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THE HAREM OF MUSTAFA II (1695-1703).

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A future history of the Ottoman sultans' harem¹ must have 36 chapters, one for every sultan. My paper is a contribution to chapter 22 : The harem of Mustafa II².

When Mustafa II succeeded his uncle Ahmed II to the throne on 7 February 1695, a new harem had to be created by or for the new sultan. How was this done? On the very day of his accession Mustafa informed his mother and invited her to move from the Eski Saray in Istanbul to the Imperial Saray in Edirne³. The new

1 For information on the harem see : N. M. Penzer, *The harem* (Philadelphia 1937); Çağatay Uluçay, *Haremden Mektuplar* (Ankara 1956); *ibid.*, *Harem II* (Ankara 1971); *ibid.*, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (quoted : Harem III) (Ankara 1980). *Ibid.*, «The Harem in the XVIIIth Century», *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München*. 28. August bis 4. September 1957. Hrsg. v. Herbert Franke. Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 394-398; Pars Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Sarayı Kadınları* (Istanbul 1985); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, (Ankara 1945); Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*. I I (London 1950). For the Harem-buildings see : Mualla Anhegger-Eyüboğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Padişah Evi (Harem)*, (Istanbul 1986); Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. (Cambridge, Mass. 1991).

2 A shorter version of this paper was read at the Xth. C.I.E.P.O. Sempozyumu in Ankara, 31. 8. - 2. 9. 1992. I owe thanks to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* for several grants allowing me to work in the Istanbul Archives, I thank the Turkish authorities for their permission and the staff of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, especially Ülkü Altındağ, for their friendly helpfulness.

3 Silâhdar Fındıklı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretname*. Sadeleştiren İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, 2 vols. (Istanbul 1962-1966), I, pp. 4-5, 7.

Valide Sultan Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan⁴, the former *hasseki* of Mehmed IV, according to tradition was to be the head of the new harem. A few days later the new sultan paid a visit to his sister Emete Ümmügülsüm Sultan⁵, probably not only out of politeness to his closest female relative in the city, but also as a step in creating the new harem. It was quite usual that Ottoman princesses made presents of beautiful *cariyes* to their reigning brothers⁶. On the other hand there was a rumor that the Grand Vezir had presented a beautiful *cariye* to the sultan but that he had sent her to the women's quarters without touching her before his mother came to Edirne⁷. When the Valide arrived early in March⁸ the new harem visibly began to take shape. On March 7th the sultan's cousin Ibrahim, the son of Ahmed II, was put in the Valide Sultan's care, whereas Ibrahim's sister Asiye and his mother Rabia Sultan as usual were sent to the Eski Saray in Istanbul⁹. The *kızlar ağası* of the former sultan, Uzun İshak Ağa, was deposed twenty days later¹⁰. Sultan Ahmed's harem thus ceased to exist.

The new *dariüsseade ağası* was Yapraksız Ali Ağa¹¹, whom sultan and Valide had known in earlier days. When he arrived from Egypt in May¹² the new harem's pillars were erected. Who were the inhabitants of the harem at that time? Apart from the Valide Sultan and the *kızlar ağası* there were Ibrahim, the sultan's cousin and Ahmed, his younger brother. Unfortunately we don't know anything about the fate of the *cariyes* who had served the new sultan, when he still was living in the Şimşirlik dairesi as a

4 On her see Uluçay, *Harem III*, pp. 65-67, Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Saray Kadınları*, pp. 321-324 and my forthcoming monography on Mustafa II.

5 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 8.

6 Uluçay, *Harem II*, p. 12.

7 Paget Papers, Paget to Trenchard 29. 1. 1695 O. S., 2r-3r.

8 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 20.

9 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, pp. 20-21.

10 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 27. For his biography see Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hamilet ül-Kübera*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek H. O. 120, fol. 27a.

11 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 27.

12 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 30. For his biography see Ahmed Resmî, *Hamilet ül-Kübera*, fol. 27b.

prince. Those *cariyes* in the former harem of Ahmed II, who had not been among his *hasşa cariyeler* in all probability remained as servants in the new harem. New *cariyes* were traditionally either bought¹³ or received as presents by the sultan¹⁴.

Sultan Mustafa in the spring of 1695 was very busy preparing his first campaign¹⁵. When he set out for Hungary on the 19th of June his harem accompanied him¹⁶. *Hasşa cariyes* had been selected for him, the new *harem* was complete and functioning: his first daughter Ayşe was fathered during the march to Belgrade¹⁷. Unfortunately the available sources do not permit us to identify her mother.

On the other hand we know a woman who was proud of having been elected to accompany the sultan on all his three campaigns. She had, so we are told, given birth to five sons and a daughter of the sultan. This woman was visited by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in early March 1718. Lady Mary calls her the favourite of Sultan Mustafa and earlier editions and translations give her name as «Hafiten»¹⁸. Turkish authors interpreted it as «Hafise» or «Hafsa»¹⁹. Alderson put her in his list both as «Hafiten» and as «Hafise»²⁰. As he found no such name among the known

13 TSA E 88/179, 12. Ramadan 1112: acquisition of one *cariye* costing 320 guruş bought in Çatalça for the harem and «*anahk dört ra's cariyeye*» for the «*harem-i hümayun ve aġayan-i harem hastaları*» in the Eski Saray in Istanbul.

