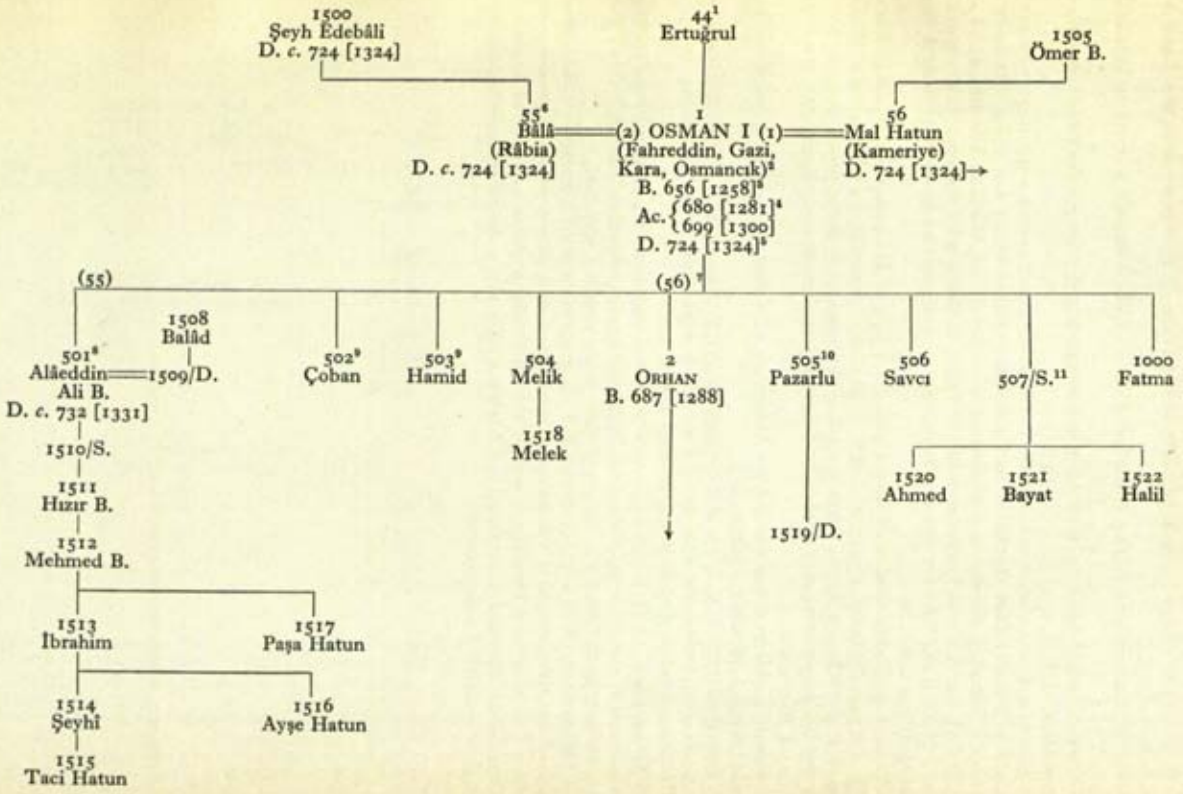
[1] For a general discussion of the origins of the Ottoman dynasty, see Köprülü in *Belleten*, 28. 219. The ancestry given here is the one normally presented by Turkish historians, but it is largely suspect and certainly cannot be taken any farther back—see Wittek, *R.O.E.* As Gibbons, 267, says: 'We cannot establish the ancestry of Osman. It is altogether probable that he had none of note, but was what the Americans would call a "self-made man".'

[2] Such is the traditional information. Wittek, 'Tughra', 323, says his name may be a confusion with the Seljuk Süleyman ibni Kutlumuş.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 22–23, n. 1, suggests the probability that Ertuğrul's father was one Gündüz Alp; *İ.A.* iv. 433, mentions a document in which he is called Tabrizli Ahmed. All that can definitely be said is that Ertuğrul was a Gaza chieftain, as is evidenced by the story of his wanderings prior to reaching Söğüt. Again, there are many varying dates, none of which can be proved; those given are generally accepted.

[4] There are hints in Cantemir, 8, and Knolles, 139, that Dündar was not one man but father and son. This does not invalidate, but rather reinforces, the argument set out on pp. 5 and 28; Osman I would have much more reason to fear the rivalry of an elder, but still active, cousin rather than a nonagenarian uncle.

TABLE XXI. OSMAN I *and his Family*



NOTES ON OSMAN I (TABLE XXI)

[1] *E.I.* iii. 1075, says he was possibly not the son of Ertuğrul; compare Langer and Blake, 496, n. 65.

[2] Ibn Battuta calls him 'The Little', and Evliya Çelebi strangely refers to him as 'The Martyr'.

[3] Various dates, from 1252 to 1260, are given, but this seems the most probable; see Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 1.

[4] The first date represents succession to the tribal authority on the death of Ertuğrul, though it is likely that the latter had abdicated before then; see p. 54. According to Feridun's *Münşeat*, Osman was appointed by a firman of Alâeddin Kaykobad III dated 683 [1284], but the text is almost certainly false; to begin with the then Sultan was Giyâsüddin II Mes'ud. The second date represents virtual independence as the Selçuk Empire collapsed; but see p. 6, n. 2.

[5] Osman probably abdicated about 1320; see p. 54. He seems to have died between Sept. 1323 and March 1324; this date is fixed by reference to the 'Asporça Hatun'un vakfiyesi' and 'Orhan Bey'in vakfiyesi'—see Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, 19. 277 and 34. 207.

[6] For the identification of Bâlâ and Mal Hatun, and their respective children, see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 26, n. 1.

[7] Osman's children are studied by Uzunçarşılı in *Belleten*, 19. 277, on the evidence of the 'Asporça Hatun'un vakfiyesi'.

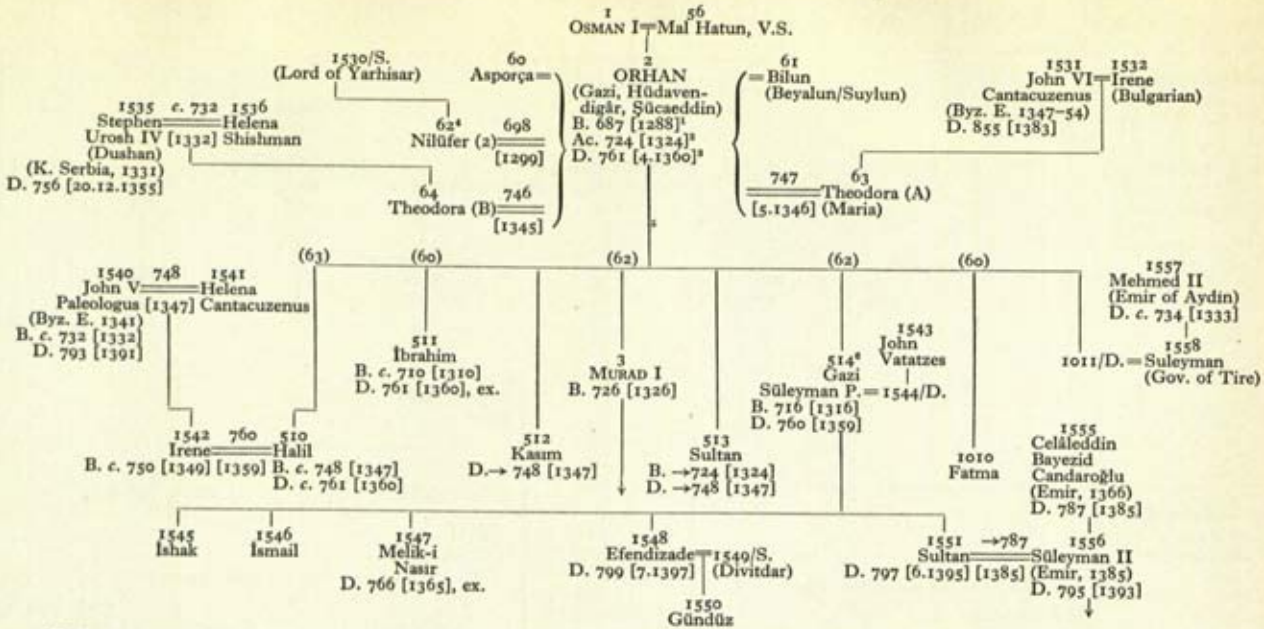
[8] Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 19, and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 32, make it clear that this man must not be confused with Alâeddin Paşa, the vizir. For his family, see *İ.A.* i. 284.

[9] For the names of Çoban and Hamid, see p. 122.

[10] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 32, n. 1, says that von Hammer, on finding 'Pazarlu Bey' in Cantacuzenus, turned it into 'Paşa Ali Bey', and made it equal to 'Alâeddin Bey'. But the same author, in *Belleten*, 19. 283, says they were possibly identical.

[11] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 22, n. 2, and *İ.A.* ii. 379, quote from Yazıcızade's *Selçukname*, a story of Ertuğrul meeting Giyâsüddin Kayhüsrev and offering him a younger son of Osman I as a servant (hostage?) and of the latter being given a 'tımar' at Yığınık, near Kâhta. When Bayezid I marched on Malatya, this son's descendants—Ahmed, Bayat, and Halil—claimed relationship.

TABLE XXII. ORHAN *and his Family*



[1] It seems likely, from the way the birth dates of the early sultans coincide with their fathers' accession dates, that the former are only traditional. Other dates for Orhan's birth, from as early as 1274, are given.

[2] See Table XXI, n. 5.

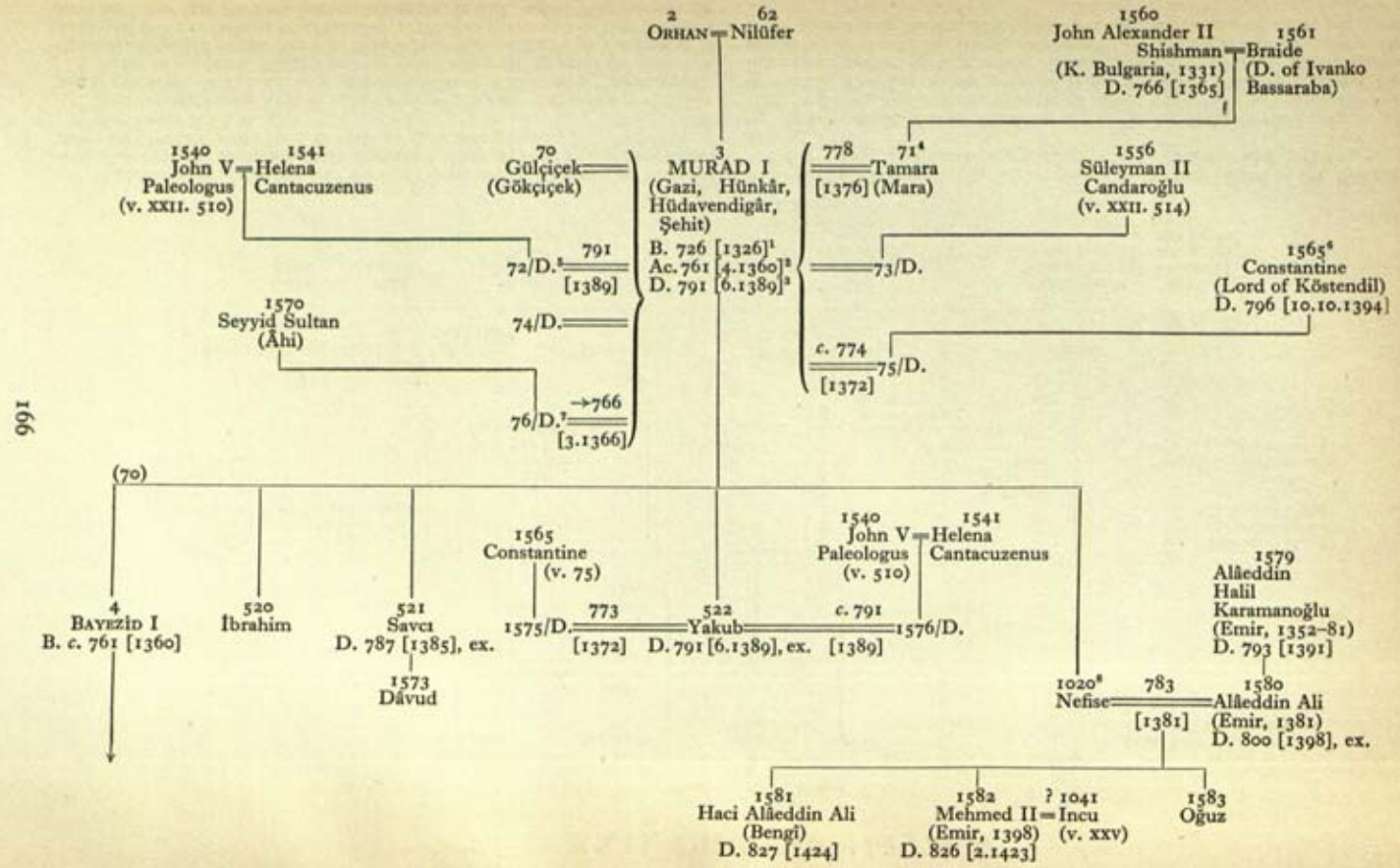
[3] Various dates from 1359 to 1362 are given; an early one seems preferable see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 62, n. 2, although Wittek, *R.O.E.* n. 57, gives 1362.

[4] As far as is known, Nilüfer was the first foreign girl to enter the Ottoman dynasty. Engaged to the Lord of Bilecik, she was captured in the spring of 1299 and given to Orhan; von Hammer, i. 186, has a strange tale that Osman I later took her into his own harem. Babinger, in *E.I.*, says: 'Not necessarily to be identified with the (Byzantine princess) Beyalun Hatun of Ibn Battuta.'

[5] For Orhan's children see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 61, and *Belleten*, 9. 99 and 19. 277.

[6] It is possible that he ruled for a time in his father's place; see p. 55. But, in giving him a whole chapter as sultan 1349–60, Chalcocondyles, 15, is wrong. The key to the mistake is in the line, 'Süleyman voulut être inhumé au goullet du Chersonese auprès de son fils'; in translating Vigenère suggests this should be 'auprès de son père', but really it was Orhan wanting to be buried near his son Süleyman, and the date should be 1358, not 1360.

TABLE XXIII. MURAD I *and his Family*



NOTES ON MURAD I (TABLE XXIII)

[1] See Table XXII, n. 1.

[2] See Table XXII, n. 3.

[3] Various dates from 15.6 to 27.8.1389 are given for the Battle of Kosova; Gibbons, 174, n. 2, and *E.W.H.*, 324, give 20.6.1389, but Atiya, *Nikopolis*, 5, prefers 15.6.1389. Note that Zambaur gives 792 [1389], while *E.I.* i. 684 gives 791 [1387], both wrong concordances.

[4] Dates as early as 771 [1370] are also given; in many marriages such discrepancies probably represent the period between the original marriage contract and the actual marriage ceremony. This marriage was a symbol of the submission of the Bulgarian kingdom, which took place in 1370.

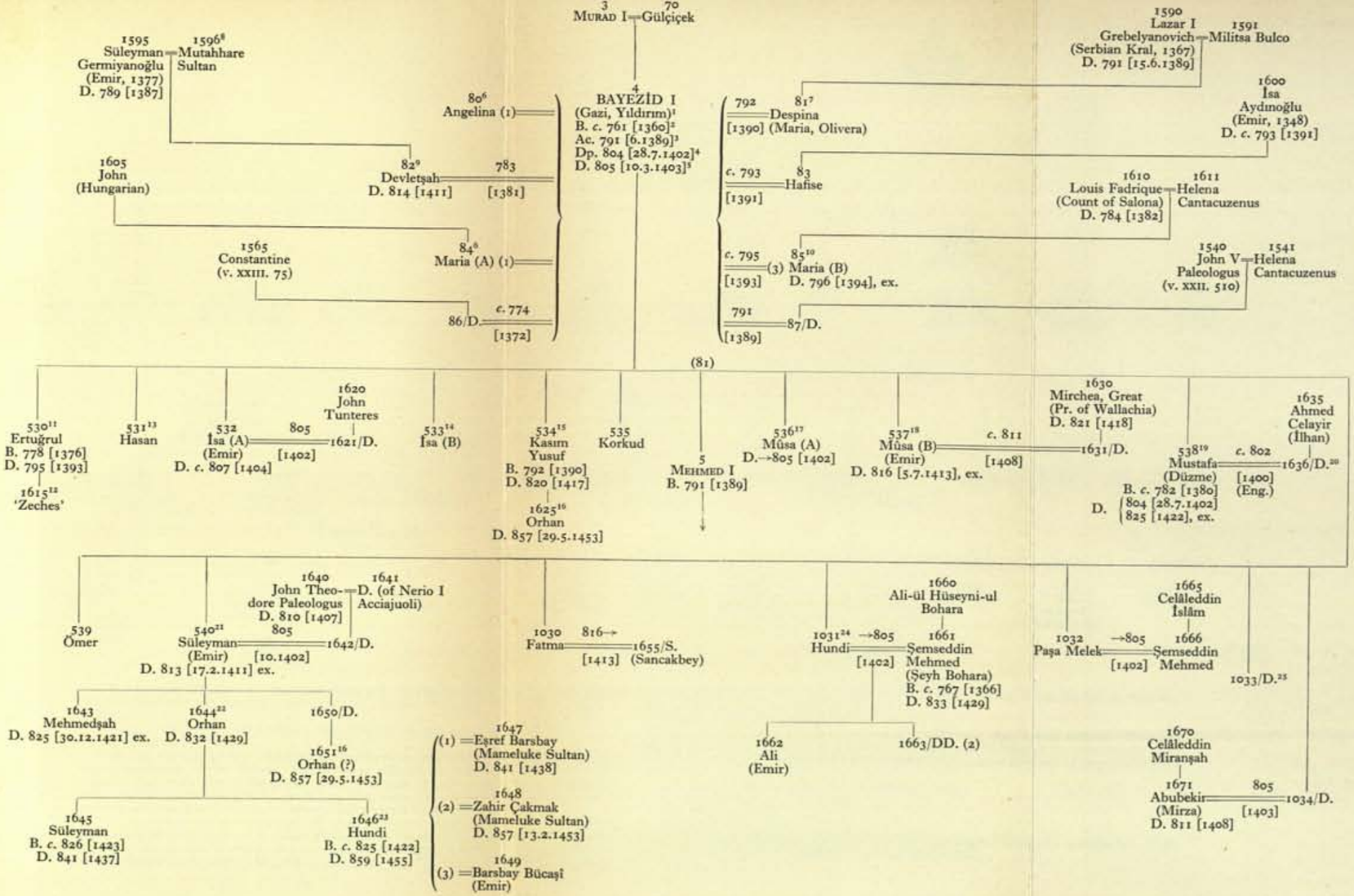
[5] See Gibbons, 160 and 173. She was of the Balsha family.

[6] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 70, n. 1.

[7] See Taeschner, in *Oriens*, vi. 1, 25, and Öz, in *T.V.* i. 4. 243.

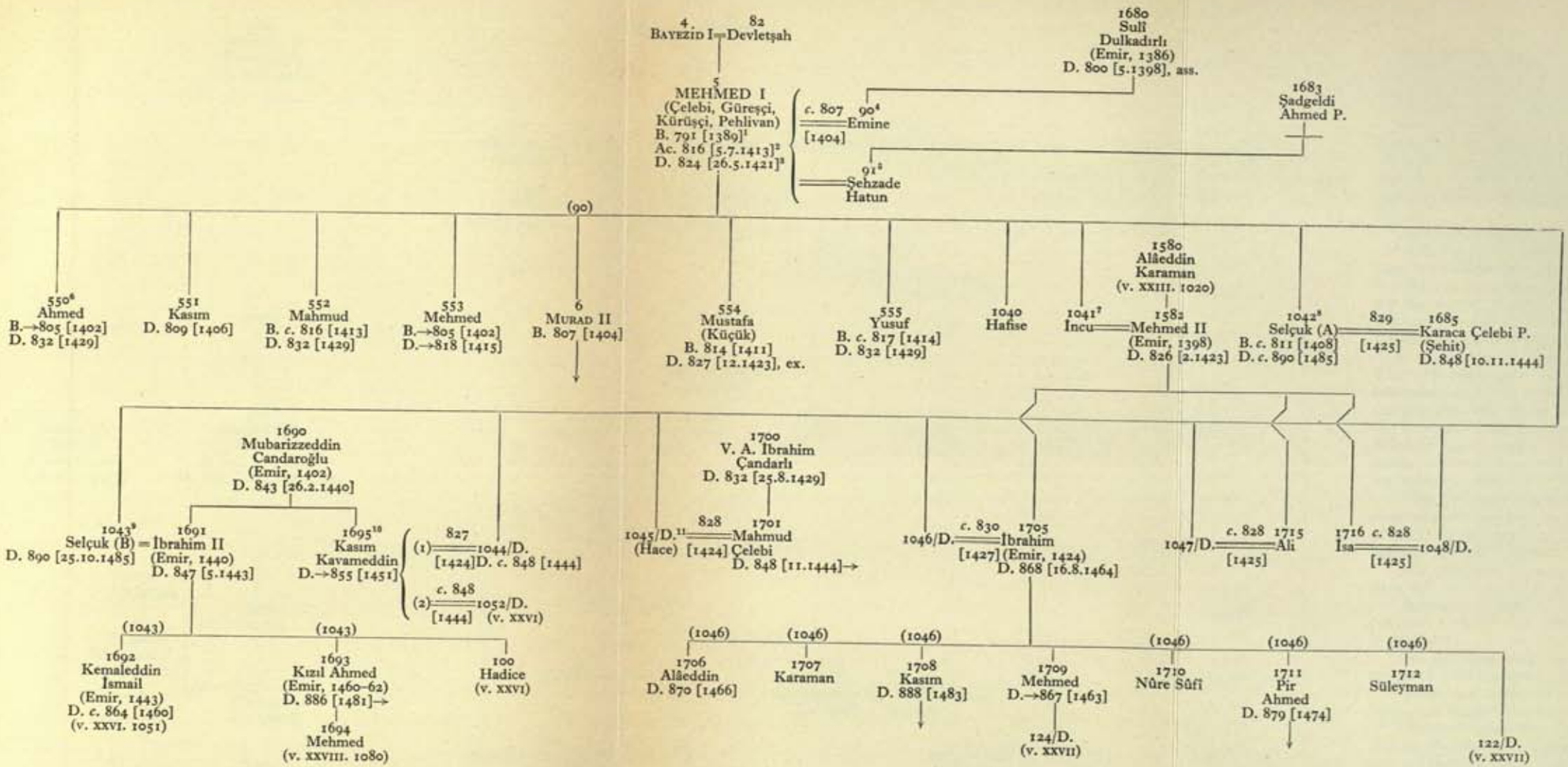
[8] There is great confusion as to the identity of Nefise and of her husband. Kramers, in *E.I.* ii. 750, and Zambaur, Table O, n. 30, speak of Nefise, daughter of Murad II marrying Alâeddin Ali Karamanoğlu in 788 [1386] (or 783 [1381]), when Murad II was not born. In *E.I.* iii. 728, Kramers says she was daughter of Murad I, and so does Zambaur, 160, n. 4, where he calls her Nefise Sultan, and marries her to Alâeddin Ali's father Alâeddin. But on the same page Zambaur notes Sultan Hatun, daughter of Murad I, marrying Alâeddin Ali's grandfather Alâeddin Halil. From all this it seems clear that Nefise was the daughter of Murad I; were she the daughter of Murad II (born 1404), she could hardly have married Alâeddin Ali (died 1424). From the inscription on the 'Hatuniyye medresesi' at Karaman, it is clear that the wedding took place at least in 1381, if not earlier. There is no direct proof, but it is probable that Nefise Sultan and Sultan Hatun were one and the same person, and that she married Alâeddin, the son of the then Emir, Alâeddin Halil. See also Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 65.

TABLE XXIV. BAYEZİD I *and his Family*



[1] The title 'Yıldırım' was gained at the Battle of Konya, 1386.
[2] See Table XXII, n. 1.
[3] See Table XXIII, n. 1.
[4] This is the date of the Battle of Ankara given by Arabshah, 184, and accepted by Iorga and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 166, n. 1.
[5] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 170, and Köprülü in *Belleten*, 2. 591, and 27. 591, both accept the theory that Bayezid committed suicide, as a result of depression.
[6] Argote de Molina (the first editor of Clavijo), in his 'Discurso' to the Editio Princeps of 1582, states that with Timur's ambassadors to Henry III of Castile were sent two Christian women found in the harem of Bayezid I. One of these was 80/Angelina, a Greek, who subsequently married Don Diego Gonzalez de Contreras; the second was 84/Maria, daughter of a certain Count John of Hungary, who became the wife of Don Payo Gomez de Soto Mayor—see Clavijo, 340.
[7] 81/Despina is the only wife named as having been captured after the Battle of Ankara; for her sufferings at the hands of Timur, see p. 93. Her eventual fate is not known.
[8] 1596/Mutahhare Sultan, daughter of Sultan Vlad, was a granddaughter of Mevlâna Celâleddin Rumî—see Akyurt, in *T.T.A.E.* iii. 127.
[9] Also known as Sultan Hatun, though *İ.A.* ii. 369, says it is not certain they were the same person; in any case the mother of Mehmed I was Devlet Hatun, who was buried in 1031/Hundi Hatun's tomb at Bursa.
[10] 85/Maria had been engaged to both the younger Rocaberti and Stephen Doukas *c.* 1385, before being captured by Bayezid I. 'The Sultan murdered the fair young countess, considering a descendant of Aragon and Byzantium unworthy of his embraces.' Miller, W., 347.
[11] Şükrüllah, in Uzunçarşılı's *O.T.* i. 58, says that the mothers of all Bayezid's sons were slaves ('kırnak'), but this was certainly not true of Mehmed I's.
[12] Given thus by Ducange, quoting Leunclavius, n. 59.
[13] Leunclavius, 14, says he was very young at the time of the Battle of Ankara.
[14] Chalcocondyles, i. 85, says there was a younger İsa, who turned Christian.
[15] Sent by 540/Süleyman as a hostage to Constantinople, along with his sister 1030/Fatma. von Hammer, ii. 195, says he was blinded.
[16] There is much confusion as to the identity of this prince. Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 229, says son of 534/Kasım, while Mirmiroğlu, 12, n. 1, makes him a grandson of 540/Süleyman, i.e. 1651/Orhan. See Murat, 'Orhan', in *R.T.M.* v. 3033.
[17] See Kepcioğlu, *V.D.* ii. 409, and Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 182, n. 1. This Mûsa was buried with his grandfather.
[18] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 182, n. 1, says he died 816 [10.8.1413], and was buried with his father.
[19] He died either at the Battle of Ankara, 1402, or by execution in 1422—it depends whether the later Mustafa was real or a pretender; see p. 50.
[20] Her father had fled before Timur and taken refuge at Bursa.
[21] See Wittek, in *Belleten*, 27. 577, and n. 28. It is very difficult to decide who his children were. Also Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 68. 521.
[22] With his sister, 1650/D., he was a hostage in Constantinople; was later captured and blinded by Mehmed I, given Geyve Hisar, and died of plague in Bursa. See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 54, and in *Belleten*, 68. 524.
[23] See Uzunçarşılı, ibid. Her real name was probably Fatma; 'Hund' indicates she was one of Barsbay's 'Hundat' (official wives). By Çakmak she had four sons, the eldest Ahmed, who all died of plague, 853 [26.3.1449]; this second marriage ended in divorce, 854 [25.12.1450].
[24] She is named in the 'Emir Şemseddin vakfiyesi', dated 15 Receb, 874, contained in 'Maliyeden müdevver vesikalar', No. 162/1, in the 'Başbakanlık' Archives in İstanbul.
[25] Von Hammer, i. 339, speaks of a plan to marry a daughter of Bayezid I to Ladislas of Naples; nothing came of it. But the idea is interesting as being the only occasion on which a sultan's daughter was offered to a Christian.

TABLE XXV. MEHMED I *and his Family*



[1] Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 84, lists dates from 1375 to 1390; a fairly late one is preferable because Mehmed was Bayezid's youngest son, and the latter only married Devletşah in 1381.

[2] Note that Mehmed only became sultan when he had put an end to the 'Devr-i Fetret' by his defeat of 537/Mûsa.

[3] He was the first of the sultans whose deaths were kept secret until the successor had taken possession of the throne. The extreme precautions taken by the Grand Vizir Bayezid Paşa were due to the presence and activities of 538/Mustafa and 554/Mustafa, both pretenders to the throne. Arabshah, 187, says that Mehmed I died, 'of poison secretly given to him by Kucakar among the presents of Al Malik Muidi'.

[4] Some writers put the marriage just after the Battle of Ankara, but it is unlikely to have taken place in the hour of defeat. Probably the betrothal was arranged at the time of Bayezid's conquest of Dulkadır in 1399, and the marriage concluded when Mehmed had re-established his fortunes. Danışmend, Zambaur, and Babinger (in *Der Islam*, xxix. 222, n. 3) say Emine was a daughter of 1680/Sulî Bey, while Yınanç, M. L., in *İ.A.* iii. 659–60, says her father was Nasreddin Mehmed.

[5] See Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 10.

[6] The lists of Mehmed I's sons given by Solakzade, &c., which include 'Alâeddin, Hasan and Orhan', seem to be confused with the sons of Murad II. 550/Ahmed, 552/Mahmud, and 555/Yusuf were blinded by Murad II (*c.* 1420) and died of plague at Bursa; see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* i. 288.

[7] See İlyazıcı Defteri, 18 (in the *Başbakanlik Arşiv*).

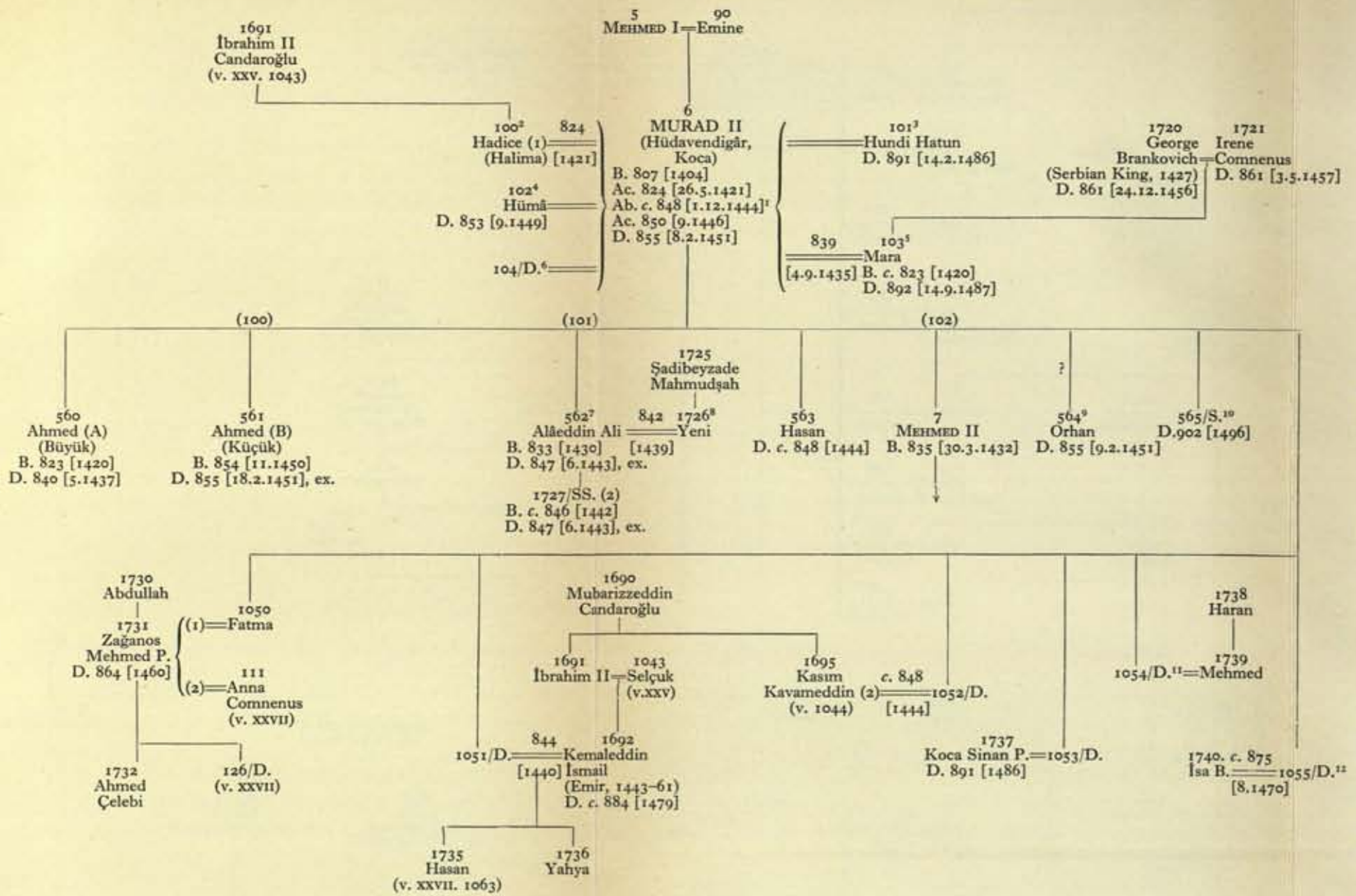
[8] See Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 361.

[9] See Zambaur, 149.

[10] See Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 232.

[11] Knolles, 258, says she went to Mekka and died there. Mahmud's grandfather, Kara Halil Hayreddin Paşa, was related to 1500/Şeyh Edebali.

TABLE XXVI. MURAD II *and his Family*



[1] Authorities such as von Hammer, Danışmend, and Zambaur all give different dates for the Abdication and Second Accession of Murad. The most recent study is that of Babinger, in *Oriens*, III. ii. 229, and *Mehmed II*, 45–64. The sequence of events is described on p. 55.

[2] Babinger, in *Oriens*, II. i. 2, gives this early date; Danışmend prefers 827 [1424] and others give even later dates. For the discrepancy, see Murad I, n. 4. Whilst most authorities say Hadice was the daughter of İbrahim, Zambaur gives her father as Mubarizzeddin. After Mehmed II came to the throne, he forced Hadice to marry İshak Paşa, Beylerbeyi of Anatolia.

[3] She was really only Mehmed II's nurse. See Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 22.

[4] Relying on the inscription on the 'Hatuniyye Türbesi' at Bursa, most authorities agree that 101/Hümâ was the mother of Mehmed II, but there is great disagreement as to her identity. Most Turkish writers say she was of Turkish blood, as in Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 202, while Babinger, in *Der Islam*, xxix. 218, says she was a foreign slave. All the theories are discussed by Babinger, in *Mehmed II*, 21–22, where he says: 'Wer des Kindes Mutter war, ist bis zur Stunde in Dunkel gehüllt.' This very uncertainty suggests that she was not of high Turkish birth, otherwise her family would have been recorded. In any case, when considering the early life of Mehmed II, it must be remembered that only the accident of the deaths of two elder brothers—560/Ahmed and 562/Alâeddin Ali—brought him within reach of the throne. Further, Murad II much preferred these two sons to Mehmed, as is clear from his will; see Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 63.

[5] That Mehmed II sent her back to Serbia at his accession is taken as proof that she was not his mother. Owing to the disturbed state of that country she returned to Turkey *c.* 1458. Babinger, in *Oriens*, II. i. 1, declares she was childless.

[6] Von Hammer, iii. 224, says she was related to George Balsha, son of Stracimir, and was later sent home to Epirus.

[7] Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 36, tells of the murder of Alâeddin Ali and his two sons by Kara Hıdr Paşa, on the orders of Murad II, but the reason is not known.

[8] See Babinger, in *Oriens*, III. ii. 234, n. 19. But in *Mehmed II*, 25, he speaks of Yeni marrying Murad II.

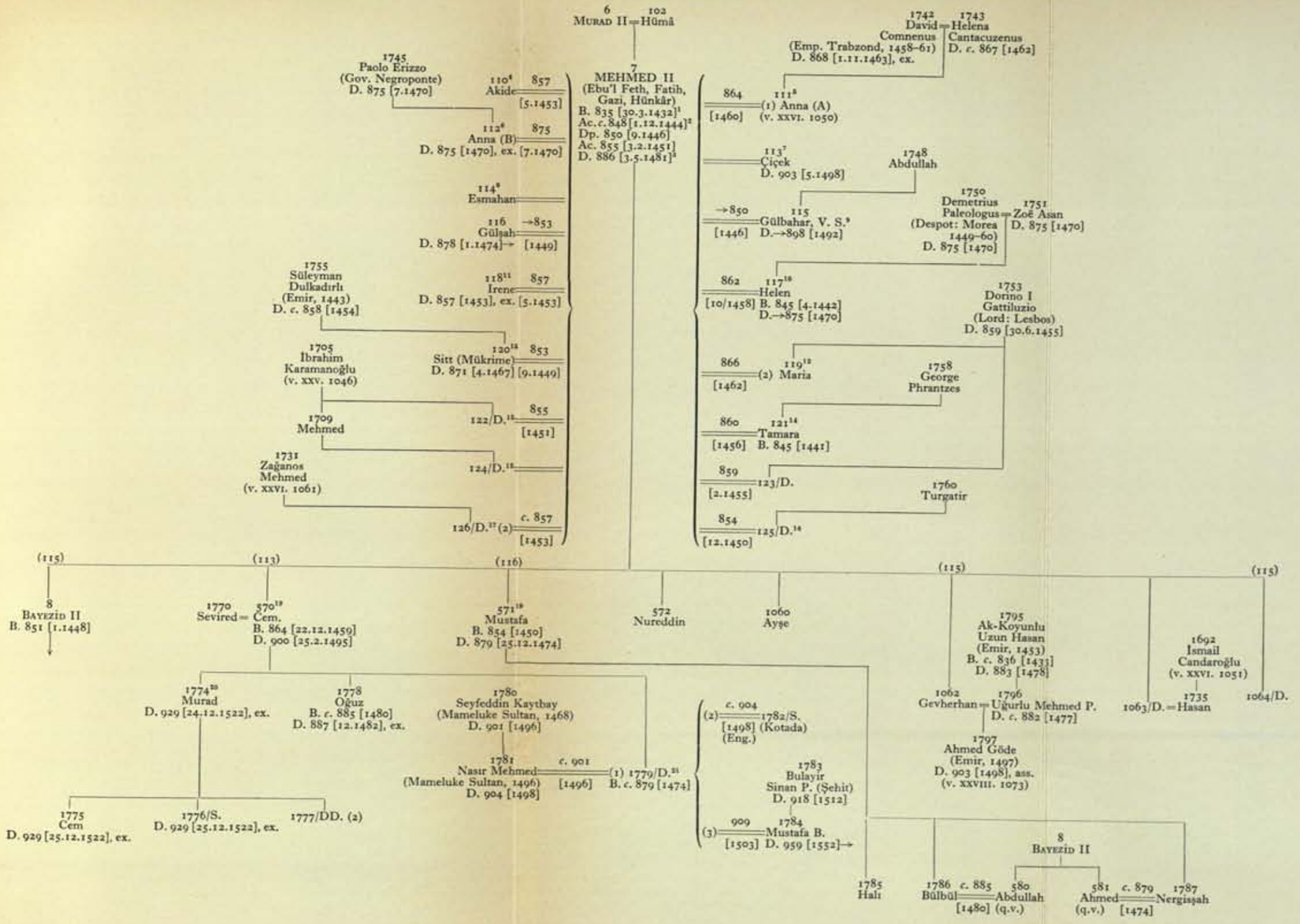
[9] Giese, 252, speaks of an Orhan, elder brother of Mehmed II and a hostage at Byzantium, but this was more likely to be 1625/Orhan.

[10] Chalcocondyles, 163, says: 'Un autre fils qu'il [Murad] avait par la fille de Spender . . . Calapin [Çelebi] lequel s'étant fait Chrestien fut nommé sur les Fonts Calixte Othoman.' This also sounds rather like 1625/Orhan, or else one of the sons of 1774/Murad.

[11] See von Hammer, ii. 360.

[12] According to Angiolello she appears to have been a mad sadist; as Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 342, says, it would be interesting to know whether she was a full sister of Mehmed.

TABLE XXVII. MEHMED II *and his Family*



[1] See Babinger, in *Oriens*, II. i. 1, and Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 199.

[2] See Murad II, n. 1.

[3] Mehmed was certainly suffering from a violent attack of gout, but there is some suspicion that Al-lari Hamideddin poisoned him; see Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 493, and Lewis, 563.

[4] An attempt has been made to list not only the actual wives of Mehmed II, but also all the women known to have been taken into his harem, whether they remained there and received favour or not. Akide was supposedly a Frankish girl captured at Constantinople; see von Hammer, ii. 435, 527, and Evliya, i. 48.

[5] Captured at Trabzond, Mehmed refused her and she was then married successively to 1791/Zağanos Mehmed and Elvanbeyzade Sinan Bey; before the latter marriage she turned Muslim.

[6] Captured at the fall of Negroponte, she refused the Sultan's advances and was killed.

[7] Was probably of Turkish origin, and had a brother, Dayı Ali Bey.

[8] See von Hammer, iii. 194.

[9] Whilst it is agreed she was the mother of Bayezid II, there is no agreement as to her origin; Babinger, in *Der Islam*, xxix. 219, says she was of 'lowly Slav origin'.

[10] She was offered to Mehmed II, but finally rejected, 'for the Sultan feared she might poison him'. Miller, W., 452, quoting from Greek sources.

[11] Knolles, 350, says she was captured at Constantinople and later executed; see Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 514.

[12] Captured at Trabzond, she was the wife of Alexander Comnenus.

[13] Her story is studied very carefully by Babinger, in *Der Islam*, xxix. 217. There he expressly says that she had no sons and probably no children at all, and gives the date of her death as 4.1467, but in *Mehmed II*, 77, he gives 9.1486.

[14] See von Hammer, ii. 436.

[15] The sources disagree as to whether there were two wives, or one; and if the latter, whose daughter she was. Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 229, says of İbrahim, while von Hammer, iii. 142, says of Mehmed.

[16] See Schlumberger, 4.

[17] See Chalcocondyles, 176; she had been previously engaged to Mehmed Mihaloğlu.

[18] For Cem's attempts to become sultan, see p. 6. On the responsibility for his death see Fisher, 47–49 and n. 135, where he says death was natural, from pneumonia. Babinger, *Mehmed II*, 210, speaks of 'lingering poison'.

[19] It is clear his death was natural; see Babinger, *Mehmed*, 400. However, Knolles, 411, has a story that he was executed for the rape of İshak Paşa's daughter, wife of Gedik Ahmed Paşa. Babinger, ibid. 294.

[20] Murad and his sons, 1775/Cem and 1776/S., were captured and executed by Süleyman I at the Siege of Rhodes.

[21] Married to the Mameluke Sultan, at his death she was promised to a member of the Kotada family. However, Bayezid II insisted on her return to Turkey and she was given to Sinan Paşa's son, see Sürreya, iii. 103.

TABLE XXVIII. BAYEZİD II *and his Family*

1900 Alâeddevlet Bozkurt Dulkadırlı (Emir, 1480) D. 921 [12.6.1515], ex.

7 MEHMED II = 115[4] Gülbahar, V.S.

1905 Nasuh Karamanoğlu

130 →871 Ayşe = D.→918 [1512] [1467]

132 Gülruh =

134 Mühürnaz =

136 Şirin =

8 BAYEZID II (Adli, Sofu, Veli, Yıldırım[1]) B. 851 [1.1448][2] Ac. 886 [3.5.1481] Dp. 918 [24.4.1512] D. 918 [26.5.1512][2]

131[3] = Bülbül

133[3] = Hüsnüşah

135 = Nigâr

= 137/D.[7]

(135) (131) (132) (134)

571 Mustafa (v. XXVII)

580[8] Abdullah = D. 888 [12.1483]

c. 885 [1480]

1786 = Bülbül

1787 Nergişşah = [1474]

c. 879

581[9] Ahmed B. 870 [1465] D. 919 [24.4.1513], ex.

582[10] Alemşah B. 871 [1467] D. *c.* 916 [1510]

583[11] Korkud B. 874 [1470] D. 918 [3.1513], ex.

1910 Alâeddin Ali D. 919 [14.5.1513]

1912 Kasım B. *c.* 906 [1501] D. 924 [29.1.1518], ex.

1917 Osman D. 919 [24.4.1513], ex.

1918 Süleyman D. 919 [25.4.1513]

1914 Şeyh Haydar B. *c.* 864 [4.1460] D. 893 [9.7.1488]

1919/D. = [1512]

918

1915 İsmail I (Persian Şah, 1500) B. 892 [17.7.1487] D. 930 [23.5.1524]

1913 Murad = D. 927 [1.1521]

919 = [1513] 1916/D.

1926 Ayşe

1925 Osmanşah B. *c.* 897 [1492] D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1928 Ferrahşad = 1929 Bâli Mehmed Ef. D. *c.* 980 [1572]

(137) (130) (133)

1950 Menkili Giray (Krim Hân, 1467) D. 920 [1514]

584 Mahmud B. *c.* 881 [1476] D. 913 [1507], ex.

585[12] Mehmed = B. 880 [1475] D.→912 [3.1507], ex.

140 (1) Ayse (v. XXIX)

9 SELİM I B. 875 [1470]

586 Şahinşah B. 864 [1460] D. 917 [2.7.1511]

1936 Emir D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1937 Mûsa B. 896 [1491] D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1940 Orhan D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1941 Ayşe = 1942[13] Mehmed B. = Fatma D. 939 [1533]

1945 Hançerli

? 1951 Alemşah

1953 Fatma D. 963 [1556]

1955 Alâeddin D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1956 Mahmud

1957 Mehmed B. 912 [1506] D. 918 [16.12.1512], ex.

1958 Mustafa

1938 Osman

1939 Süleyman

1943 Kasım

1944 Mustafa

1952 Osman

(137) (135) (131)

1964[15] V. A. Ahmed P., Dukaginzade D. 921 [4.3.1515], ex.

1796 Uğurlu Mehmed, Ak Koyunlu

1974 Stephen Vukchich (Kossarich) (Duke: Herzegovina) D. 870 [22.5.1466] = 1975 Barbara de Landshut

1959 K. P. Güvey Sinan P. D. 909 [1503] = 1070[14] Ayşe D. 918 [1512]→

1960 Mihrimah

1961 V. A. Dâvud P. D. 904 [20.10.1498]

1071 Fatma (Sofu) [1489] = 894 = 1962 Mustafa P. D. 930 [1524]

1072 Gevheri Muluk D. 957 [1550] = 1965 Mehmed P., Dukaginzade D. 964 [21.1.1557]

1073 Hadice (Aynışah) [1489] = 895 = 1797 Ahmed Göde (v. XXVII. 1062)

1973 Zeyneddin

1966 Ahmed D. 964 [1557]

1967 Neslişah = D. 987 [1579]

1968 İskender B., Dukaginzade D. 990 [1582]

1969 Mehmed B.

1970 Mustafa B.

1074 Hundi = D.→917 [1511]

c. 886 [1481]

1976[16] V. A. Ahmed Hersekoğlu B. 863 [6.1459] D. 923 [21.7.1517]

1977 Ali

1978 Mustafa

1979 Aynışah

1980 Kamerşah

1981 Mahdumzade D. *c.* 917 [1511]

1982 Antalyalı Bâli B. D. 900 [1495] = 1075 Hümâ

1983 Ahmed P. = 1076[17] İlaldı

1984 Şehzade

1077 Selçuk D.→918 [1512] = 1985 Ferhad B. D. 890 [1485]

1986 Hûsrev (Gazi) B. *c.* 885 [1480] D. 948 [18.6.1541]

1987 Mahmud D.→948 [1541]

1988 Neslişah

1990 Mehmed Hızır Ağa = 1078[18] Sofu

1991 Mehmed B. (Şehit) D. 926 [24.8.1521] (v. XXIX. 1095)

1079 D. = 1992 Kara Dâvud P., Nişancı D. 911 [1505]

1693 Kızıl Ahmed Candaroğlu

1694 Mehmed = 1080/D. Mirza (v. XXV. 1043)

1994 Mustafa P. D. 972 [1565]

1995[19] Şemsi Ahmed P. D. 988 [1580]

1996 Mahmud P. D. 1011 [1602]

1081/D. = 894 = [1489] 1998 Nasuh B.