14 See above and *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Montagu*. Ed. by Robert Halsband, vol. I (Oxford 1965), p. 381 for «Hafife», who had been presented to the sultan by Ebubekir Efendi.

15 The military preparations of Mustafa II for his campaigns in one of the main topics of my forthcoming book on that sultan.

16 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 103.

17 She was born on 27. Ramadan 1107/30. 4. 1696, see Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 145.

18 Lady Mary Montagu, *Briefe aus dem Orient* (Stuttgart 1962, p. 173 (based on the English edition of 1784).

19 Uluçay, *Harem III*, pp. 74-75; *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdi Osman-oġulları*. Mehmed Süreyya Beg'in Sicill-i Osmani birinci cild bab-i evvelini düzeltip genişletilmiş edimsel yenibasım biçiminde hazırlayan Güntekin Oransay (Ankara 1969), p. 82, 181; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 153.

20 A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*. (Oxford 1956), Table XL.

kadıns of Mustafa, Uluçay thought her to be an «*ikbal*»²¹. But a woman who had given birth to several children, who had accompanied the sultan on all his campaigns and in 1718 still owned a real treasure of jewels, must have been a *kadın*. In the latest edition of Lady Mary's letters, based on the manuscript, her name now appears as «Hafife» not as «Hafiten» anymore. Nevertheless the editor, who had used Alderson, thought the «name was clearly misspelled» by Lady Mary²². This, however, is not so.

Now, what do other sources tell us about the earliest *kadıns* of the sultan and their names? Silâhdar as well as a *harc-i hassa defteri* of 1108/1696-97 mention Âlicenab Kadın, the *başkadın* of the sultan²³. According to the information given to Lady Mary by «Hafife», the *başkadın* was the first consort of the sultan, not the one having given birth to the first son as is often written²⁴. This information must be correct, because the first son's mother was Saliha Kadın who must have been a member of the harem no later than November 1695, for her son was born in August 1696²⁵. There is a *hatt-i hümayun* of the sultan, that can be dated early July 1696 in which Saliha is already mentioned as *kadın*²⁶. Âlicenab Kadın consequently must be the first *kadın* of Mustafa II. Unfortunately Mustafa II in his *hatts* concerning the *kadıns* either calls them by their names or speaks just of «the others»²⁷, so we don't know who were the second, third, fourth *kadın* etc., mentioned

21 Uluçay, *Harem III*, p. 75.

22 The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Ed. by Robert Halsband, vol. I (Oxford 1965), p. 380.

23 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme*, II, p. 18, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (quoted TSA) E 118/10.

24 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Letters, I, p. 380.

25 Muharrem 1108/9. 8. 1696: Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme*, I, p. 169. The presents given to the *müjdecî* are also registered in a *ceb-i hümayun defteri* (TSA E 118/39) covering the month of Muharrem 1108.

26 TSA, E 2450 Nr. 5, addressed to the Darüsseade Ağası Ali Ağa; the Kaymakam of Istanbul Orsman Paşa, mentioned in the *hatt*, was in office from Zilkade 1106-18. Rebiülahir 1108/July 1695-14. 11. 1696. The letter was written in Sofia and the enemy planned an attack on Temesvar. The conclusion is that the *hatt* must have been written during the second campaign in Sofia, where he was between the 2. and 13 Zilhicce 1107/3. - 14. July 1696.

27 TSA, E 2450 Nr. 1-7.

in other sources. The Hadice Kadın, mentioned by Uluçay and Alderson as early as 1107²⁸, in reality was the *kilerci kadın* not one of the sultan's personal *kadıns*²⁹. But the *harc-i hassa defteri* of 1108/1696-97 adds the name of Afife Kadın³⁰, and a *kuyumcu defteri* of the same year mentions her along with İvaz Kadın³¹. In addition we learn from the *harc-i hassa defteri* that there were six *kadıns* in 1108³² although we only have identified five of them so far: Âlicenab, Bahtiyar, Saliha, Afife and İvaz. According to Uluçay there was also a Hüsnüşah Kadın (in the text erroneously Hümaşah) who died in 1111/1700³³. But a document in the Topkapı Sarayı makes clear that she was a remarried *kadın* of one of Mustafa's predecessors³⁴.

Among the known *kadıns* there is, as we have seen, no «Hafise» or «Hafsa», but there is an «Afife». Her name resembles «Hafiten» as much as Hafise or Hafsa do, even more so if we consider Lady Mary's correct spelling «Hafife» and this name has the great advantage of being the name of a really existing *kadın* of Mustafa II. This Afife Kadın is mentioned in several *hatts* of the sultan³⁵, we know of several presents she received in 1108/1696³⁶ and also of one she received in 1110/1693³⁷. There can be no doubt that this Afife, mentioned in the documents, is the «Hafife» Lady Mary met in 1718.