1999 Hüsrev B. (Gazi) D. 950 [1543]→

2000 Mahmud B.

2002 Rüstem P. = 1082/D.[20] (Güzelce) D. 946 [11.1539]

1083/D. = 907 = [1501] 2004 Yahya P. D. 912 [1506]

2005 Ahmed B.

2006[21] Koca Bâli P. D. 932 [1526]

2007 Dervîş B. D. 957 [1550]

1084/D. = →903 = [1498] 2011[21] Yakub P.

2008 Mehmed P. D. 958 [1551]

2009 Mehmed Arslan P. D. 974 [3.8.1566], ex.

2012/S. = 907 (Egyptian [1501] Mameluke) = 1085/D.[22]

[1] Bayezid II was known by this title, inherited from Bayezid I, particularly among the Persians; see Ünver, 3. n. 2.

[2] Babinger, in *Der İslam*, xxix. 217, gives reasons for this date.

[3] See Fisher, 111; a dervish had tried to assassinate him in Albania in 1493, ibid. 46, n. 119. If Selim I had his father murdered, it was only in accordance with the rule that there could not be two sultans in one empire.

[4] For Bayezid II's mother, see Table XXVII, n. 9 and n. 13.

[5] Much light is thrown on Bayezid II's harem by the series of articles by Uluçay, 'Haremden Mektuplar', in *Y.T.D.*

[6] See Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 233, and in *Belleten*, 16. 502.

[7] The name is not known, but she was the mother of 584/Mahmud and a daughter Gevher, presumably 1072/Gevheri Muluk; see Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* i. 251.

[8] Bayezid's marriage policy is particularly important, as applied to both children and grandchildren; see p. 88.

[9] There is a great deal of confusion among the authorities as to the children of the various sons of Bayezid; the names 'Emir, Orhan and Mûsa' appear as sons of 581/Ahmed, 584/Mahmud, and 585/Mehmed, but rightly they only belong to 584/Mahmud.

[10] Fisher, 104, says he died in 1503, but he was governor of Manisa from 1507; see Uzunçarşılı, *S.T.* 119. Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* i. 284, gives a letter from his mother to Bayezid II, telling how Alemşah was killing himself with drink. For his daughters, ibid. ii. 734. For his life, see Gökbilgin, in *İ.A.* vi. 855.

[11] Fisher, 106, says he was a full-brother of Selim I, and, therefore, son of 130/Ayşe.

[12] It is not clear which of the daughters married Mehmed; see Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* i. 207.

[13] Fisher, *passim*, mistakes Mahmud for Mehmed; it was the latter who was governor of Kefe, and so first husband of 140/Ayşe.

[14] See Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* i. 338. She was a sister of either 581/Ahmed or 583/Korkud; ibid. ii. 664.

[15] His name suggests that he was descended from some Frankish prince, Duke John, established in Albania.

[16] For a detailed study of Ahmed, see Simsar. Von Hammer, iv. 19 and 43, suggests that he first married a daughter of Mehmed II, but this is doubtful.

[17] See Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* ii. 617.

[18] This marriage and the identity of her son are doubtful; see Chalcocondyles, 297.

[19] This is the origin of the 'Kızıl Ahmedliler'; see p. 15.

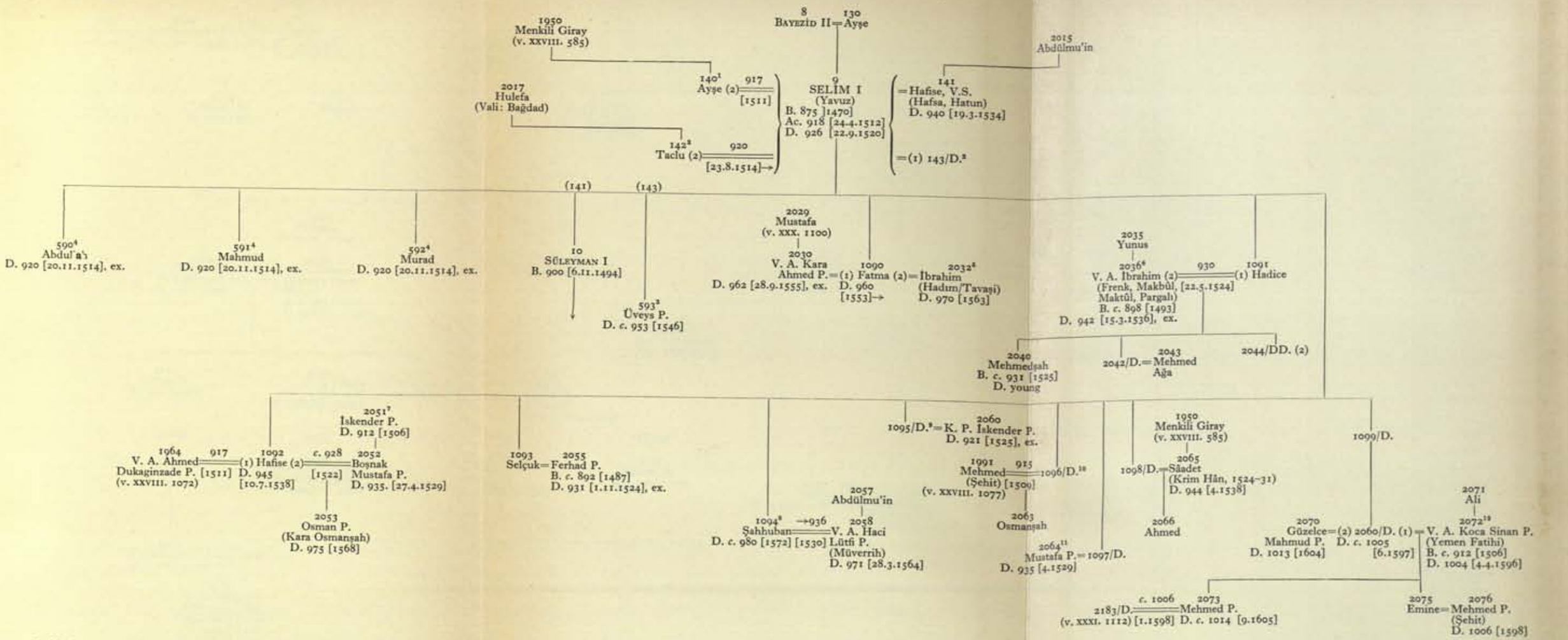
[20] See Fisher, 17, n. 33, on the authority of Da Lezze (Angiolello).

[21] The identity of 2011/Yakub is not clear, but he was probably 570/Cem's 'Lâla', rewarded for betraying his master in 1481.

[22] See Fisher, 93, quoting Malaverti in Sanuto.

[23] His wife, probably a member of the dynasty, was accused of adultery; see Uluçay, in *Y.T.D.* ii. 698.

TABLE XXIX. SELİM I *and his Family*



[1] She had previously been the wife of 585/Mehmed; this second marriage was contrary to Bayezid II's wishes, see Fisher, 107.

[2] Wife of 1915/Şah İsmail, she was captured at the Battle of Çaldıran, and taken into Selim's harem for a while, but was then given to Tacızade Cafer Çelebi.

[3] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 383, n. 2, tells how 593/Üveys was a son of Selim I, born from a slave after he had given her in marriage to one of his lords—and never recognized as being of royal blood.

[4] Danişmend, *O.T.K.* ii. 5, quotes Ahmed Tevhid (in *T.O.E.M.*) as speaking of a tradition that Selim had these three sons executed just to make the way clear for Süleyman I; if so, it was a grave threat to the Succession.

[5] As Erdoğan says, in *V.D.* i. 33, it seems strange that Fatma should make a husband out of this 'adopted friend' ('Ahret arkadaşı'), since by his titles he was a eunuch.

[6] His first wife was Muhsine (D. 942 [1536]→), whom he does not seem to have put away on marrying into the Sultan's family. Recently some Turkish writers have cast doubts on İbrahim's marriage to 1091/Hadice; but the letters published by Uluçay, *Aşk Mektupları*, 48–76, show conclusively that İbrahim's wife was a member of the dynasty, even though—as he never actually names her—it is possible her name was not Hadice.

[7] See Babinger, in *Belleten*, 65, pp. 73–74.

[8] They were divorced on the grounds of Lütfi's cruelty; see p. 100, n. 1.

[9] See Chalcocondyles, 380.

[10] It is possible that this daughter was 1091/Hadice, and that she was a widow when she married 2036/İbrahim.

[11] For this marriage see Sürreya, iv. 372; if it was completed, it seems that relations with his father-in-law were very strained.

[12] It is not clear whose daughter Sinan, a brother of Ayas Paşa, married. Sürreya, iv. 316, suggests she was a granddaughter of 581/Ahmed.

TABLE XXX. SÜLEYMAN I *and his Family*

9 Selim I = 141 Hafise

10 SÜLEYMAN I (Gazi, Kanuni, Muhteşem, Sahib-i Kıran, Sahib-ul Aşeret-el Kamilet, Şehit)[1] B. 900 [6.11.1494][2] Ac. 926 [22.9.1520] D. 974 [7.9.1566] — →926 [1520] — 151[4] Hurrem (Roxelana) B. *c.* 906 [1500] D. 965 [15.4.1558]

150[3] Gülfem

2085 Abdurrahman

152[5] Mâhidevran (Gülbahar) [1515] →920 D. 988 [3.2.1581]

(151) 600 Abdullah B. 929 [1522] D. 932 [1526]

(151) 601 Bayezid B. 931 [14.9.1525] D. 969 [25.9.1561], ex.

(151) 602 Cihangir (Eğri) B. 937 [1531] D. 960 [27.11.1553]

603 Mahmud B. *c.* 918 [1512] D. *c.* 928 [1522]

2090 Abdullah D. 969 [25.9.1561], ex.

2091 Mahmud D. 969 [25.9.1561], ex.

2092 Mehmed D. 969 [25.9.1561], ex.

2093 Murad D. 967 [1560]

2094 Orhan D. 969 [25.9.1561], ex.

2095 Osman B. *c.* 964 [1557] D. 967 [1560], ex.

2096? Süleyman B. 964 [1557]

2097 Ayşe

2098 Hadice

2099 Hanzade

2100 Mihrimâh B. *c.* 957 [1550]

(151) 604 Mehmed B. 927 [1521] D. 950 [6.11.1543] = 2101[6] (1) Aya (v. XXXV. 202)

(152) 605 Murad B. *c.* 925 [1519] D. 927 [10.1521]

606[7] Mustafa B. 921 [1515] D. 960 [6.10.1553], ex.

(151) 11 Selim II B. 930 [28.5.1524]

2103 Mustafa P.

2105 Mehmed P. D. 1000 [8.1592]

2102 (2) Hümâşah B. *c.* 950 [1543] — *c.* 974 [1566] — 2104 Ferhad P. B. 932 [1526] D. 982 [6.2.1575]

2118 Mehmed (Murad) D. 960 [10.1553], ex.

2119 Şah = 2120 Hasan Ağa

2121/D. = 2122 Mahmud D. 985 [2.10.1577]

2106 Haci P. D. 1036 [1627]

2108 Hasan B. D. 1012 [1603]

2109 Hüsnü

2110 İbrahim (Şehit) D. 1010 [1601]

2112 Mustafa Ağa B. *c.* 975 [1568] D. 1001 [1593]

2113 Osman (Şehit) D. 1040 [1630]

2114 Süleyman

2115 Fatma = 2116 Mustafa P. — 2117 Mehmed B. D. 994 [1586] D. 996 [1588]

(151) 1100 Mihrimâh B. 928 [1522] D. 985 [25.1.1578] — 946 [11.1539] — 2126 V. A. Rüstem P. (Kehle-i İkbal, Mekri) B. *c.* 905 [1500] D. 968 [11.7.1561]

2029 Mustafa (v. XXIX. 1090)

1101/D. D. 927 [17.10.1521]

1102/D. = 2145 ? Müezzinzade K. P. Ali P. D. 979 [7.10.1571]

2146 Ahmed B. *c.* 957 [1550] D. *c.* 979 [1571]

2147 Mehmed B. 967 [1560]

2127 Osman B. D. 984 [1576]

2129 V. A. Semiz Ahmed P. D. 988 [28.5.1580]

2128 (1) Hümâşah (2) Ayşe (Hace) — 990 [6.4.1582] — 2130[8] Feridun Ahmed B. (Nişancı) D. 991 [16.3.1583]

(2129) 2131 Abdurrahman B. D. *c.* 1005 [1597] = 2137/D.

2138 V. A. Mehmed (Civankapıcıbaşı, Sultanzade, Semin) B. 1011 [1602] D. 1056 [7.1646)

(2129) 2132 Hakanî Mehmed B. (Sultanzade, Şehit) D. 1001 [20.6.1593]

(2129) 2133 Mustafa P. (Şehit) D. 1001 [20.6.1593]

(2129) 2134 Osman B. D. *c.* 999 [1591]

2139 Mahmud D. 1052 [1.1643] (v. XXXIII. 1143)

2135 Saliha D. *c.* 974 [1576] [1573] — 981 — 2136[9] V. A. Ciğalazade Yusuf Sinan P. B. *c.* 956 [1549] D. 1014 [2.12.1605], suicide

2140/D. = 2141 Hasan B.

[1] Note that he was never known among the Turks by the titles used in Europe—'Great' and 'Magnificent'. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, xviii. 323, says he was often called 'Süleymanşah', borrowing from the legendary 40/Süleymanşah, supposed father of 44/Ertuğrul.

[2] Babinger, in *M.O.G.* ii. 165, gives this date, but Danışmend, *O.T.K.* i. 400, prefers 900 [27.4.1495].

[3] See Uluçay, *Aşk Mektupları*, 9.

[4] See p. 93, n. 3, and p. 96, n. 1, for this marriage. Hurrem was almost certainly Slav in origin, but nothing definite can be said of her parentage, in spite of many legends. The very word 'Roxelana' is a corruption of 'La Rossa'—the Russian.

[5] See Kepcioğlu, in *V.D.* ii. 405.

[6] After 604/Mehmed's death, she married Pertev Paşa and a granddaughter of this marriage, 202/D., became the wife of Osman II; see Roe, 20.

[7] After his death there arose a Düzme Mustafa, see Danışmend, *O.T.K.* ii. 296.

[8] There is also a tradition that he married 1110/Esmahan, but it is not very likely.

[9] Shirley, A., 21, n., says he killed himself by drinking powdered diamonds.

TABLE XXXI. SELİM II *and his Family*

10 SÜLEYMAN I = 151 Hurrem

11 SELİM II (Mest, Sarhoş, Sarı, Sığır) B. 930 [28.5.1524] Ac. 974 [7.9.1566] D. 982 [15.12.1574][2]

160 Kale Kartanou [1537] *c.* 944 = 161[1] Nûrubânû

162/D.[2] D. 982 [21.12.1574]

(161)

610 Abdullah D. 982 [21.12.1574], ex.

611 Cihangir D. 982 [21.12.1574], ex.

612 Mehmed D. 980 [1572]

12 MURAD III B. 953 [4.7.1546]

613 Mustafa D. 982 [21.12.1574], ex.

614 Osman D. 982 [21.12.1574], ex.

(162)

615[4] Süleyman D. 982 [21.12.1574], ex.

1110 Esmahan B. 952 [1545] D. 993 [7.8.1585]

969 = (1) Gevher (2)

2160[5] Kalaylikoz Ali P. D. 995 [1587] *c.* 988

2161 Cemaleddin Sinan (Sokolovich)

2162[6] V. A. Sokollu Mehmed P. (Şahin, Tavîl) B. *c.* 911 [1505] D. 987 [12.10.1579], ass.

(2160) (2162) (2162) (2162)

2163 Mahmud B. 993 [5.8.1585] D. 993 [24.9.1585]

2164 Hasan P. (Arslan, Vezirzade, Rum Beylerbeyi) D. 1010 [20.4.1602]

2165[7] İbrahim (Hân) P. B. 972 [1565] D. *c.* 1031 [1622]

2172/D. = 2173 Cafer P. B. *c.* 929 [1523]

2166 Mehmed B. D. 1077 [7.1666]

2167 Ali B. 1054 [1644] D. 1127 [1715]

2168 Bahir İsmail B. D. 1164 [1751]

1111 Fatma D. *c.* 988 [11.1580] [1574] = 982 = 2175 V. A. Kanijeli Siyavuş P. D. 1010 [1601]

2176 Mustafa P.

2177 Sinan B. B. *c.* 983 [1575] D. 1007 [4.1599], ass.

2178/D. D. 998 [1590]

2180 Mehmed P. = 986 = [1578]→ (2)

1112 Hace Gevheri Muluk B. 915 [1544] (1) = 974 = [1566]

2181 Abdurrahman

2182 K. P. Piyâle P. D. 985 [21.1.1578]

2183/D. = *c.* 1006 = [1.1598] 2073 Mehmed B. (v. XXIX. 1098)

2185 Çakırcıbaşı Hasan P. D. 981 [13.1.1574] = 969 = [1562]

1113 Şah B. 951 [1544] D. 988 [9.1580] (1) (2) = 985 = [1577]

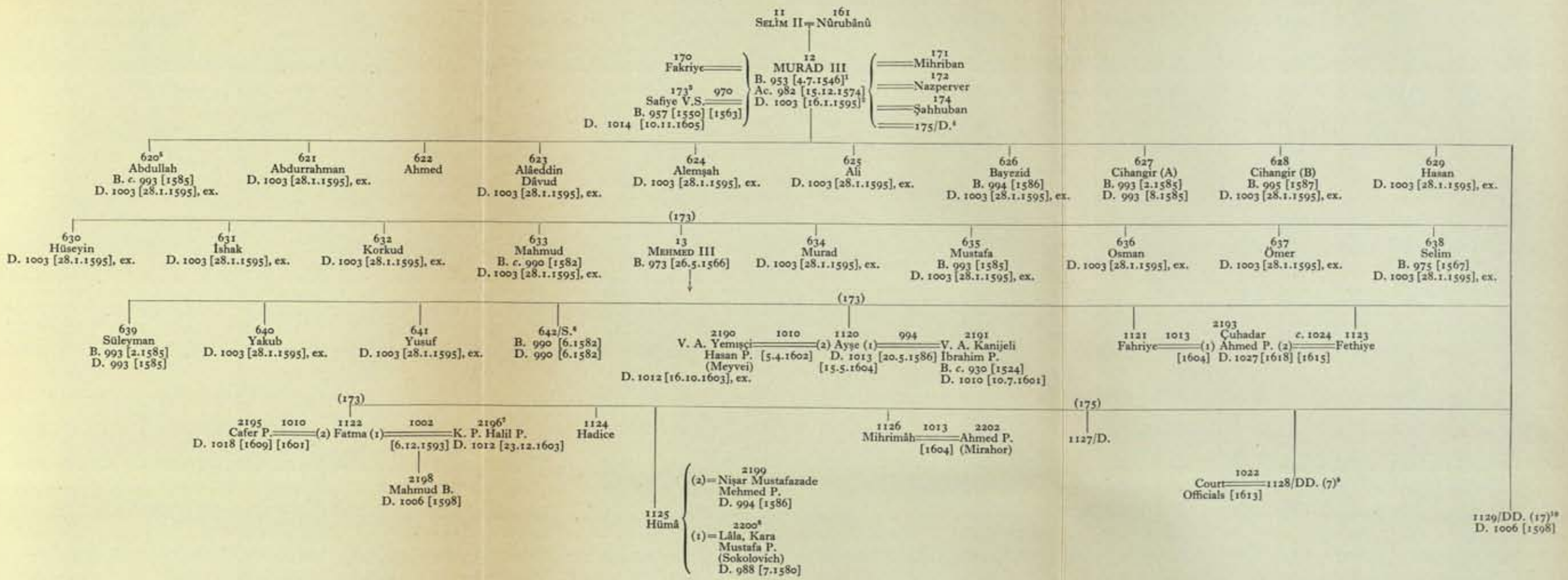
2186[8] Zal Mahmud P. B. *c.* 927 [1521] D. 988 [9.1580]

2187 V. A. Cerrah Mehmed P. D. 1013 [28.12.1604] = 1115/D.[9]

1116/D. = *c.* 960 = [1553] 2189[10] Köse Hüsrev P. (Şehit) D. 995 [1587]

[1] See Rossi, *passim*, for the evidence that she was of the Venetian family Venier-Baffo.
[2] Mother of 615/Süleyman, she committed suicide at her son's execution.
[3] See Danışmend, *O.T.K.* ii. 420. But Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 40, prefers 2.12.1574.
[4] A Düzme Süleyman appeared and was executed in 1598.
[5] He was forced to put away a previous wife.
[6] He had to put away two wives before this marriage could take place. Peçevi gives his death as 30 Sept. 1579, but see Danışmend, *O.T.K.* iii. 49.
[7] The İbrahimhanzadeler mentioned in connexion with the Succession were the descendants of 2165/İbrahim.
[8] This marriage is said to have been a reward for the part he had played in the elimination of Selim II's brothers.
[9] See Fugger, 70.
[10] Köse Hüsrev is given in Sürreya as 'Damad', but the identity of his wife is not clear.

TABLE XXXII. MURAD III *and his Family*



[1] Possibly he was a little older, see von Hammer, vii. 380. Salamone in Rosedale, 20, says Murad died aged fifty years and a few months.

[2] 'On January 27th the new Sultan Mehmed arrived in Constantinople . . . eleven days after the death of his father.' Rosedale, 25.

[3] 'Safiye was with him for thirty-two years, during twenty of which he had no other wife but her: moved however by the solicitations of the Queen Mother and his sister (wife of the illustrious Signior Mehmed Paşa) and finally by the people who said it was not well that the kingdom should only found hopes on one son, he took so many wives that their exact number is well nigh lost . . . many say there are over fifty.' Salamone, in Rosedale, 28. This was due partly to the rivalry between 161/Nûrubânû Valide Sultan and Safiye; another factor was that some of Safiye's children had died in infancy.

[4] 175/D. was a slave given to Murad by his son Mehmed III.

[5] The number of his children is not known exactly, but the generally stated figure of 102 is much exaggerated; the different 'Vakânüvis' only record forty-six.

[6] Fugger, 63, tells of a son who was born and died during Mehmed III's circumcision feasts.

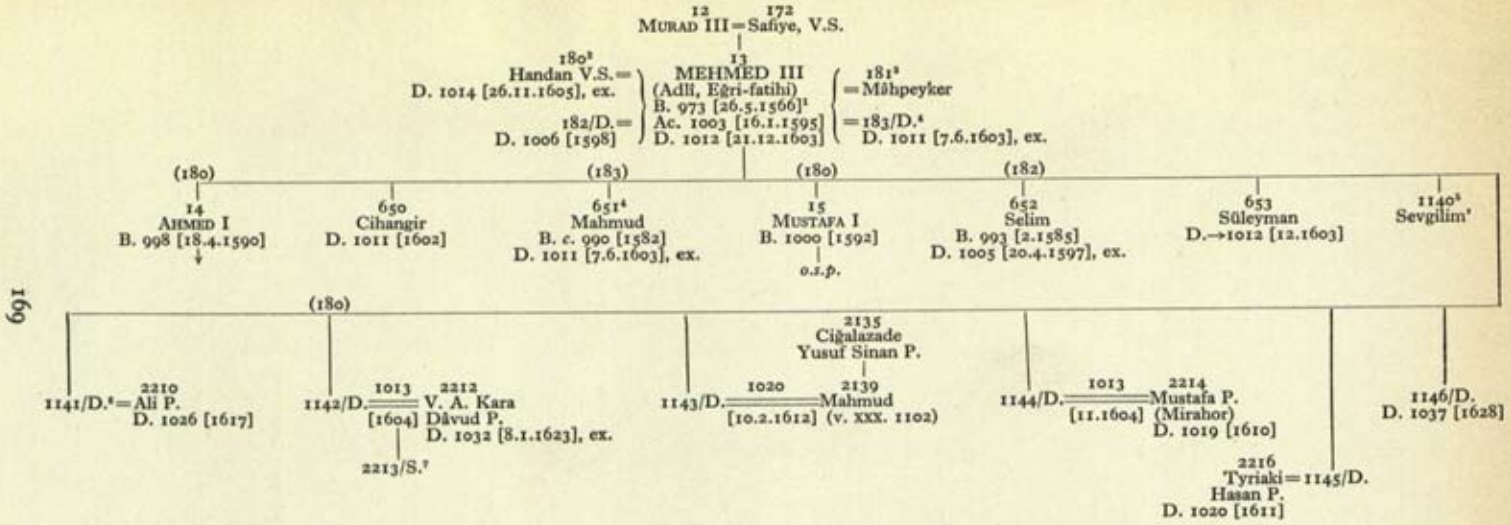
[7] Halil was a member of the Paggi family of Ancona. They were so happily married that, 'she will not willingly let him leave her'. Marco Venier in Rosedale, 38. If his death was so late, then 2195/Cafer's marriage must have been later, but both are dates given by Sürreya.

[8] He was previously married to a daughter of the Mameluke Sultan, Kansu Gavri.

[9] This was a mass marriage of seven daughters.

[10] These seventeen daughters are reported to have all died of plague.

TABLE XXXIII. MEHMED III *and his Family*



[1] The authorities all give different dates for his birth. Salamone in Rosedale, 29, says 8.1564; Danışmend, *O.T.K.* ii. 343, says 26.5.1566; Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* ii. 400, n. 1, gives *c.* 8/1566, while *E.I.* gives 1567. He was given his name by Süleyman I—see Danışmend, ibid.

[2] Shirley, T., 5, says that Ahmed I did not like his mother's advice; 'he spared not his owne mother but poysoned hir in Auguste 1605'. More likely, it was as the result of some harem intrigue.

[3] Given in *E.I.* iii. 1076, but there may be confusion with 191/Kösem, the wife of Ahmed I.

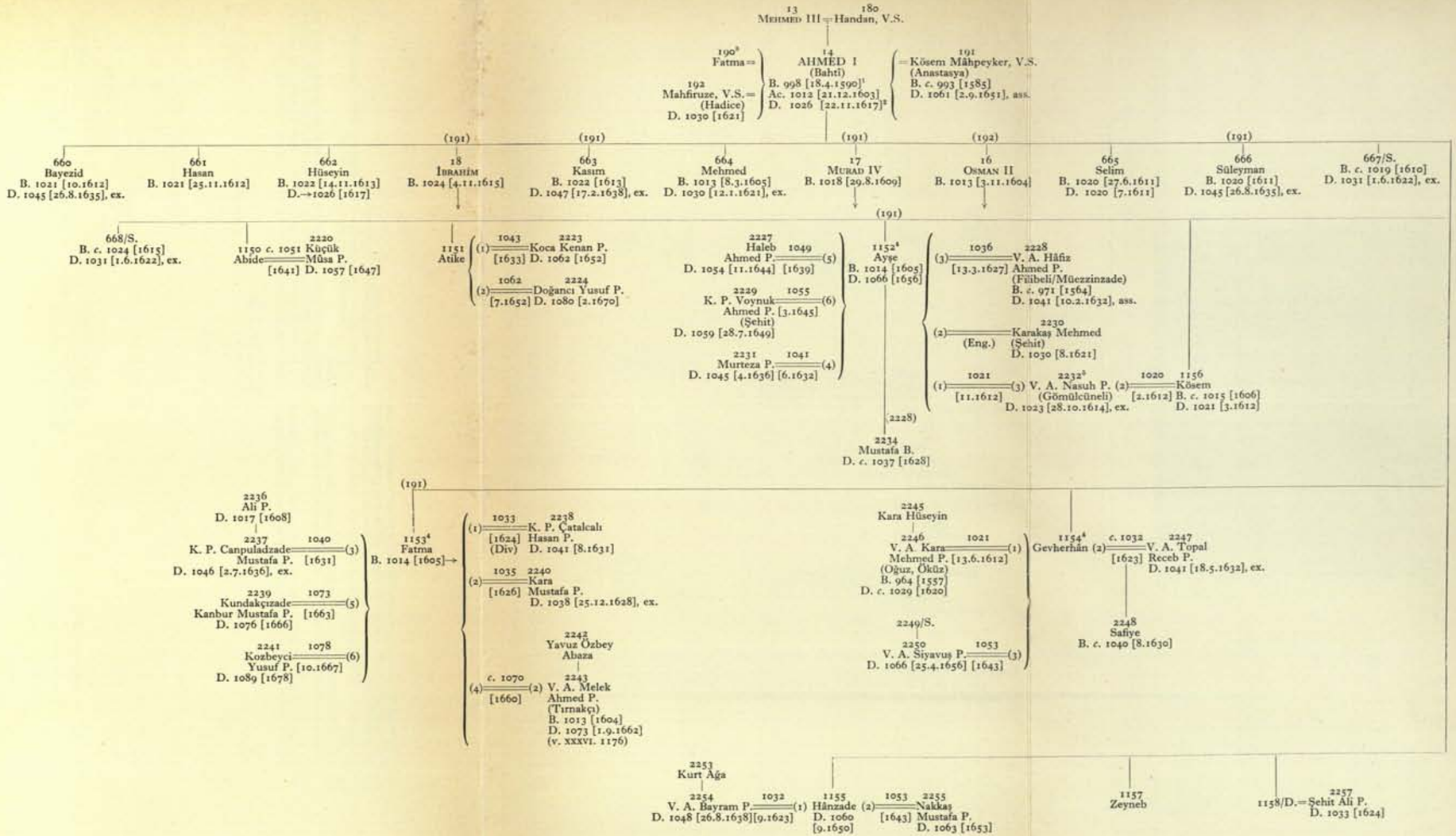
[4] Executed with her son 651/Mahmud; therefore Evliya, i. 2, is wrong in saying that Mahmud was a full brother of Ahmed I.

[5] Thus Evliya, ii. 24.

[6] This marriage is given in Artus-Chalcocondyles, 851, but von Hammer, viii. 106, 226, says she was a daughter of Ahmed I.

[7] Roe, 51, says there was a plot to invest him with royal power, in place of Mustafa I.

TABLE XXXIV. AHMED I *and his Family*



[1] Mustafa Sâfi Efendi, quoted by Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 120, n. 1, says Ahmed was born 996 [1588].

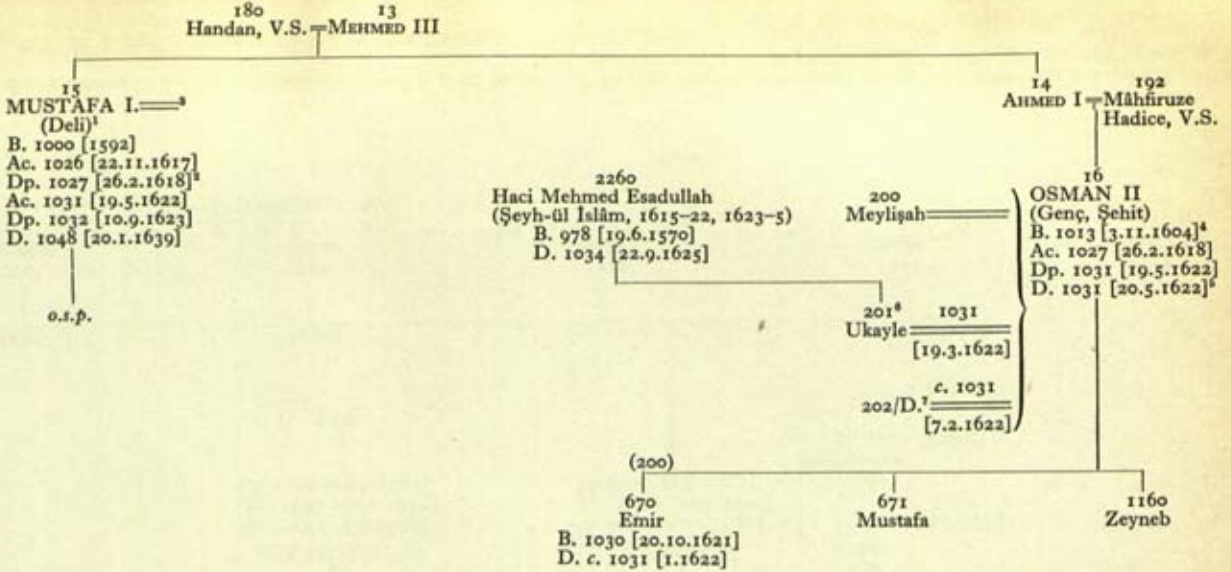
[2] Anonymous, *Cruauté*, 4, gives 1026 [15.11.1617].

[3] A strange story about this woman is told in Castellan, iii. 107.

[4] This collection of husbands is typical of a seventeenth-century custom of marrying daughters very young and repeatedly, on the death of the husband. For 1152/Ayşe, see Giz, in *T.D.* i. 283. It has proved practically impossible to sort out satisfactorily the numerous marriages of the three sisters: 1152/Ayşe, 1153/Fatma, and 1154/Gevherhân. All the available evidence was collected and then arranged by dates in the most probable order.

[5] Engaged to both 1156/Kösem and 1152/Ayşe, Nasuh married neither; his various children must have been by an earlier marriage; he was a son-in-law of Mir Şerif.

TABLE XXXV. MUSTAFA I, OSMAN II, *and their Families*



[1] Madness and saintliness were closely linked in the oriental mind and this afforded him protection, so that he escaped execution in 1617, 1618, and 1623.

[2] He was the only sultan to ascend the throne twice and be twice deposed. For the circumstances in which he had survived his brother's death, see pp. 10–12.

[3] 'Personne n'eut le pouvoir de lui faire tourner son affection aux femmes, non pas même lui persuader d'en avoir une seule, quelque instante prière que lui en fît la Sultane sa mère et le Kızlar Ağası.' Mézeray in Chalcocondyles, 44. But when the soldiers went to fetch him for his second accession, he was found with two female slaves in his cell. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* iii. i. 143.

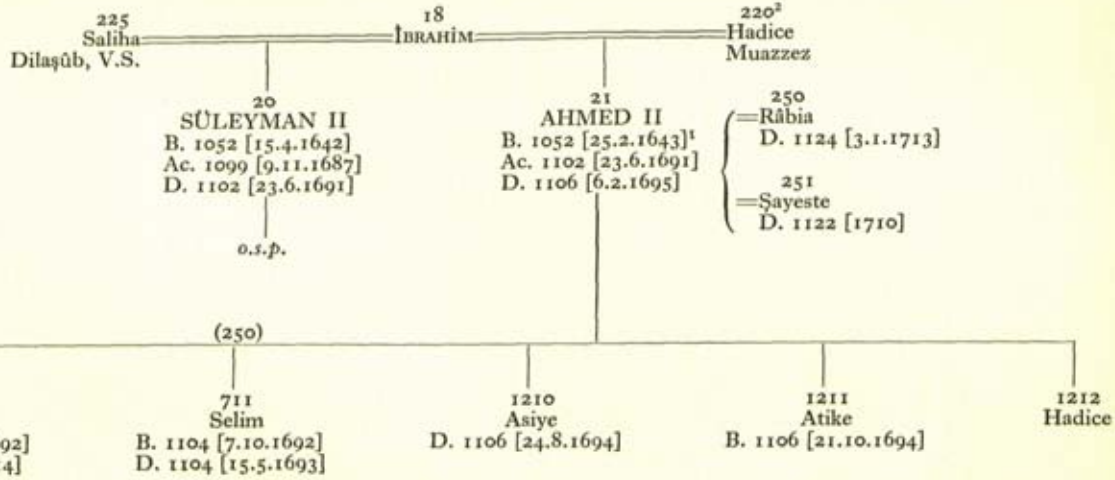
[4] Sürreya gives 1012 [15.11.1603], before Ahmed I's accession, but it is a debatable point whether—after the appointments to Princely Governorates ceased—young princes were allowed a separate harem during their fathers' lifetimes.

[5] For the circumstances of his death, see p. 64.

[6] See p. 88, n. 4. Her father was one member of a family of noted religious leaders; see Danışmend, *O.T.K.* iii. 526.

[7] See Table XXX, n. 6.

TABLE XXXIX. SÜLEYMAN II, AHMED II, *and their Families*

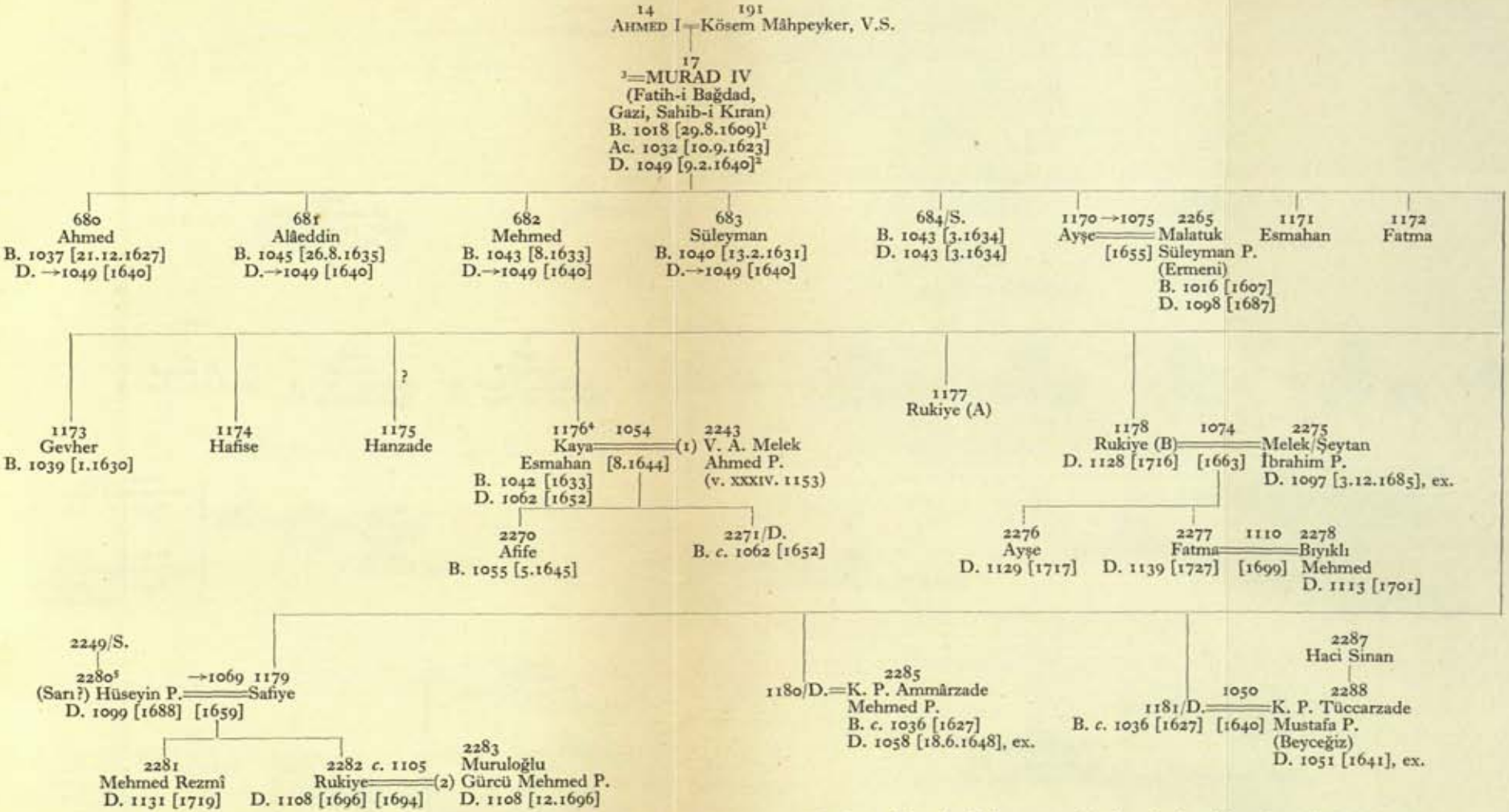


[1] This is the date preferred by *İ.A.* and Danışmend, but *E.I.* gives 1052 [1.8.1642].

[2] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 546, says he was a full brother ('Karındaş') of Süleyman II, but this is not true.

[3] In 1703 there was a proposal to put him, rather than Ahmed III, on the throne; see *T.K.S.M.* Arşiv Kilavuzu, I. vesika 10; also commented on in *Belleten*, 9.137.

TABLE XXXVI. MURAD IV *and his Family*



[1] Sürreya, iv. 892, corrects the date given, ibid. i. 77; the correction itself is a misprint, and instead of 1081 should read 1018, as is clear from the next correction.

[2] Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 212, gives 7.2.1640 as an alternative; the date in *İ.A.* (art. İbrahim)—16 Şev. 1049 [8.2.1640]—is a wrong correspondence.

[3] It is curious that none of the names of his wives seems to have been recorded.

[4] The date of her death is not certain, but she is said to have died giving birth to 2271/D. Kösem Valide Sultan had wanted her to marry Silâhdar Mustafa Paşa, but Grand Vizir Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa had opposed this. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 215.

[5] For his family see Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 5/6.199. He was the younger brother of 2250/Siyavuş.

TABLE XXXVII. İBRAHİM *and his Family*

14 AHMED I = 191 Kösem Mâhpeyker, V.S.

18 İBRAHİM (Deli) B. 1024 [4.11.1615] Ac. 1049 [9.2.1640][1] Dp. 1058 [8.8.1648] D. 1058 [18.8.1648]

220 Hadice Muazzez = D. 1098 [12.9.1687]
222 Poliye =
224 Sakızula =
226[4] Şekerpâre (1) = D. 1058 [1648]
228[5] 1057 Telli (Hümâşah) [1647]
230[7] Zafire (2) = 232/D.[8] =

221[2] = (1) Hubyar
223 = Saçbağlı
225[3] = Saliha Dilaşub, V.S. D. 1101 [5.11.1689]
227 = Şivekâr D. 1104 [1693]
229[9] = Hadice Turhan, V.S. B. 1036 [1627] D. 1093 [1682]
= (2) 231/D.[8]
= 233/D. (Voyvodakızı)

2292 Muid Ahmed Ef (Şeyh-ül İslâm, 1646) D. 1057 [25.4.1647]

2290 Handanzade

(220)
21 AHMED II B. 1052 [25.2.1643]

690 Bayezid B. 1056 [1.5.1646] D. 1057 [8.1647]

691 Cihangir B. 1056 [14.12.1646] D. 1058 [1.12.1648]

(229)
19 MEHMED IV B. 1051 [2.1.1642]

692 Murad B. 1053 [4.1643] D. 1053 [1.1644]

693 Orhan B. 1058 [9.1648] D. 1060 [1.1650]

694 Osman B. 1054 [8.1644] D. young

695 Selim B. 1054 [19.3.1644] D. 1080 [9.1669]

(225)
20 SÜLEYMAN II B. 1052 [15.4.1642] *o.s.p.*

(229)

2295 Cafer P. 1056 = (1) D. 1057 [12.1647] [1646]
2297 K. P. Topal *c.* 1058 = (2) Sarı Kenan P. [1648] D. 1069 [17.2.1659]

1190[10] Atike (3) 1069 = [1659] (2) 2296 Müfettiş İsmail P. (Şehit) D. 1076 [4.1666]

2300 V. A. İbşir Mustafa P. B. 1016 [1607] D. 1065 [11.5.1655], ex.
(2) 1065 = [28.2.1655] 1191 Ayşe B. *c.* 1056 [1646]

1193 Fatma B. 1052 [9.1642]
(2) 1056 [23.2.1646] = 2316 K. P. Fazıl P. (Fazlullah) (Eng.) D. 1067 [1657]
(1) 1055 [1.1645] = 2317 K. P. Yusuf P. (Musahip) (Joseph Markovich) D. 1056 [22.1.1646], ex.

2310 Sipahi Mustafa

2311 V. A. Ahmed P. Hezarpâre (Şehri) D. 1058 [7.8.1648], ex. (v. 231)
(2) 1057 = [16.9.1647] (2)

1192[10] Beyhan (Bibi) B. 1055 [1645] D. 1112 [15.12.1700]

(1) 1056 = [1646] 2313 Küçük Hasan P. D. 1057 [1647]
(3) = 2314 Uzun İbrahim P. D. 1094 [1683], ex.
(4) 1100 = [1689] 2315 Bıyıklı Mustafa P. D. 1110 [9.1.1699]

1194 Gevherhan B. *c.* 1052 [1642] D. 1106 [27.10.1694]

(1) →1057 = [1647] 2320 K. P. Çavuşzade Mehmed P. D. 1092 [5.1681]
(2) 1103 = [1692] 2321 K. P. Helvacı Yusuf P. (Palabıyık) D. 1126 [1714]→

2312 Baki B. 1058 = [6.8.1648] (Eng.) 1197/D. B. 1050 [1640]

1195 Kaya 1059 = [10.1649] 2323 Haydarağazade Mehmed P. D. 1071 [6.1661], ex.

1196 Ümmügülsüm 1064 = [1653] 2325 Abaza Ahmed P. (Mirahor) D. 1067 [13.11.1656]

2327 Cerrah 1077 = Kasım P. [12.1666] D. 1087 [1676] 1198/D.[11]

[1] It was almost impossible to convince him of his brother's death; like a 'doubting Thomas' he had to be shown the corpse. See Murad IV, n. 1.
[2] After İbrahim's death, she was married to a certain İbrahim Paşa, son of Mustafa Çauş.
[3] Sürreya says she died aged ninety, but it is hardly likely she would have become a harem favourite at the age of forty.
[4] Evliya says she was exiled to Egypt and married Kara Mûsa Paşa (D. 1059 [1649], ex.) after İbrahim's death. She was Armenian, reputed to weigh 150 kilos.
[5] This was an official marriage, indicated by the change of name; see p. 96.
[6] She had a brother, Yusuf Ağa, who died 1100 [1.1689].
[7] See p. 53.
[8] Originally the wife of 2311/Ahmed Hezarpâre, she took İbrahim's fancy; in return the Paşa was given the Sultan's daughter, 1192/Bibi.
[9] Castellan, ii. 65, says that İbrahim wanted this girl, but her father would not let her go, whereupon the Sultan kidnapped her from the baths, and later sent her home!
[10] Here again it is almost impossible to fit in all the marriages said to have been made by 1190/Atike and her sister 1192/Beyhan. In Atike's case they may perhaps have been no more than a series of formal engagements, which were broken for various reasons, for von Hammer, xii. 50, says she was still a virgin at the end, and she seems to have died quite young. Her name is sometimes given as Atiye.
[11] She was offered first to 2338/Kuloğlu Mustafa, but he refused the honour at the time; later he was persuaded to marry 1202/Hadice.

TABLE XXXVIII. MEHMED IV *and his Family*

18 İBRAHİM = 229 Turhan Hadice, V.S.

19 MEHMED IV (Avcı)
B. 1051 [2.1.1642]
Ac. 1058 [8.8.1648]
Dp. 1099 [9.11.1687]
D. 1104 [6.1.1693]

240 Afife =
242 Gülnar =
244[1] Hadice =
D. ass.

= 241 Gülbeyaz
= 243 Güneş
= 245[2] Râbia Gülnûş Ümmetullah
B. *c.* 1052 [1642]
D. 1127 [5.11.1715]

(245) = 23 AHMED III, B. 1084 [31.12.1673]

700 Bayezid, B. 1089 [12.1678], D. 1089 [1.1679]

(245) = 22 MUSTAFA II, B. 1074 [5.6.1664]

701[3] Süleyman, B. 1092 [13.2.1681], D. young

2328 Topal Yusuf P. D. 1128 [10.1716] = 1109 [1698] = (2) 1200 Fatma (1) D. 1112 [6.12.1700] = *c.* 1107 [9.1695] = 2329 Tırnakçı Çerkes İbrahim P. D. 1108 [2.1697], ex.

1201 Gevher

2335 Sirke (1) Osman P. D. 1136 [1724] (v. XL. 1227) = 1121 [1709] = 2334 Rukiye D. *c.* 1132 [1720]

2336 Safiye D. 1122 [1710]

2337 Kuloğlu Süleyman Ağa

2338[4] K. P. Sarıkçı Mustafa P. (Musahip) D. 1097 [10.1686] = 1086 = (1) 1202 Hadice D. 1156 [9.5.1743] = 1102 [1691] = 2339 V. A. Moralı Hasan P. (Enişte) B. 1065 [1655] D. 1125 [12.1713]

2340 Abdullah D. 1111 [1699]

2341 Ali D. 1105 [1694]

2342 Asıf D. 1102 [1691]

2343 Hasan D. 1095 [1684]

(241)

2345 Şehit Oruc D. 1048 [1638] = 2346 Abide

2347[5] V. A. Merzifonlu (2) Kara Mustafa P. (Maktûl) B. 1044 [1634] D. 1095 [25.12.1683], ex. = 1086 [6.1675] = 1203 Küçük

2348 Maktûlzade Ali P. D. 1135 [11.1723] (v. XL. 1226)

1204[6] Ümmügülsüm D. 1132 [10.5.1720] = 1105 [11.4.1694] = 2350 Küçük Osman P. D. 1139 [8.1.1727]

2351 Fatma D. 1113 [1701]

2352 Hadice D. 1111 [1699]

1205/D. →1099 [1687] = 2355[7] Kasım Mustafa P.

1206/D.

[1] Reputed to have been assassinated by her rival, 243/Güneş.

[2] Also known as Retimo, she was a member of the Verzizzi family of Crete.

[3] Von Hammer, xiii. 202, gives the story of a 'Düzme' Süleyman.

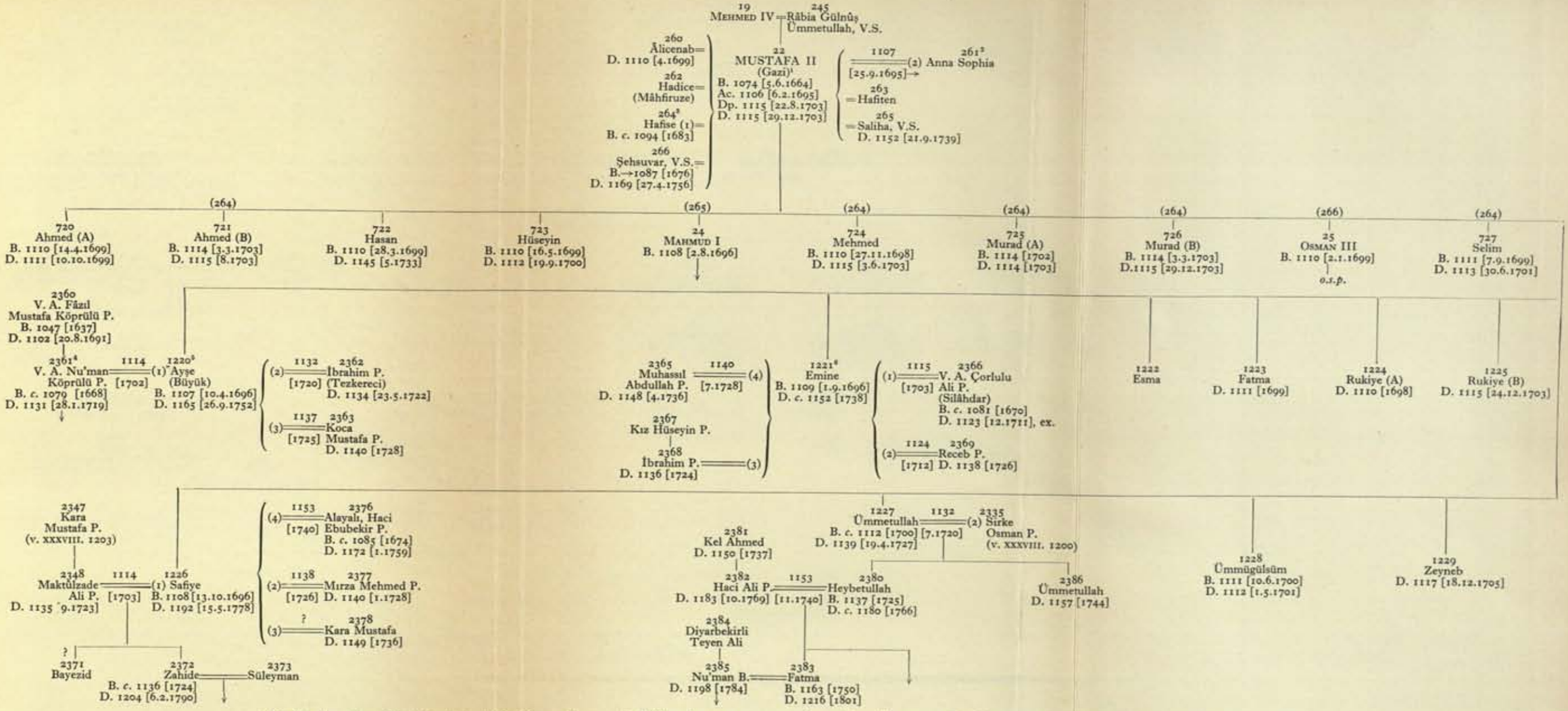
[4] See Table XXXVII, n. 10. A fine description of this marriage is given by Covel, 234. Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 438, n. 1, confuses him with 2347/Mustafa.

[5] He was also married to a daughter of Grand Vizir Mehmed Köprülü. Sürreya, iv. 402, says his father was Hasan Ağa.

[6] Sürreya, i. 20, gives 1204/Ümmügülsüm (D. 1132 [1720]) as wife of 2350/Osman; but ibid. iii. 427, his wife is given as Ümmetullah (D.→1112 [4.1700]), of whom there is no other mention. Similarly, 2351/Fatma is given two death dates: ibid. i. 20, says 1113 [1701], while ibid. i. 61, gives 1142 [1730].

[7] This was probably a reward to the local governor—he was Pasha of Edirne—for all the arrangements he had to make in connexion with Mehmed IV's hunting expeditions. See Covel, 168.

TABLE XL. MUSTAFA II *and his Family*



[1] For the story of how Mustafa obtained this title, see Uzunçarşılı, *O.T.* III. i. 573, n. 1. It was given for his victories in the Balkans in 1696.

[2] Anna Sophia von Wippach, wife of Ernst Wilhelm von Hanstein, was captured with her son Heinrich, during the campaign of 1695, and was transferred to the harem because of her beauty.

[3] Was later married to the 'Reis-ül Küttab' Ebubekir Efendi (D. 1135 [12.6.1723]).

[4] Gibb and Bowen, 110, n. 3, wrongly state that he was Grand Vizir from 1702 to 1710, when actually it was from 16.6.1710 to 17.8.1710. Secondly, they state that his wife, 1220/Ayşe, was the sister of Mustafa II when she was in reality his daughter.

[5] 1220/Ayşe is known as 'Büyük' Ayşe to distinguish her from the daughter of Ahmed III, 1241/'Küçük' Ayşe. The identity of her second husband is not certain.

[6] Sürreya gives Emine's marriages to both 2368/İbrahim and 2369/Receb, but obviously they cannot both have been married to her over the same period. The most plausible explanation is that 2369/Receb was only engaged and the arrangements were later changed. Her fourth marriage to 2365/Abdullah is given in Tanışık, i. 112, but it may be a confusion with the marriage of 2366/Çorlulu Ali's daughter with 2400/Muhsinzade Abdullah. Tanışık, ibid., gives 1221/Emine's birth as 1670, which is too early. Another daughter of 2366/Çorlulu Ali was the mother of 2382/Ali.

TABLE XLI. AHMED III *and his Family*

19 MEHMED IV = 245 Râbia Gülnûş Ümmetullah, V.S.

- 270 Ayşe (Buhari = (Mihri (Hace)
- 272 Gülnüş =
- 274 Hasanşah = D. 1146 [1733]
- 276 Mihrişah = (Mihrimâh, Emine) D. 1145 [1732]
- 278 Râbia Şermi =
- 280 Şahin = D. 1145 [1732]
- 282 Ümmügülsüm = D. 1182 [1768]

23 AHMED III
B. 1084 [31.12.1673]
Ac. 1115 [22.8.1703]
Dp. 1143 [1.10.1730]
D. 1149 [11.7.1736]

- = 271 Fatma Hümâşah D. 1155 [1742]
- = 273 Hadice D. 1124 [1712]
- = 275 Hatem D. 1186 [1772]
- = 277 Muslî D. 1162 [1749]
- = 279 Rukiye
- 281 Ümmetullah Bânû
- = 283 Zeyneb D. 1170 [1757]

(278)

730 Abdullah B. 1132 [18.12.1719] D. 1132 [19.12.1719]

27 ABDÜLHAMİD I B. 1137 [20.3.1725]

731 Abdülmecid B. 1121 [12.12.1709] D. 1122 [18.3.1710]

732 Abdülmelek B. 1121 [12.12.1709] D. 1123 [7.3.1711]

(276)

733 Ali B. 1118 [18.6.1706] D. 1118 [12.9.1706]

734 Bayezid B. 1130 [4.10.1718] D. 1184 [24.1.1771]

? 735 Hasan

736 İbrahim B. 1132 [12.9.1720] D. 1133 [16.3.1721]

737 İsa B. 1117 [23.2.1706] D. 1118 [24.5.1706]

738 Mahmud D. 1170 [22.12.1756]

739[1] Mehmed (A) B. 1108 [1.3.1697] D. 1115 [3.6.1703]

740 Mehmed (B) B. 1117 [24.11.1705] D. 1118 [30.7.1706]

741 Mehmed (C) B. 1124 [8.10.1712] D. 1125 [15.7.1713]

742 Mehmed (D) B. 1129 [2.1.1717] D. 1170 [2.1.1756], ex.

743 Murad (A) B. 1119 [17.11.1707] D. 1119 [1707]

(276)

744 Murad (B) B. 1119 [25.1.1708] D. 1120 [1.4.1708]

26 MUSTAFA III B. 1129 [28.1.1717]

745 Nu'man B. 1135 [22.2.1723] D. 1178 [29.12.1764]

746 Selim (A) B. 1118 [29.8.1706] D. 1120 [25.4.1708]

(275)

747 Selim (B) B. 1127 [21.3.1715] D. 1130 [2.1718]

(276)

748 Seyfeddin B. 1140 [3.2.1728] D. 1145 [1732]

(276)

749[2] Süleyman B. 1122 [25.8.1710] D. 1145 [11.10.1732]

(277)

2388 V. A. Topal Osman P. D. 1146 [1733]

2389 Gül Ratıb Ahmed P. D. 1161 [8.11.1748] [1740]

1153 (2)

1241[3] Ayşe (Küçük) B. 1127 [11.10.1715] D. 1189 [9.7.1775]

2392 Hantal Hafaf

2393 V. A. İstanbullu Mehmed P. [1727] (Kunduracızade) D. 1150 [1737]

1140 (1)

2390 Ahmed Kapudan D. 1122 [1710]

1171 (3) [16.1.1758]

2391 V. A. Cihangiri Mehmed P. (Silâhdar) B. 1122 [4.9.1710] D. 1202 [9.1788]

1242 Emine (A) D. 1132 [1720]

1243 Emine (B) D. 1145 [1732]

1245 Esma (B)

2400[4] V. A. Muhsinzade Abdullah P. B. *c.* 1069 [1659] D. 1162 [4.1749]

2401 V. A. Muhsinzade Mehmed P. B. 1118 [1706] D. 1188 [4.8.1774]

1171 (2) [6.1757]

1244 Esma (A) B. 1138 [14.3.1726] D. 1202 [13.8.1788]

c. 1156 (1) [2.1743]

2402 Yakub P. D. *c.* 1157 [1744]

(2391)

2395 Lâlazade Nuri Mehmed B. [3.1759] B. 1133 [1721] D. 1197 [14.12.1782]

1172

2394 Rukiye (B) D. 1194 [1780]

(2393)

2398 Rukiye (A)

2396 Ahmed Rıf'at B. D. 1218 [1803]

2397 Süleyman B. B. 1174 [29.4.1761] D. 1201 [1787]

(270)

2403 Haci Hüseyin (Hasan) Ağa

2404 V. A. Kömürcü Ali P. (Şehit) B. *c.* 1078 [1667] D. 1128 [5.8.1716]

1121 (1) [14.4.1709]

1246[5] Fatma B. 1116 [22.9.1704] D. 1145 [3.1.1733]

1129 (2) [20.2.1717]

2406[6] V. A. Nevşehirli İbrahim P. B. *c.* 1076 [1666] D. 1143 [30.9.1730], ex.

2405 Ali Ağa

2407 Halil Ağa D. 1123 [1711] (v. 1262, 1268)

1247 Ferdane D. 1130 [1718]

1248 Hadice (A) B. 1118 [21.1.1707] D. 1119 [21.1.1708]

1249 Hadice (B) B. 1122 [8.2.1710] D. young

1240 Atike B. 1124 [2.1712] D. 1150 [1737]

1136 [6.3.1724]

2408 Genç Mehmed P. D. 1182 [16.6.1768]

2409 Mehmed B. B. 1135 [3.1723] D. 1150 [1737]

2410 Fatma D. 1179 [1765]

2411 Mustafa B.

2412 Mehmed B. (v. 1259)

2413 Heybetullah D. 1188 [1774]

2414 Mehmed B.

2415 K. P. Küçük Osman P.

2416[7] K. P. Hâfiz Ahmed P. D. 1148 [12.1735] [1724] (Eng.)

1136 (1)

1250 Hadice (C) B. 1122 [27.9.1710] D. 1151 [1738]

1136 (2) [6.3.1724]

2417 Ali P.

1251[8] Naile B. 1137 [5.1725] D. 1139 [10.12.1726]

1252 Nazife B. 1137 [5.1725] D. 1178 [29.12.1764]

1253 Râbia (A) B. 1132 [19.11.1719] D. 1134 [1722]

1254 Râbia (B) B. 1140 [30.10.1727] D. 1140 [4.4.1728]

2418 Halil Ağa (3)

2419 Süleyman Izzi Ef D. 1168 [4.1755]

1255 Rihane D. 1132 [1720]

1256 Rukiye (A) B. 1119 [22.4.1707] D. 1119 [8.1707]

1257 Rukiye (B) B. 1124 [7.3.1712] D. 1126 [1.10.1714]

1258 Sabiha B. 1139 [26.11.1726] D. 1139 [3.12.1726]

2420 Koca Abdi P. D. 1135 [13.11.1722]

2421 Gülec Sarhoş Ali P. D. 1157 [5.1744] [1736]

1148 (2)

2425 K. P. Turşu Mehmed P. D. *c.* 1184 [1770] [5.1764]

1177 (4)

1259[9] Saliha B. 1127 [21.3.1715] D. 1192 [11.10.1778]

2423 Mehmed Şevki

1171 (3) [31.3.1758]

2424 V. A. Ragıb Mehmed P. B. 1110 [1699] D. 1176 [8.4.1763]

2426 Deli Hüseyin P. D. 1069 [29.12.1658]

1140 (1) [5.1728]

2427 Sarı Mustafa P. D. 1144 [1731]

1260 Ümmetullah (A) B. 1131 [1719]

1261 Ümmetullah (B) B. 1135 [17.9.1723] D. 1136 [28.1.1724]

2440 Çerkes Osman P.

2441 Ahmed B.

1262 (1) Ümmügülsüm B. 1119 [11.2.1708] D. 1145 [1732]

1136 (2) [6.1.1724]

2407 Halil Ağa (v. 1246)

2442 Nevşehirli Ali P. (Genç) D. 1143 [10.1730]

2443 Hâfız Mehmed B. D. 1177 [1763]

2444 Haci Mustafa B. D. 1194 [1780]

(2427)

2430 Ahmed D. 1145 [1.1773]

2431 Ayşe D. 1167 [1754]

2432 Emine D. 1228 [9.1813] [1750]

1163

2433 İsmail Zühdü P. D. 1217 [9.1802]→

2434 Yakub B. D. 1256 [6.2.1841]

(2427)

2435 Fatma B. 1142 [1730]

2436 İbrahim B.

(2427)

2412 Mehmed B. (v. 1246)

2437 Hadice

1263 Ümmühabibe D. 1142 [1730]

1264 Ümmüselma (A) D. 1131 [1719]

1265 Ümmüselma (B) B. 1145 [1732] D. 1145 [1732]

1266 Zeyneb (A) B. 1119 [11.2.1708] D. 1120 [15.10.1708]

1267 Zeyneb (B) B. 1121 [5.1.1710] D. 1122 [7.1710]

2445 K. P. Fındıklı Süleyman P. D. 1145 [1732]

2446 V. A. Melek Mehmed P. B. 1132 [1720] [1765] D. 1216 [19.2.1802]

1178 (2)

1268[10] Zeyneb Asıma D. 1188 [25.3.1774]

1140 (1) [5.1728]

2447 Sinek, Küçük Mustafa P. D. 1177 [11.2.1764]

2407 Halil Ağa (v. 1246)

1269 Zübeyde B. 1140 [18.3.1728] D. 1169 [4.6.1756]

1162 (2) [6.1.1749]

2450 Nu'man P. D. 1198 [1784]

1161 (1) [6.1.1748]

2451 Kara Alizade Süleyman P. D. 1161 [28.7.1748]

[1] The dates are given thus by von Hammer, xiii. Genealogical Table but it is unlikely that Ahmed III had a son before he came to the throne. Notice the succession of sons given the same name as each one died, see p. 121.

[2] Von Hammer, ibid., wrongly gives his birth date as 1740; and nowhere else is there any indication that there were two Süleyman.

[3] See Table XL, n. 5. Her second husband was great-grandfather of the poet Nâmık Kemal.

[4] See Table XL, n. 6.

[5] See an article by Refik, A., in *R.T.M.* iv. 2652.

[6] Like 2366/Çorlulu Ali, 2408/Nevşehirli İbrahim was the head of a ruling family which spread out all through the hierarchy.

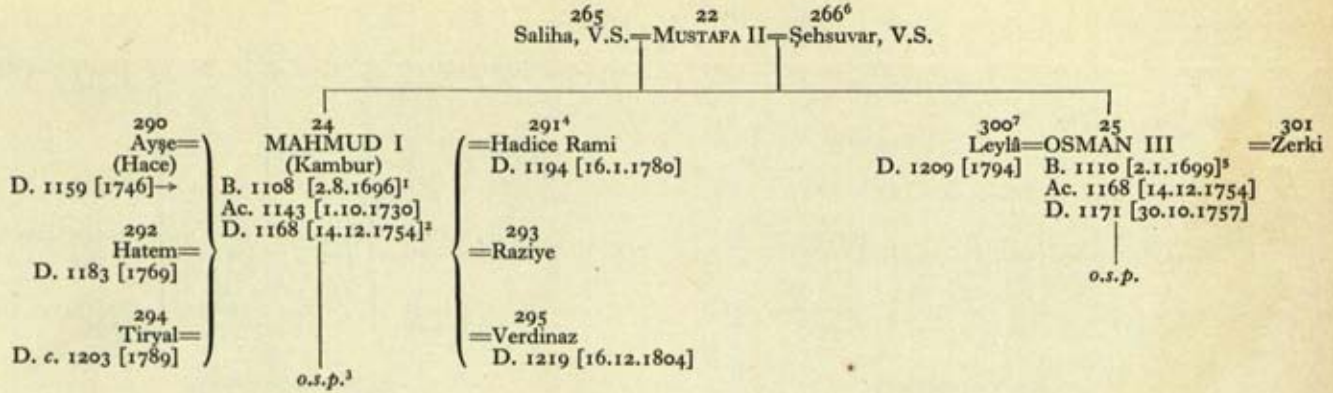
[7] It is not clear for what reasons this marriage was not completed.

[8] Sürreya gives her death as 1137 [12.1724].

[9] Here is another case where there seem to be too many marriages for one princess; Almanach de Gotha even gives three others, but they seem to be confusions with those given here.

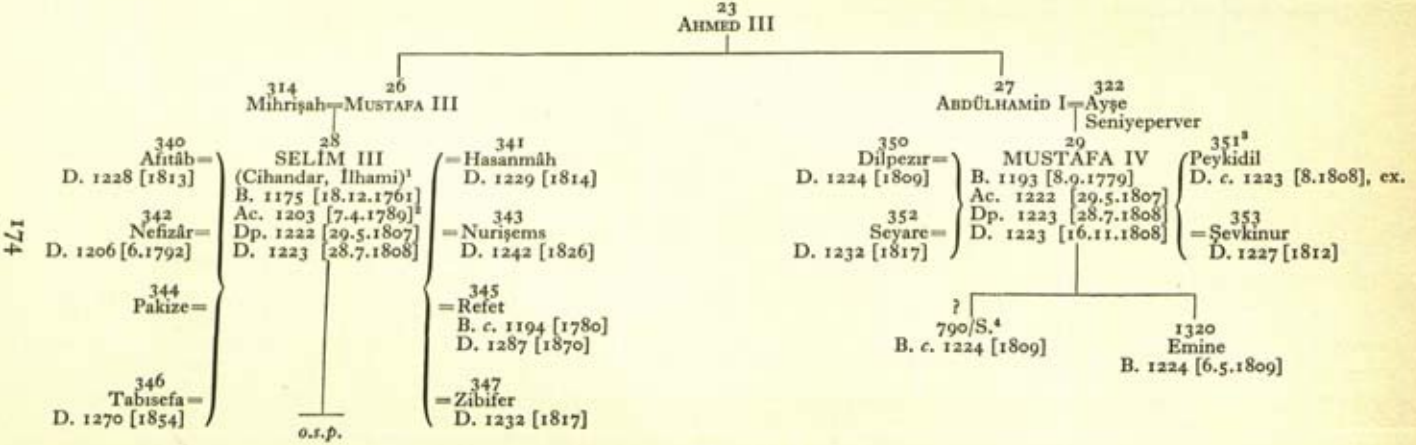
[10] Sürreya, iv. 510, says 2446/Mehmed married the widow of 2447/Mustafa in 1758, but ibid. iv. 439, says Mustafa only died in 1764. Ibid. i. 37, he says she was born after 1728, which was her wedding year.

TABLE XLII. MAHMUD I, OSMAN III, *and their Families*



[1] An alternative date is 1107 [10.4.1696] (not [4.10.1696]). *E.I.* gives both.
[2] Zambaur gives 1168 [9.12.1754].
[3] The daughters attributed to him, and their marriages, really belong to his predecessors.
[4] *c.* 1168 [1755] she married a certain İbrahim Bey, son of Mustafa Paşa.
[5] Various dates, from 1696 to 1703, are given; this is the one given by Sürreya.
[6] There is some confusion as to the identity of his mother; von Hammer, xv. 306, gives Şehsuvar, while ibid. xviii. 57, gives 262/Hadice. *E.I.* also seems unable to decide between the two.
[7] After Osman III's death, she married Haci Mehmed Emin Bey (D. 1199 [16.7.1785]), and there was a son Feyzullah Bey (D. 1206 [12.8.1792])

TABLE XLV. SELİM III, MUSTAFA IV, *and their Families*



[1] The date given here is from Sürreya, but Karal, *O.T.* v, opp. 17, gives 24.12.1761.

[2] See Table XLIV, n. 1.

[3] She witnessed the execution of Selim III and was herself executed by Mahmud II, for intrigues on behalf of her husband.

[4] If there was such a son, he was born posthumously, as was 1320/Emine.

TABLE XLIII. MUSTAFA III *and his Family*

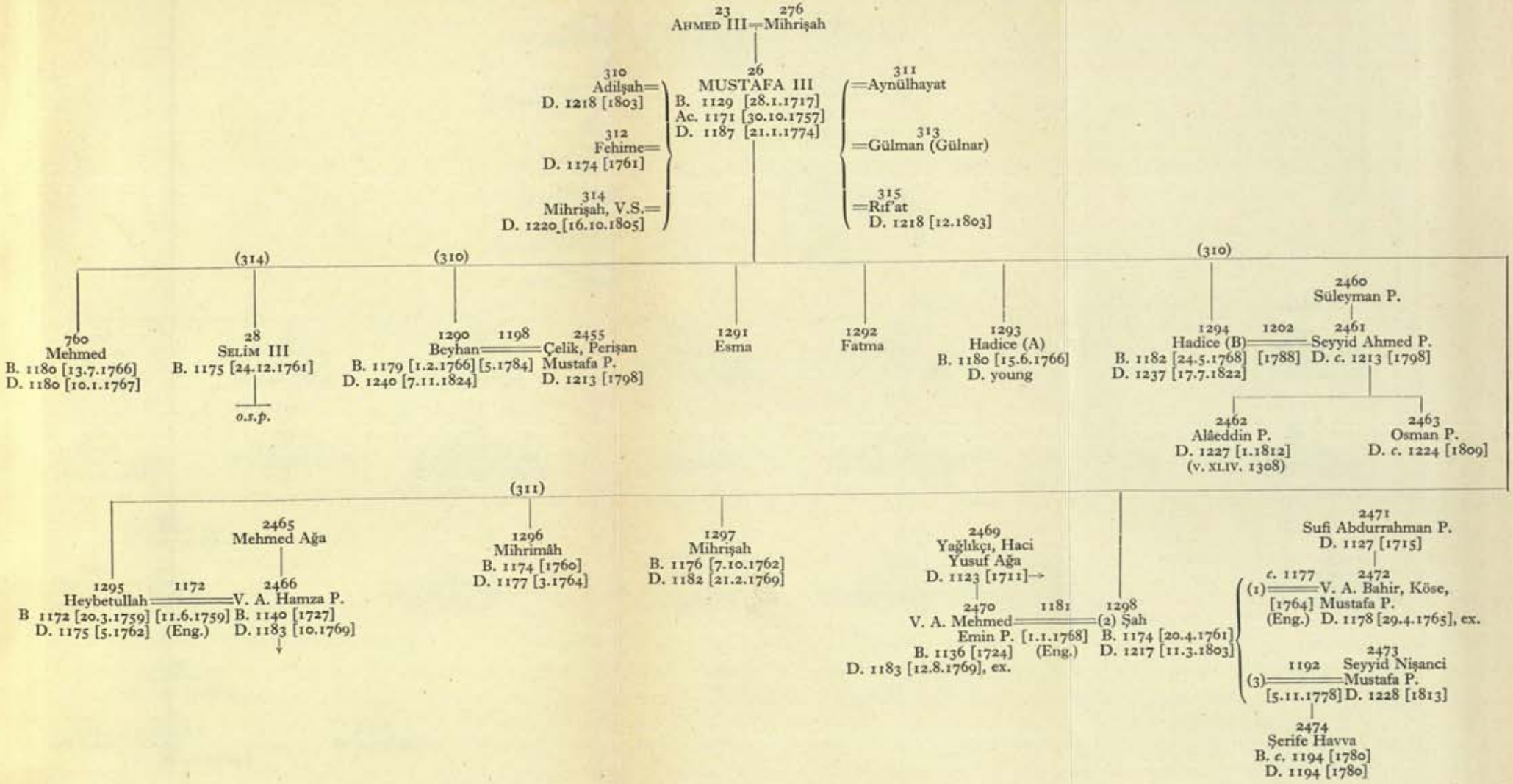
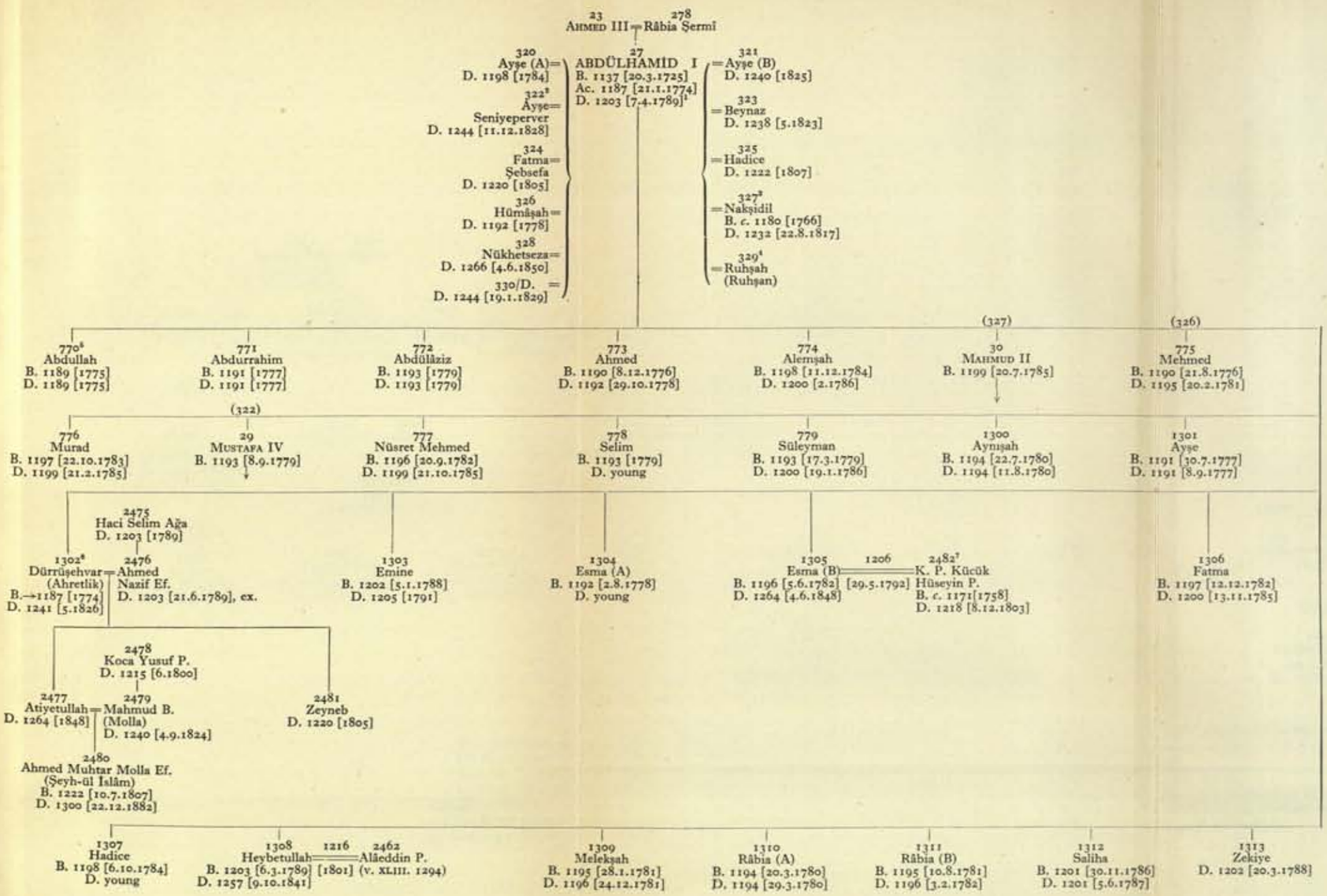


TABLE XLIV. ABDÜLHAMİD I *and his Family*



[1] Baysun, in *İ.A.* i. 75, wrongly gives 11 Receb as equal to 28 March; this is the correspondence for the year 1204 [1790], not for 1203 [1789]. The mistake is also to be found in Karal, *O.T.* v. 15, and other Turkish writers.

[2] Sürreya says that she ruled as 'Valide Sultan' for a year and then became a recluse. Tanışık, i. 250, wrongly gives the date of her death as 1782.

[3] The theory set out in Morton, *The Veiled Empress*, and elsewhere, to the effect that 327/Nakşidil Valide Sultan is to be identified with Marie Marthe Aimée Dubuc de Rivéry of Martinique, does not bear examination. By courtesy of the late Dr. J. K. Birge—himself a believer in the theory—this writer was enabled to see photostats of copies of the documents on which Morton based his argument; careful collation of these with the book showed that Morton had completely misused and even falsified the evidence. Above all there is no proof whatsoever that Aimée even reached İstanbul, let alone became Princess-Mother. The writer hopes to publish a detailed study of this later.

[4] For a series of letters from Abdülhamid I to this wife, see Uluçay, *Aşk Mektuplari*, 77–93.

[5] 770/Abdullah, 771/Abdurrahim, and 771/Abdülâziz should not have been named as they were stillborn; see Sürreya.

[6] Born at some time before her father became sultan, her existence was kept secret; the name 'Ahretlik' (Adopted) suggests that she was smuggled out of the Saray, Sürreya, i. 33. Her husband was executed by Selim III. But Sürreya, iii. 37, speaks of Ahtermelek Hanım (D. 1200 [1786]) as 'Ahret Kerimesi' (Adopted Daughter) of the Sultan; she married İzzetpaşazade Said Mehmed Bey (D. c. 1226 [1811]).

[7] *İ.A.* v. 654; he was 'süt-kardeşi' (foster-brother) of Selim III.

TABLE XLVI. MAHMUD II *and his Family*

27 ABDÜLHAMID I = 327[2] Nakşidil, V.S.

30 MAHMUD II (Adlî) B. 1199 [20.7.1785][1] Ac. 1223 [28.7.1808] D. 1255 [1.7.1839]

359[3] Alicenab =
361 Bezmiâlem, V.S. = B. *c.* 1223 [1808] D. 1269 [2.5.1853]
363 Fatma = D. 1223 [2.1809]
365 Hûşyar =
367 Kerime =
369 Mislinayab =
371 Nuritab = D. 1303 [1.1886]
373 Pertevniyal, V.S. = B. *c.* 1225 [1810] D. 1300 [5.2.1883]
375 Tiryal =

360 = Aşubucan D. 1287 [10.7.1870]
362 = Ebureftar
364 = Gülcemal
366 = Hüsnümelek B. *c.* 1222 [1807]
368[4] = Lebriz Felek D. 1281 [13.2.1865]
370 = Nevifidan (Nevifeda) D. 1272 [25.12.1855]
372 = Perestev B. 1217 [4.1803] D. 1282 [16.2.1866]
374[4] = Perviz Felek D. 1280 [21.9.1863]
376 = Zernigâr D. 1248 [1832]

(373)
800 Abdullah D. 1235 [1820]
32 ABDÜLÂZİZ B. 1245 [9.2.1830]
805 Ahmed (C) B. 1234 [13.10.1819] D. 1234 [1819]
806 Ahmed (D) B. 1237 [6.7.1822] D. 1238 [9.4.1823]
813 Murad B. 1226 [25.12.1812] D. 1227 [14.7.1813]
814 Nizameddin B. 1251 [6.12.1835] D. 1253 [2.1838]

(359)
801 Abdülhamid (A) B. 1228 [28.1.1813] D. 1240 [20.4.1825]
807 Ahmed (E) B. 1239 [12.1823] D. 1239 [1823]
815 Osman B. 1228 [4.1813] D. 1229 [10.4.1814]

802 Abdülhamid (B) B. 1242 [18.2.1827] D. 1244 [1829]
808 Bayezid B. 1227 [27.3.1812] D. 1227 [25.6.1812]
816 Süleyman B. 1234 [22.11.1818] D. 1235 [15.12.1819]

(361)
31 ABDÜLMECİD I B. 1238 [23.4.1823]
809 Kemaleddin

803 Ahmed (A) B. 1229 [25.7.1814] D. 1230 [16.6.1815]
810 Mahmud B. 1237 [18.2.1822] D.→1244 [1829]

804 Ahmed (B) B. 1234 [30.8.1819] D. 1234 [1819]
811 Mehmed (A) B. 1229 [26.8.1814] D. 1229 [1814]
812 Mehmed (B) B. 1237 [18.2.1822] D. 1238 [23.9.1822]

(376)
1330[5] Âdile = B. 1241 [23.5.1826] D. 1316 [12.2.1899]
1261 = 2484 V. A. Mehmed Ali P. B. 1228 [1813] D. 1285 [26.7.1868]
2483 Haci Ömer Ağa

(1330)
2486 Gâni Mehmed P. D. 1302 [2.1885]
2487 Ahmed Rıf'at B. B. 1260 [1844] D. 1308 [10.5.1891]
1282 = [10.6.1865] (Eng.)
2488 Mustafa Şerif P.
2485[6] (1) Hayriye (2) = D. 1286 [26.7.1869]
1283 = [4.1867] İşkodralızade 2489 Ali Rıza B. D. 1316 [22.8.1898]
2490 Celâleddin P. B. *c.* 1285 [1868] (v. L. 1404)
2491 Mahmud Edhem P. D. 1303 [2.1886] (v. XLVII. 1366)

2495 Radosî Hâfiz Ahmed Ağa D. 1216 [1801]
2496 Saliha
2497[7] Radosîzade (1) Ahmed Fethi P. B. *c.* 1216 [1801] D. 1271 [19.3.1854]
2498 Şemsinur Hanim [11.1830]
1246 = (2) [8.8.1840]
1256 = 1331 Âtiye B. 1239 [11.2.1824] D. 1266 [11.8.1850]
(374)

1332 Ayşe B. 1224 [6.8.1809] D. 1225 [1810]
1333[8] Emine B. 1228 [1813] D. 1231 [24.9.1816]
1334 Esma

(363)
1335[9] Fatma (A) B. 1223 [4.2.1809] D. 1224 [5.8.1809]
1336 Fatma (B) B. 1226 [19.4.1811] D. 1240 [7.5.1825]

(2498)
2499 Mahmud Celâleddin P. D. 1201 [7.5.1884], ass. (v. XLVII. 1354)

(1331)
2501 Mahmud P. = 2500 Feride
2502 Mehmed Sâib B. D. 1288 [28.11.1871]

(1331)
2503 Seniye = B. 1263 [1847]
1276 = [1860] Hüseyin Hüsnü P. D. 1316 [2.1899]
2504 Mustafa P.
2505

(374)
1337 Hadice B. 1241 [6.9.1825] D. 1258 [19.12.1842]
1338 Hamide (A) B. 1232 [17.7.1817] D. 1232 [1817]
1339 Hamide (B) B. 1233 [4.7.1818] D. 1234 [1819]
1340 Hayriye (A) B. 1246 [23.1.1831] D. *c.* 1246 [1831]

(365)
1341 Hayriye (B) B. 1247 [12.1.1832] D. 1248 [15.2.1833]
1343 Münire B. 1240 [16.10.1824] D. 1240 [23.5.1825]
2507 K. P. Mehmed Said P. B. *c.* 1220 [1805] D. 1285 [1868]
1251 = [28.4.1836]
1342 Mihrimâh B. 1227 [9.6.1812] D. 1254 [12.7.1838]

(360)
1344 Saliha B. 1226 [16.6.1811] D. 1259 [5.2.1843]
1250 = [24.5.1834]
2510 K. P. Gürcü Mehmed Halil Rıf'at P. D. 1272 [3.3.1856]
1345 Şah B. 1227 [23.5.1812] D. *c.* 1227 [1812]
1346 Zeyneb D. 1231 [1816]

(1344)
2511 Abdülhamid B. B. 1250 [22.3.1835] D. 1252 [1836]
2512 Asaf Mahmud Celâleddin P. B. 1270 [1853] D. 1320 [18.1.1903] (v. XLVII. 1371)

[1] This is the date given in Sürreya; Karal, *O.T.* v. opp. 97, wrongly gives 1784.
[2] For the identity of 327/Nakşidil, see Table XLIV, n. 3.
[3] This list of wives comes largely from Tanışık, i. 260 and ii. 308.
[4] It is not clear whether 368/Lebriz Felek and 374/Perviz Felek were separate individuals, or not.
[5] On her mother's death she was adopted by 370/Nevifidan. For further information on Mahmud II's daughters, see Giz, in *T.D.* i. 317.
[6] İnal, *Şairleri*, viii. 1475; the first marriage was never completed.
[7] For his family and work, see Öz, in *T.T.A.E.* v. 1. He was a posthumous son, Sürreya says he died 1274 [1.1858].
[8] She died in a fire at the Saray.
[9] With the possible exception of Mustafa IV's posthumous children—who would not be born in the Saray—this Fatma was the first child born to the dynasty for twenty years, and naturally there were great celebrations.

TABLE XLVII. ABDÜLMECİD I *and his Family*

30 MAHMUD II = 361 Bezmiâlem, V.S.

31 ABDÜLMECİD I (Gazi)
B. 1238 [25.4.1823]
Ac. 1255 [1.7.1839]
D. 1277 [25.6.1861]

379 Bezmi
381 Düzdüdil — D. 1261 [8.1845]
383 Gülüstü Gülistan — D. 1277 [5. 1861]
385 Navekmisal — D. 1270 [1854]
387 Nesrin — D. 1269 [2.1.1853]
389 Nükhetsezа = 1268 — B. 1242 [2.1.1827] [10.6.1852] D. 1310 [19.12.1892]
391 Rusdil = 1258 — B. 1239 [5.5.1824] [2.10.1842] D. 1305 [31.10.1887]
393 Servetseza — D. 1295 [24.9.1878]
395 Şemsinur
397 Tirimüjgân = 1857 — B. 1235 [16.8.1819] [10.11.1841] D. 1269 [26.4.1853]
399 Zeynimelek — D. 1258 [1842]

380 Ceylangâr — D. 1272 [2.1856]
1259 382[1] Gülcemal — [27.3.1843] B. 1241 [1826] D. 1269 [29.11.1851]
384[2] Nalandil — B. 1245 [1829] D. 1308 [23.12.1890]
386 Nergis — D. 1264 [1848]
388[2] Neveser — D. 1306 [12.4.1889]
390[4] Perestû
392 Serfiraz
394 Şayeste
1255 = 396 Şevkefzâ, V.S. — [1.8.1839] B. 1236 [12.12.1820] D. 1307 [20.9.1889]
398 Verdicenan — B. 1241 [1826] D. 1307 [9.12.1889]

34 ABDÜLHAMID II — B. 1258 [22.9.1842]
820 Ahmed — B. 1261 [1845] D. 1261 [20.3.1845]
821 Ahmed Kemaleddin [23.4.1876] — B. 1263 [3.12.1847] D. 1323 [4.4.1905]
1293 = 2515 Fatma
2516 Münire — B. 1294 [22.2.1877]
1325 = 2518 Mehmed Salih P. — [10.1.1907] D. 1331 [24.6.1913], ex.
2517 V. A. Tunuslu Hayreddin P. — B. 1237 [1822] D. 1307 [30.1.1890]
822 Bahaeddin — D. 1269 [9.11.1852]
823 Mehmed Abdüssamed — D. 1270 [5.1854]

(388)
824 Mehmed Âbid — B. 1264 [22.4.1848] D. 1264 [28.4.1848]
825[3] Mehmed Burhaneddin — B. 1265 [23.5.1849] D. 1293 [3.11.1876]
1289 = 2520 Mestinas — [4.5.1872] B. 1267 [20.9.1851] D. 1327 [20.4.1909]
2521[6] İbrahim Tevfik — B. 1291 [24.9.1874]
826 Mehmed Fuad — B. 1264 [7.1848] D. 1264 [29.8.1848]

(396)
33 MEHMED MURAD V — B. 1256 [21.9.1840]

827 Mehmed Nizameddin — B. 1266 [19.4.1850] D. 1269 [30.1.1853]

(382)
35 MEHMED V REŞAD — B. 1260 [3.11.1844]

(383)
828 Mehmed Rüşdü — B. 1268 [31.3.1852] D. 1268 [7.6.1852]
36 MEHMED VI VAHİDEDDİN — B. 1277 [2.2.1861]
829 Mehmed Vamık — B. 1266 [19.4.1850] D. 1266 [1.8.1850]
830 Mehmed Ziyaeddin — B. 1262 [1.12.1846] D. 1265 [31.4.1849]
831 Nureddin — B. 1268 [17.4.1851] D. 1302 [1885]
832 Osman Seyfeddin — D. 1271 [23.5.1855]

(392)
833 Süleyman — B. 1277 [12.1.1861] D. 1327 [13.7.1909]
2525 Ayşe = 1314 = (3) Tarzender — [4.5.1897] B. 1297 [4.1.1880]
2527 Filisan = 1303 = (1) — B. 1286 [17.7.1869] [10.10.1885]
(2) = 1310 = 2526 Fatma — [12.5.1893] B. 1288 [19.9.1871]
2528 (?) = Nâziter

(396)
1350 Aliye — B. 1258 [10.10.1842] D. 1260 [23.7.1844]
1351 Bedihe — D. 1270 [30.10.1853]

(2526)
2529 Abdülhalim — B. 1312 [27.9.1894]

(2525)
2595 Hadice = 1342 = 2530 Damad Şerefeddin — Şükriye [14.11.1923] (v. XLVIII. 844) B. 1322 [18.5.1904]

(2525)
860 Abdurrahim (v. L.) [1909] (Eng.) = 1327 = (1) Emine Naciye — B. 1316 [25.10.1898]
2532[7]

2533 Ahmed B. = 2534 Ayşe
(2) = 1329 = 2535[8] Enver P. — [15.5.1911] B. 1298 [1881] D. 1340 [4.8.1922]
(3) = 1342 = 2536 Kâmil B. — [30.10.1923]

(381)
2538 Nurullah Mehmed P. — D. 1257 [1841]
2539 Halil Hamid Paşazade Hamid B. [13.11.1876] — D. 1306 [20.11.1888]
1293 = (2) — B. 1264 [26.8.1848] D. 1293 [30.11.1876]
2540 Mustafa P.
1276 = (1) Hüsnü P. — [10.1859] 2541
1352 Behice
1353 Behiye — B. 1256 [22.2.1841] D. 1263 [3.6.1847]
1354 Cemile — B. 1259 [18.8.1843] D. 1333 [26.2.1915]
1274 = 2499 Mahmud Celâleddin P. — [3.6.1858] (v. XLVI, 1331)

(382)
2553 V. A. Büyük Mustafa Reşid P. — B. 1214 [1799] D. 1274 [7.1.1857]
2554 Ali Galib P. — B. 1245 [1829] D. 1275 [14.9.1858]
1270 = (1) — [24.2.1854]
1355 Fatma — B. 1256 [1.11.1840] D. 1300 [1883]
(2) = 1275 = 2556[9] Mehmed Nuri P. — [24.3.1859] D. 1300 [1883]
2555 Arif P.
1356 Fehime (A) — B. 1271 [26.1.1855] D. 1273 [10.11.1856]
1357 Fehime (B) — B. 1277 [26.1.1861] D. *c.* 1277 [1861]
1358 Hadice — B. 1257 [8.1.1842] D. *c.* 1257 [1842]

(383)
2558 Seyyid İzzet Hasan Ef. — B. 1242 [1827] D. 1299 [21.3.1882]
2559[10] V. A. Damad Ferid P. — B. 1270 [1854] D. 1342 [6.10.1923]
1303 = (2)
1359 Mediha — B. 1272 [30.7.1856]
2560 Şeyh Necibzade Sami P. — D. 1295 [1878]
(1) = 1296 = 2561 Necib P. — [8.6.1879] B. 1271 [1855] D. 1302 [7.1885]
1360 Mevhibe — B. 1256 [8.5.1840] D. 1257 [2.11.1841]
1361 Mükbile — B. 1266 [22.2.1850] D. 1269 [7.2.1853]
2563 Rıza Hasan P. — D. 1294 [24.11.1877]
2564 İbrahim P. — D. 1297 [1880]
1277 = (2) — [1.1861]
1362 Münire — B. 1260 [9.12.1844] D. 1279 [9.7.1862]
2565 Abbas I (Khedive of Egypt, 1848) — B. 1228 [1813] D. 1270 [13.7.1854], ass.
1274 = (1) — [10.6.1858]
2566 İbrahim İlhâmi P. — B. 1252 [1836] D. 1277 [10.9.1860]

(382)
2570 Çerkes Mehmed P. — D. 1327 [4.1909] (v. XLVIII, 1382)
1293 = (1) — [1876]
1363 Naile — B. 1273 [11.6.1857] D. 1299 [1882]
1364 Naime — B. 1256 [11.10.1840] D. 1259 [4.1843]
1365 Neire (Nazmiye?) — B. 1257 [24.9.1841] D. 1259 [14.1.1844]
1366 Refia — B. 1257 [8.1.1842] D. 1296 [1879]
1273 = 2491 Mahmud Edhem P. — [21.7.1857] (v. XLVI, 1330)

(382)
1367 Rukiye
1368 Sabiha — B. 1264 [20.4.1848] D. 1265 [27.4.1849]
1369 Samiye — B. 1261 [23.2.1845] D. 1261 [15.4.1845]

(397)
1370 Semiha — D. 1294 [1877]

(384)
2512 Asaf Mahmud Celâleddin P. — [5.12.1876] (v. XLVI, 1344)
1293 = 1371 Seniha — B. 1268 [21.11.1851]

(382)
1372 Şahime — B. 1271 [1.3.1855] D. 1273 [10.11.1856]
1373 Zekiye — D. 1272 [19.2.1856]

[1] The dates given for marriages between the later sultans and some of their wives are taken from the *Almanach de Gotha*, but should not be taken to mean any more than that at such a date a particular wife attained some official prominence. In some cases the dates are prior to, in others subsequent to, the birth of the first child.

[2] Sürreya says she died 1282 [1865], but this is the date given in *A.G.*

[3] Sürreya, i. 85, wrongly gives her as a 'kadın' of Abdülhamid I, but corrects this, ibid. iv. 892.

[4] On 397/Tirimüjgân's death, she adopted Abdülhamid II, and later acted as his 'Valide Sultan'.

[5] Sürreya says his mother was 388/Neveser, while *A.G.* says 389/Nükhetseza.

[6] From this point details about the second generation have been omitted, unless they have special importance.

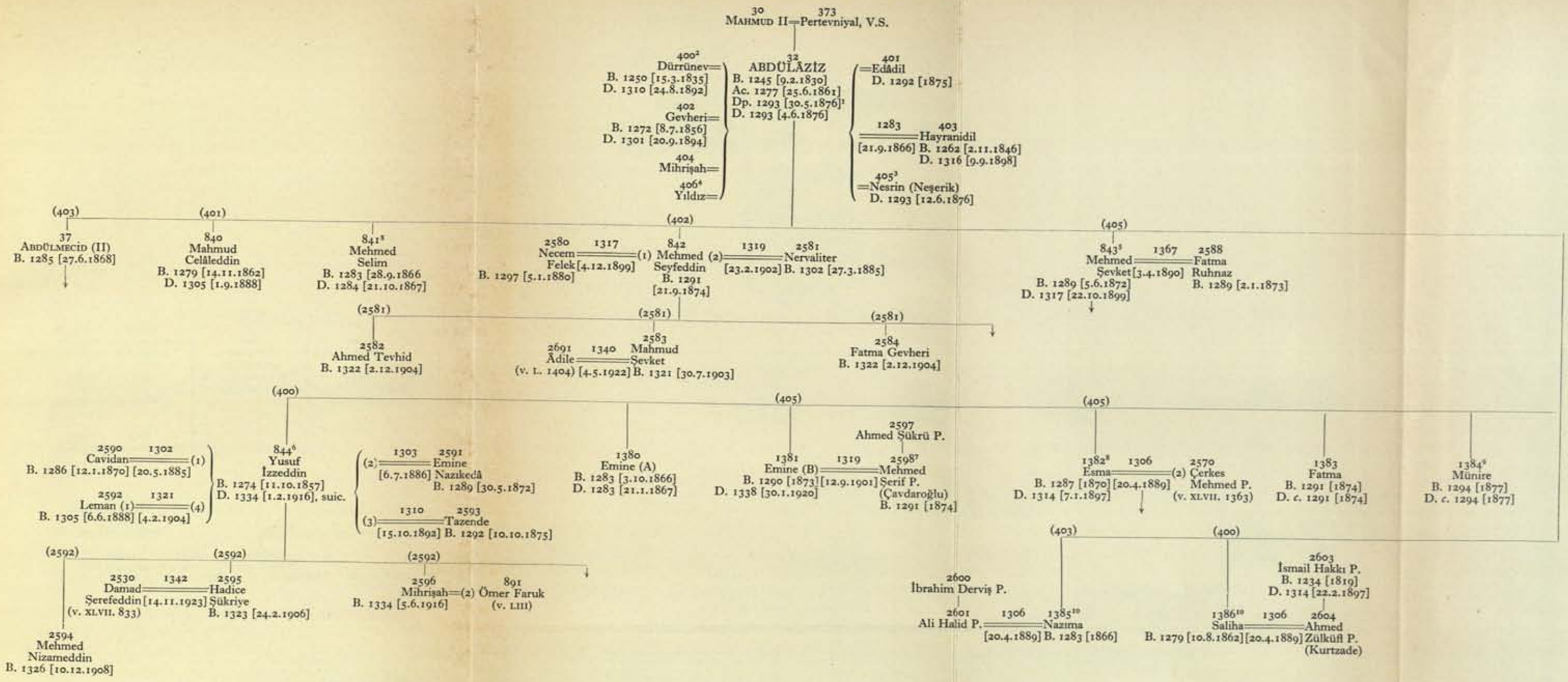
[7] First engaged to 860/Abdurrahim, she became an instrument of policy and was married to 2535/Enver Paşa; see p. 89. She had children by him and by his brother, 2536/Kâmil.

[8] For Enver Paşa, see the articles listed on pp. 89–90, and also Baysun, in *T.D.* iii. 1155 ff.

[9] Exiled to Taif with Midhat Paşa, he went mad and died there.

[10] For Ferid Paşa's marriage, see Anonymous, in *T.D.* ii. 762, and Örik, in *Y.T.D.* i. 223, &c., and İnal, *Sadrazamlar*, xiii. 2030 ff.

TABLE XLVIII. ABDÜLÂZÎZ *and his Family*



[1] The full story of his deposition, including the 'fetva', is given in Şehsuvaroğlu, *Aziz*, 82 ff. For the controversy over the manner of his death see p. 107, n. 2.

[2] At first he promised, for economy's sake, to be content with one wife, but the customs of the Saray soon prevailed; see p. 82, n. 2, and *I.A.* i. 57.

[3] The sister of Çerkes Hasan Bey; see p. 70, and n. 1.

[4] She was a sister of 429/Safinaz.

[5] These are the dates given in *A.G.*; Şehsuvaroğlu, *Aziz*, 128, n. 1, gives birth in 1862 and death in 1863. Also for 843/Mehmed Şevket he gives birth in 1869.

[6] Born while his father was still only 'Veliahd', his birth was kept very quiet; it was only officially announced on 11.7.1861, after Abdülâziz's accession. Like his father, he committed suicide; the long nervous illness which led up to this is described by Aksüt, in *T.D.* i. 62, and by Baykal, in *T.D.* i. 487, &c. Typical reactions to it can be seen in Hayder, 149.

[7] See *Y.T.D.* i. 48.

[8] Şehsuvaroğlu, *Aziz*, 128, n. 2, says she was born in 1873, but this would make her a twin of 1381/Emine, for which there is no evidence.

[9] If the birth date is correct, then she was a posthumous child.

[10] In editions prior to 1897, *A.G.* gets these two marriages confused with each other.

TABLE XLIX. MURAD V *and his Family*

31 ABDÜLMECİD I = 396 Şevkefza, V.S.

410[3] Cenâniyar (1) =
412[4] Filizten =
414 Meyliservet = 1291
B. 1271 [21.10.1854] [8.6.1874]
D. 1321 [9.12.1903]
416 Rezan = 1294
B. 1276 [28.3.1860] [2.11.1877]
D. 1328 [31.3.1910]

33 MEHMED MURAD V
B. 1256 [21.9.1840]
Ac. 1293 [30.5.1876]
Dp. 1293 [31.8.1876][1]
D. 1322 [29.8.1904][2]

1273 411 = Eleru (Mevhibe?)
[2.1.1857] B. 1251 [6.8.1835]
413[4] = Gevheri
1275 415 = Reftaridil
[4.2.1859]
417 = Şahcan (Şayan?)
B. 1269 [4.1.1853]
D. 1286 [5.2.1869]
2605/S.
418[5] = (1) Teranidil

(415)
2607 Calefer 1308 = (4)
B. 1289 [19.8.1872] [15.4.1891]
2609 Gülter 1305 = (3)
B. 1283 [19.4.1867] [10.12.1887]
D. 1319 [29.3.1902]
2611 Tevhide 1301 = (2)
B. 1280 [25.1.1864] [27.2.1884]
D. 1311 [1.4.1894]

850 Mehmed Selâheddin
B. 1277 [2.2.1861]
D. 1333 [29.4.1915]
(?) = 2608 Dilberşan
(1) 1296 = 2610 Nazıknaz
[7.7.1879] B. 1277 [24.12.1860]

851 Seyfeddin
B. 1289 [1872]
D. young

852 Süleyman
B. 1283 [1866]
D. young

(416)
1390 Âliye
B. 1296 [1879]→
D. young

(416)
1391 Fatma 1325 = 2621 Refik B.
B. 1296 [19.6.1879] [29.7.1907]
2620 Karacehennem Faik B.

(414)
2624 Mahmud B. 1328 = (2)
[5.6.1910]
1392[6] Fehime (1) 1319 = (2) 2623 Ali Galib P. (1) = (1)
B. 1292 [4.7.1875] [12.9.1901] (Div.) (Div.)
N.R.

(417)
1393[7] Hadice (3) 1327 = 2627 Rauf B.
B. 1287 [4.5.1909]
[4.5.1870]
2626 Hayreddin B.
2628 Vasıf P. 1319 = (2)
[12.9.1901]
(Div.)

2613 Mehmed Abbas Hâlim P.
B. 1284 [1867]
2614 Nabila Kerime 1338 = 2612 Osman Fuad P.
B. 1315 [15.3.1898] [26.2.1920] B. 1312 [24.2.1895]

(2607)
(2610)
2615 Behiye 1328 = 2616 İsmail Hakkı (Hâfiz) P.
B. 1298 [20.9.1881] [17.2.1910] D. 1333 [12.2.1915]

(2611)
2618 Şerif Ali Hayder P.
B. 1282 [1866]
2617 Rukiye 1328 = 2619 Emir Şerif Abdülmecid
B. 1302 [30.5.1885] [17.2.1910] B. *c.* 1307 [1889]

[1] For his deposition, the reality of his insanity and the attempts to replace him on the throne, see pp. 29 and 69 ff., and the series of articles by Uzunçarşılı there listed.

[2] From the time of his deposition to his death Murad V lived in continual fear of poisoning—see Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 30.335. In the detailed article on the illness and death of Murad—in *Belleten*, 38.317 ff.—Uzunçarşılı twice (pp. 347 and 353) wrongly gives the date of death as 17 Cemaz. ii. 1322 [28.8.1905].

[3] She later married a certain Hüsnü Bey, Berber-başı.

[4] A favourite with Murad V after his deposition, see Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 29.81. So also was 413/Gevheri.

[5] In *Belleten*, 30.340, she is given as attached to the harem of Abdülâziz, while ibid. 252, n. 3, she is attached to Murad V's. Later she left the harem and married a certain Nuri Bey.

[6] Her first marriage was dissolved on 4.11.1908.

[7] Hadice was divorced from her first husband, as a result of a scandal with 2690/Mehmed Kemaleddin, *c.* 1900—see Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 38.344. There is no record of this marriage between Hadice and Ali Galib in *A.G.*, but her subsequent marriages and his to 1392/Fehime are given in detail.

TABLE L. ABDÜLHAMİD II *and his Family*

31 ABDÜLMECİD I = 397[2] Tirimüjgân

34 ABDÜLHAMİD II (Bedros, Kanlı) B. 1258 [22.9.1842] Ac. 1293 [31.8.1876] Dp. 1327 [27.4.1909][1] D. 1336 [10.2.1918]

- 420 Bedrifelek = 1285 — B. 1267 [4.1.1851] [15.11.1868]
- 422 Biydâr = 1291 — B. 1274 [5.5.1858] [2.9.1875] D. 1336 [13.1.1918]
- 424 Emsalinur = 1303 — B. 1282 [2.1.1866] [20.11.1885]
- 426 Müşfikâ = 1303 — B. 1284 [10.12.1867] [12.1.1886]
- 428 Peyveste Osman = 1310 — B. 1290 [10.5.1873] [24.1.1893]
- 430 Saliha Naciye = 1322 — D. 1342 [4.12.1923] [4.11.1904]
- 1318 = Behice — [10.5.1900] B. 1299 [10.10.1882]
- 1300 = Dilpesend — [10.4.1883] B. 1281 [16.1.1865] D. 1321 [5.10.1903]
- 1302 = 425[3] Mezide — [2.1.1885] B. 1284 [3.3.1869] D. 1326 [12.12.1908]
- 427 Nazıkedâ
- 429[4] Safinaz
- 1308 = 431 Sazkâr — [31.8.1890] B. 1290 [8.5.1873]

(428)

2613 Mehmed Abbas Halim P. (v. XLIX, 850)

2630 Nabila Emine (1) = 1337 = (2) Abdurrahim (1) = 1327 = (1) 2532 Emine Naciye (Eng.) (v. XLVII. 833)
B. 1317 [1.6.1899] [4.6.1919] (Div.) B. 1312 [14.8.1894] [1909]

2631[6] Mihrimâh Selçuk B. 1338 [14.4.1920]

860[5]

(422)

2633 Mustafa Şerif B.

2634 Hadice Macide = N.R. 1331 = (2) — B. 1317 [14.9.1899]
2636 Mihriban = N.R. 1325 = (1) — B. 1307 [18.5.1890] [6.6.1907]

861 Abdülkadır (3) = N.R. 1334 = 2635 Mesiyet Fatma — B. 1295 [16.1.1878] [5.2.1916] B. 1326 [14.4.1908]

(421) (420) (430) (421) (425)

2638 Faşriye Andelib = N.R. 1337 = 862 Ahmed Nureddin — B. 1320 [8.8.1902] B. 1319 [22.6.1901]

863 Ahmed Nuri — B. 1295 [11.2.1878] D. 1321 [13.10.1903]

864[7] Mehmed Âbid — B. 1323 [17.9.1905]

865 Mehmed Bedreddin — B. 1319 [22.6.1901] D. Young

2640 Hidayet = 1326 = (1) — [1908]
2641[8] Aliye (1) = 1327 = (2) — B. 1310 [13.10.1892] [7.6.1909] (Div.)

866 Mehmed Burhaneddin — B. 1303 [19.12.1885]

(420) (426)

2672 Merçem Abaza

2673 Tiryal = 1303 = (1) 867[9] Mehmed Selim — B. 1286 [10.12.1870] [4.6.1886] D. 1322 [27.12.1904] B. 1286 [11.1.1870]

- (2) = 1323 = 2674 Nilüfer — [30.6.1905] B. 1304 [1.5.1887]
- (3) = 1328 = 2675 Pervin — [29.3.1910] B. 1311 [6.6.1894]

2677 Fahreddin B.

2678 Beyrutlu Ahmed Nami B. = 1328 = (1) — B. 1290 [1873] [9.8.1910] (Div.)

1401[10] Ayşe — B. 1305 [1.11.1887]

(2) = 1339 = [4.4.1921]

2679 Rauf P.

2680 Mehmed Ali B.

(423) (423) (422)

1402 Hadice D. young

2685 V. A. Abdurrahman Nureddin P. (Haci) B. 1251 [4.1836] D. 1330 [7.8.1912]

2686 Arif Hikmet P. = 1332 = (2) — [27.2.1905]

1403 Naile — B. 1301 [9.2.1884]

(1) = 1319 = 2688 Cemaleddin B. — [1901] (Eng.)

2687 Gazi Nuri Osman P. B. 1248 [1832] D. 1317 [5.4.1900]

2690[11] Mehmed Kemaleddin B. = 1315 = (1) — [17.3.1898] (Div.)

1404 Naime — B. 1293 [5.8.1876]

(2) = 1325 = 2490 Celâleddin P. — [11.7.1907] (v. XLVI. 1330)

2691 Âdile = 1340 = 2583 Mahmud Şevket (v. XLVIII. 842) — [4.5.1922]

(431) (430) (424) (427) (420)

2694 Ahmed Eyüb P. B. 1249 [1833] D. 1311 [1893]

2695 Ali Fuad B. = 1330 = 1405 Refia — [3.1912] B. 1308 [15.6.1891]

1406 Samiye — B. 1325 [16.1.1908] D. 1327 [27.1.1909]

1408[13] Ulviye — B. c. 1281 [1864] D. 1287 [29.11.1870]

2689 Ali Nureddin P. = 1306 = 1409 Zekiye — [20.4.1889] B. 1287 [12.1.1871]

2698 Ali Namık

2697 Fahir B. = 1328 = (2) — D. 1341 [27.9.1922] [2.12.1910]

1407[12] Şadiye — B. 1304 [30.12.1886]

(1) = 1327 = 2699 Fuad B. — [1909] (Eng.)

[1] His deposition and death are discussed in an important article by Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, 40. 705; the correspondence of dates is not, however, always accurate. See Şehsovaroğlu, in *R.T.M.*, vi. 3628, &c.

[2] His mother died in 1853 and he was adopted by 390/Perestû, and also befriended by 373/Pertevniyal Valide Sultan.

[3] In unusual circumstances she came from the harem of Murad V; see Şehsuvaroğlu, *Âziz*, 52, n. 1.

[4] Safinaz, a sister of 406/Yıldız, was at first in the harem of Abdülâziz.

[5] His engagement to Emine Naciye came to an end when she married 2535/Enver Paşa; his marriage to the Nabila Emine ended in a divorce on 26.9.1923.

[6] On 7.10.1940 Mihrimâh Selçuk married the Emir Naif of Transjordan.

[7] He was the youngest son of Abdülhamid II, and the favourite of his days in retirement; see Şakir, in *R.T.M.* i. 562, &c. On 12.1.1936 he married Seniye, sister of King Zogo of Albania.

[8] She was divorced on 10.11.1919. On 1334 [2.4.1920] she married Mehmed Cavit Bey, one of the leaders of the 'İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti' and of the Republic in its early days. However, he was executed on 1345 [12.9.1926] for complicity in a plot against Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk).

[9] He was much disliked by his father; see Örik, in *T.D.* iii. 970.

[10] She was divorced from Ahmed Nami on 10.2.1921.

[11] He had to divorce Naime, on account of the scandal with 1393/Hadice; see Table XLIX, n. 7.

[12] Her engagement to Fuad Bey was broken off because Abdülhamid II had been deposed meanwhile.

[13] She was burned to death while playing with some matches.

TABLE LI. MEHMED V *and his Family*

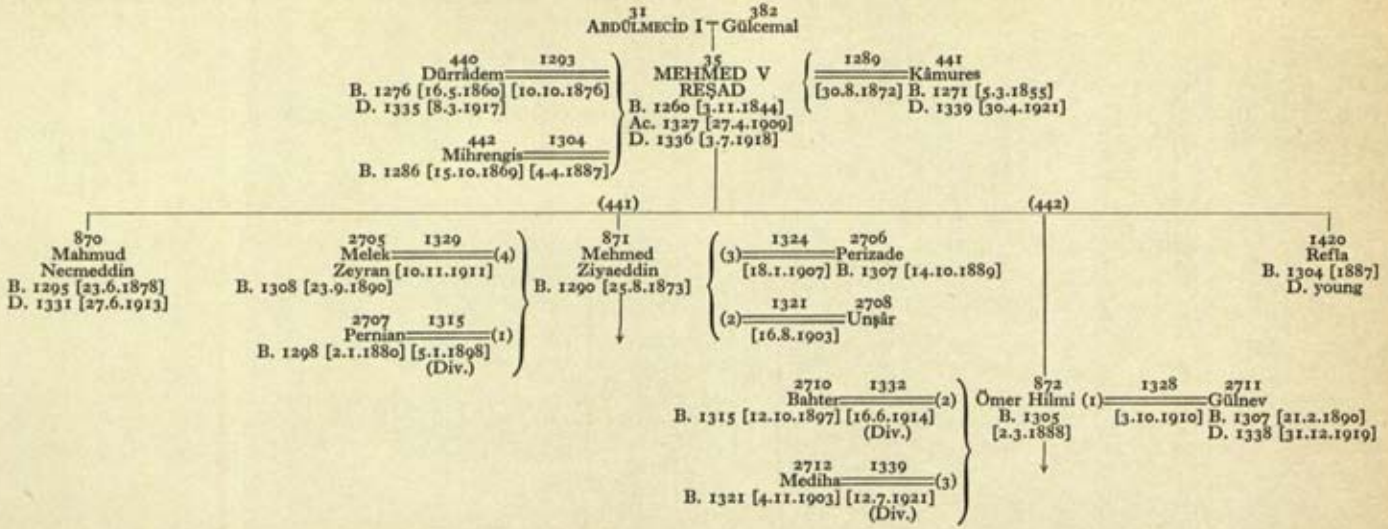
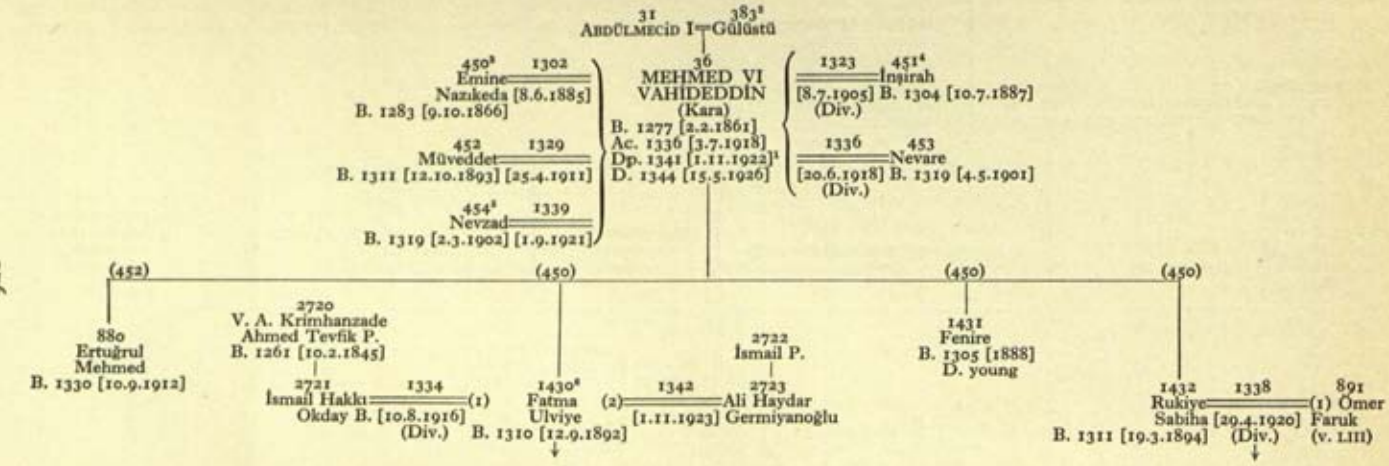


TABLE LII. MEHMED VI *and his Family*



[1] He was deposed as sultan on this date, but was allowed to continue as caliph; however, on 17.11.1922 he chose to flee the country; see pp. 72–3.

[2] His mother died when he was three months old, and he was brought up, first by one of the harem ladies, then by his stepmother 394/Şayeste, and lastly by his brothers; see Şehsuvaroğlu, in *R.T.M.* i. 404.

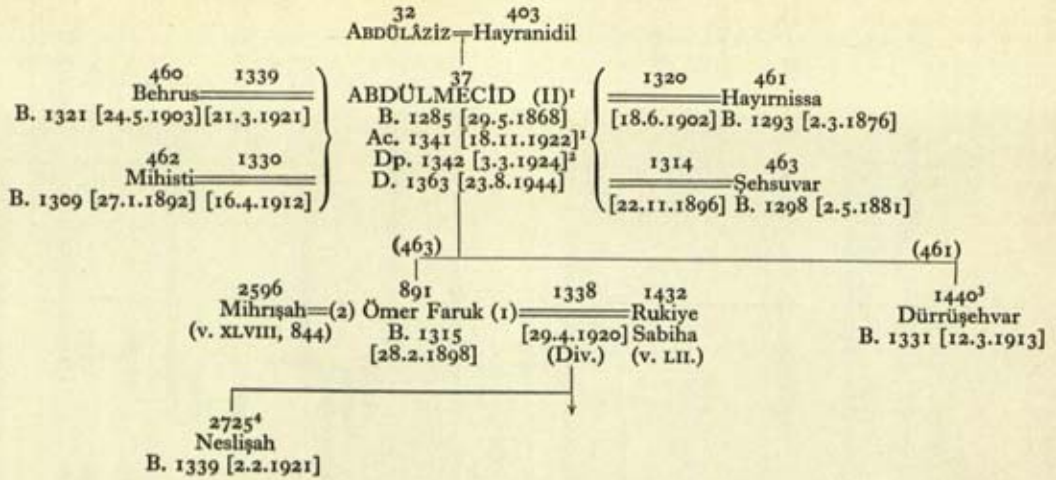
[3] She was reputedly of the princely Circassian family, Merçem-Abaza.

[4] She was divorced on 17.11.1909.

[5] Ali Hayder, 242, comments on this late marriage, and the Sultan's preoccupation with her: 'He had taken a new wife, who so demanded his attention that he refused to see any visitors.'

[6] Her first marriage was broken by divorce on 21.6.1922.

TABLE LIII. ABDÜLMECİD (II) *and his Family*



[1] As he was only caliph, and not sultan, when he came to the throne in November 1922, he should not strictly be called Abdülmecid 'the Second', but it is convenient so to do for ease of reference. He was elected on 18.11.1922 and entered into office on 24.11.1922.

[2] On his deposition, he and the whole of the Ottoman dynasty were exiled from Turkey and left the country immediately. His last days in Istanbul are described in a series of articles by Yelkin, in *T.D.* i. 22, &c.; see also p. 73. For his life in exile, see Kerimoğlu, in *R.T.M.*, vi. 3603.

[3] On 20.12.1931 Princess Dürrüşehvar married Hymayat Ali Khan Azam Jah, Prince of Berar and heir to the Nizam of Hyderabad; by this marriage there are two sons, Bereket and Keramet. At the same time Nilüfer, granddaughter of 850/Mehmed Selâheddin, married the Nizam's second son, but this soon ended in divorce.

[4] She later married Abdülmün'im Bey, son of the Khedive Abbas Hilmi.

TABLE LIV. ALLIANCES WITH CANDAROĞULLARI

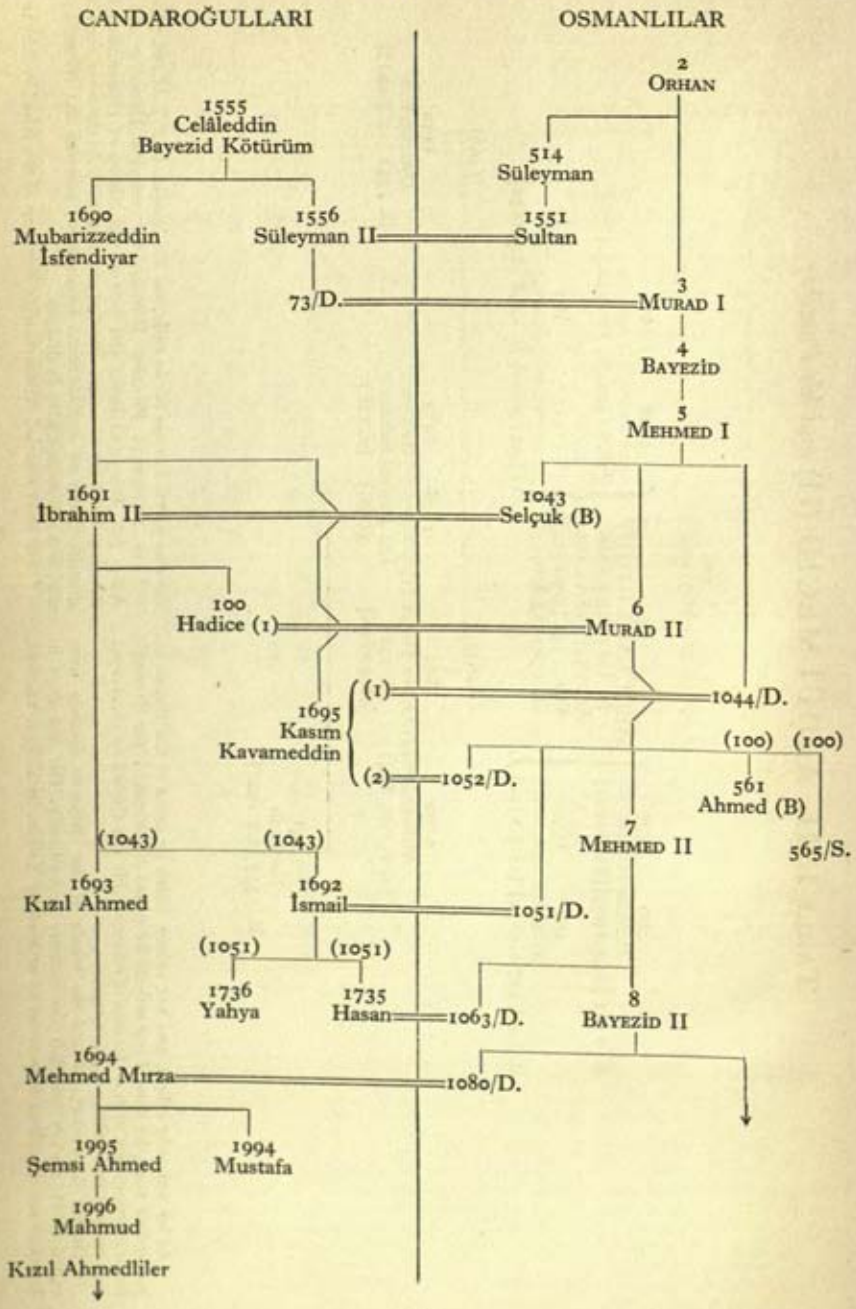


TABLE LV. ALLIANCES WITH THE COMNENES

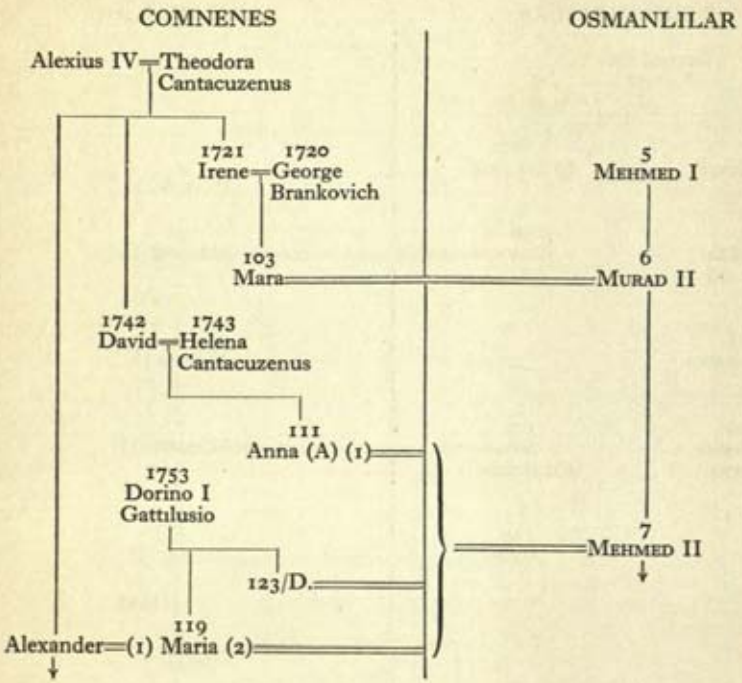


TABLE LVI. ALLIANCES WITH DULKADIRLILAR

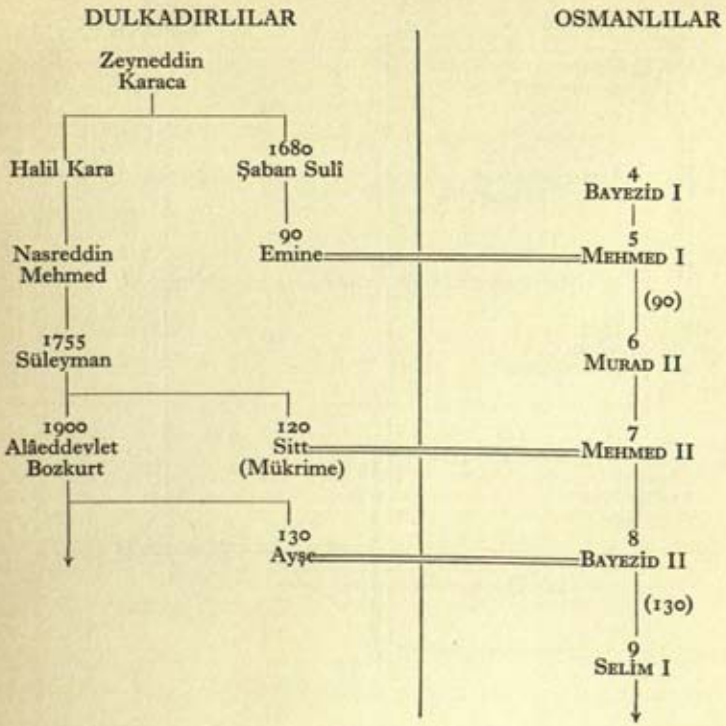


TABLE LVII. ALLIANCES WITH KARAMANOĞULLARI

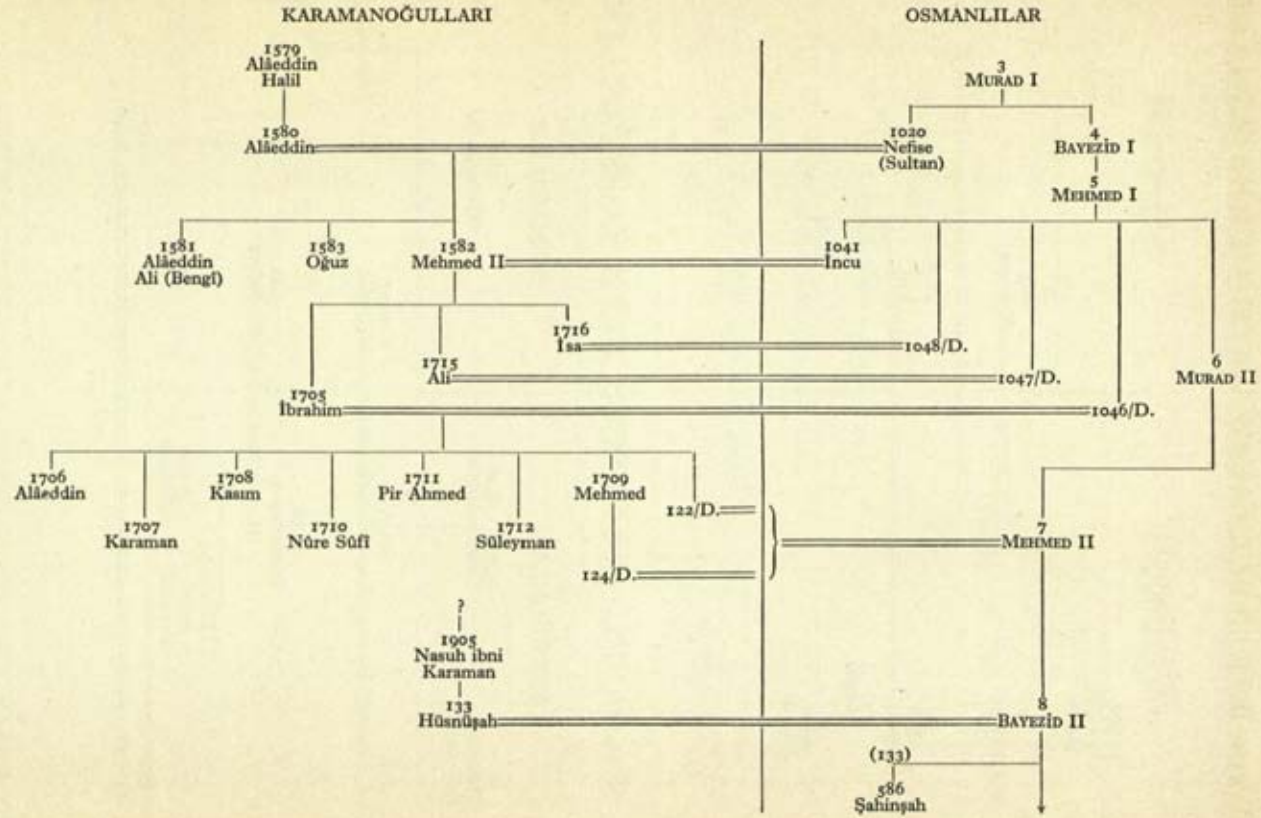


TABLE LVIII. ALLIANCES WITH KRİM HÂNLARI

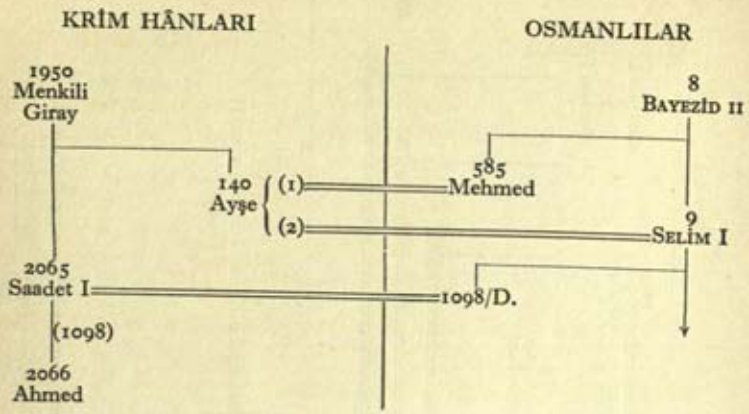


TABLE LIX. ALLIANCES WITH KÖPRÜLÜLER

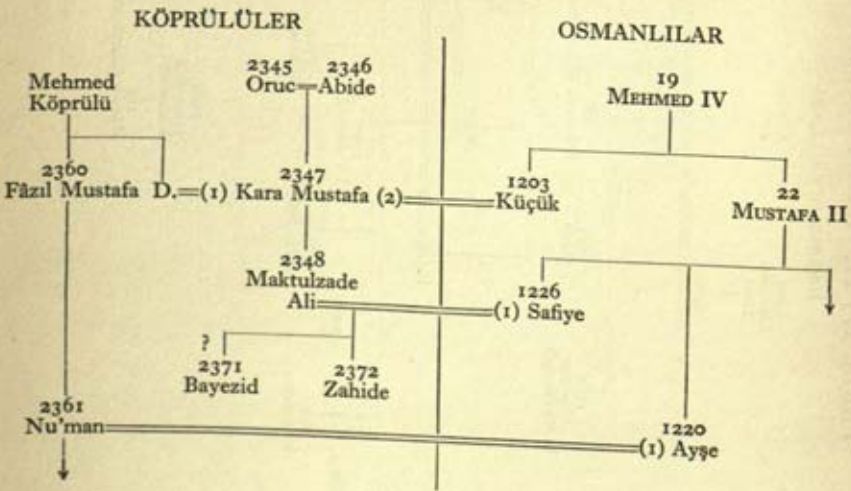


TABLE LX. ALLIANCES WITH MEMLÛKLER

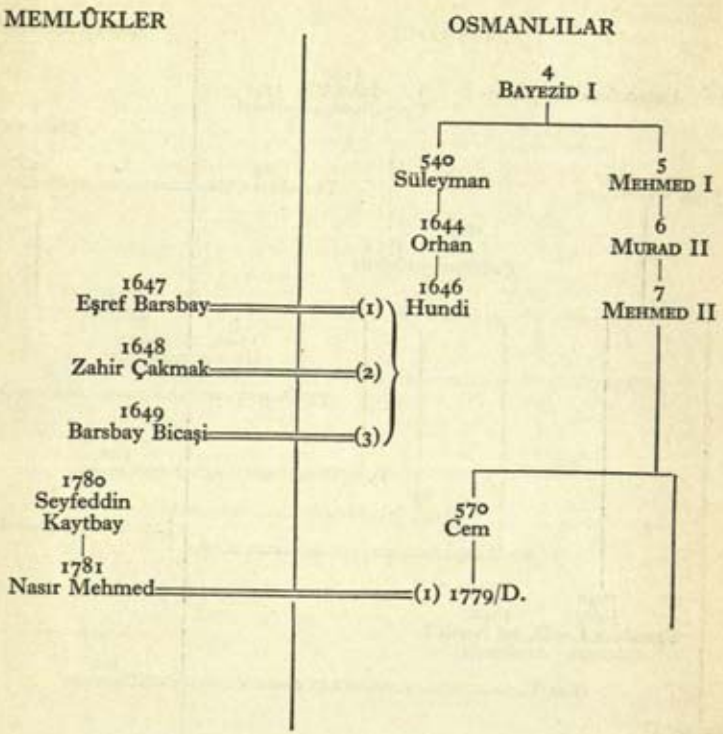


TABLE LXI. ALLIANCES WITH THE PALEOLOGI

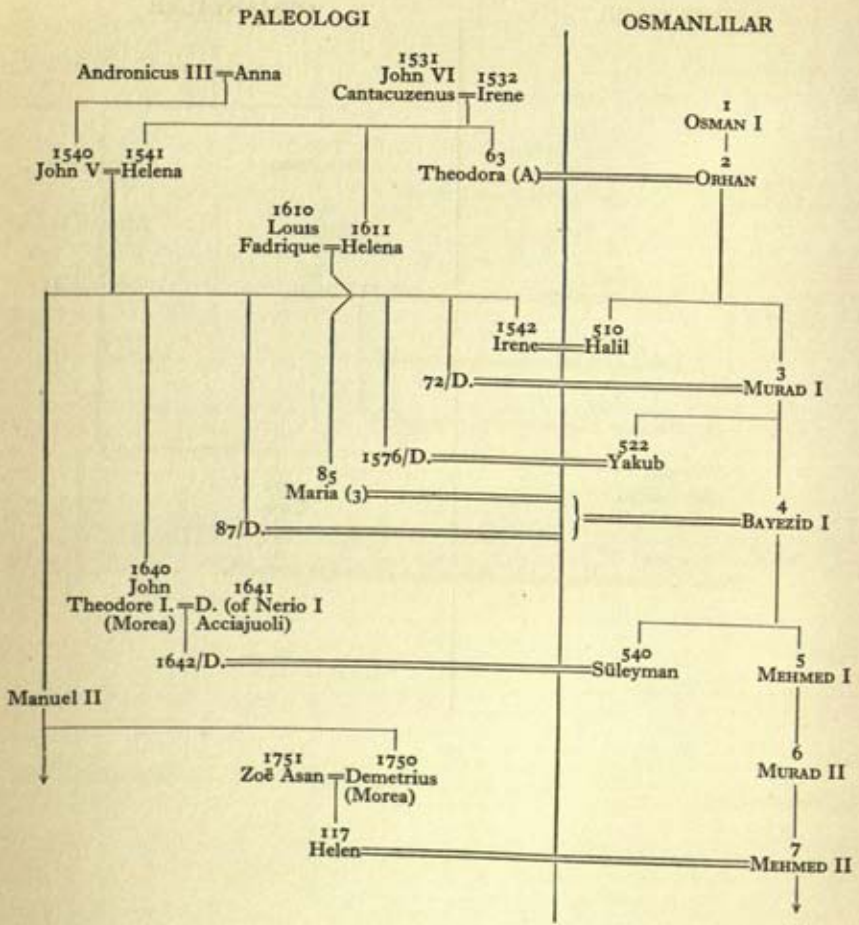


TABLE LXII. ALLIANCES WITH SAFEVİLER

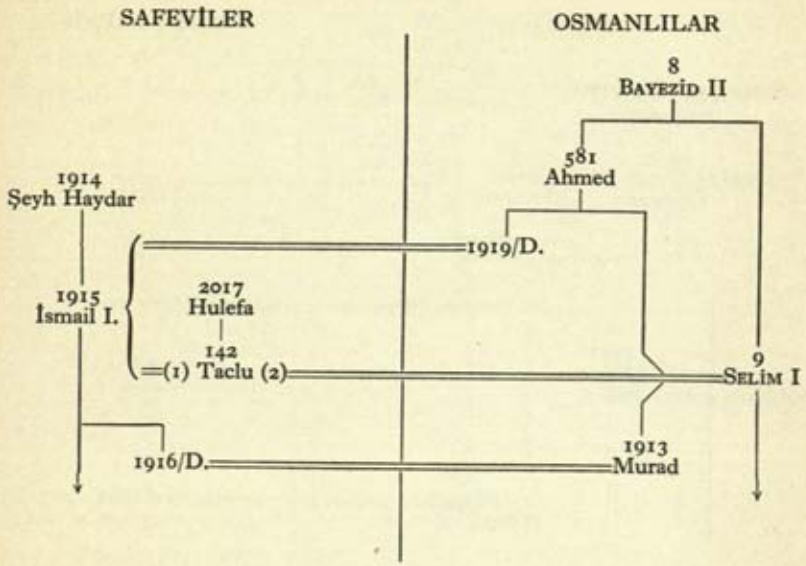
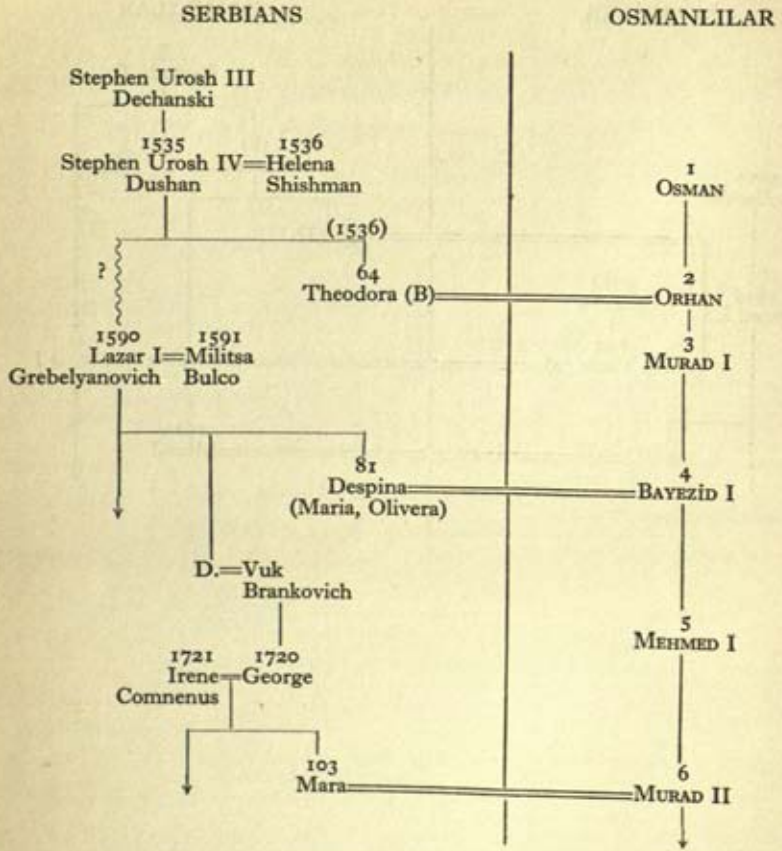


TABLE LXIII. ALLIANCES WITH THE SERBIANS



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