The most exotic *kadın* of Mustafa II cited in certain books was Anna Sophia von Wippach, wife of Ernst Wilhelm von

28 Uluçay, *Harem III*, p. 74; Alderson, *Structure*, Table XL.

29 In TSA E 88/199, dated 29. Cemaziyülevvel 1110, a *kilerci* Hadice kadın is mentioned as recipient of 300 *guruş*. She must be the same person as Hadice Kadın who received in E 10266 the silver şamdan, the four silver ibriks, the silver tepsi and the six ibriks made of copper, things she could well use in her function of *kilerci*.

30 TSA E 118/5.

31 TSA E 118/2.

32 TSA E 118/10.

33 Uluçay, *Harem III*, p. 73.

34 TSA E 118/38.

35 TSA E 2450 Nr. 4 and Nr. 7 in both entries she receives 1 *kise* as a present.

36 TSA E 118/2, 118/5, 118/8, 118/13.

37 TSA E 88/200.

Hanstein zu Hanfstädt und Ostheim. The source, not given by Alderson³⁸, is Hammer-Purgstall³⁹ who based his entry on Gundling's «Discours über den Zustand her europäischen Staaten»⁴⁰. According to that source she was captured in September 25th 1695 near Lugos together with her six year old son, was brought to the harem because of her extraordinary beauty and as Hammer puts it «received the honour of becoming sultanic bedfellow»⁴¹. Her son according to that report was well educated and elevated to important positions. Was this Anna Sophia the missing sixth *kadın*? It is well known that the *cariyes* were given new names in the *harem*, but normally they entered the institution being virgins, not mothers of six-year-old boys. But vis-à-vis extraordinary beauty nothing in the world is impossible. Anyway I am afraid I cannot identify Anna Sophia as *kadın* of Mustafa II. But, I am sure, her romantic story will live on at least in footnotes.

According to Uluçay Mustafa II invented a second class of sultanic bedfellows, the «*ikbals*». A document in the Topkapı Sarayı gives Şahin Fatma Hatun as name of such a woman⁴². She was married to an unknown person after the deposition of her sultan. Another one, Hanife Hatun, was married as well and had a son and a daughter from her second husband⁴³.

Among the *kadıns* there were some changes in later years. Şehsuvar, whom we meet as «*bula*» in June/July 1697 (Zilkade 1108)⁴⁴ seems to have become *kadın* in 1109, probably because she was pregnant with the future Osman III. Consequently a document that can be dated 1108/1109 *speaks* of seven *kadın*⁴⁵. In 1110 (19. Şevval/20. 4. 1699) the *başkadın* Âlicenab died⁴⁶). A defter

38 Alderson, *Structure*, Table XL.

39 Joseph von Hammer [-Purgstall], *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (= GOR, Pest 1830), vol. VI, p. 752.

40 Frankfurt 1743, 4. Tom. II. p. 686.

41 Hammer [-Purgstall], *GOR*, VI, p. 752.

42 Uluçay, *Harem II*, p. 38, based on TSA D 9988, the quotation in Note 97 has omissions which have not been marked.

43 Uluçay, *Harem III*, p. 75.

44 TBA E 118/12.

45 TSA E 68/10.

46 See above note.

dating about one year later (24. Şevval 1111/14. 4. 1700) represents the new situation : again six *kadın*s⁴⁷. An undated *hatt-i humayun* mentioning Şehsuvar Kadın among the six *kadın*s therefore describes the situation after the death of Âlicenab Kadın⁴⁸. We don't know exactly who became *başkadın* in her place but there is some reason to think that it was either Bahtiyar Kadın or Saliha Kadın.

According to the evidence available so far, the women mentioned were the only *kadın*s of Mustafa II. On the other hand the sultan gave presents to some women who probably had also shared pleasures with him. There is an Afife Bula, a Küçük Saliha, a Yedkeşan (?) Bula and a Dürr-i Yekta Bula⁴⁹.

Sultan Mustafa II had eight sons and ten daughters⁵⁰. But we can only identify the mothers of those two princes who became sultans themselves. Saliha Kadın was the mother of Mahmud I and Şehsuvar Kadın the mother of Osman III. Alderson attributes five princes to Hafise, who is identical with «Hafiten», but he failed to notice the identify. The basis for his argument is the information given by Lady Mary that 'Hafife' was the mother of five princes, who died before the sultan⁵¹. He even gives the names and the years in which these princes were born : three of

47 TSA E 68/11.

48 TSA E 2450 Nr. 7.

49 TSA E 118/4 (Afife Bula and Yedkeşan (?) Bula), 118/6 (Küçük Saliha), E 118/9 (Dürr-i yekta Bula).

50 Alderson (table XL) gives the names of ten sons and *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdi* (p. 82) of eleven, I trust on the basis of Silâhdar's data. The latter was in the Sultan's retinue and had been given the duty of writing the history of his reign. Şeyhî's list of Mustafa II's sons includes the same eight names; some of the dates he gives differ slightly from those of Silâhdar (see : *Şakaik-i numaniye ve Zeyilleri. Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi. Vekayii'l-Fudala II-III*, ed. by Abdülkadir. Özcan. Istanbul 1989, p. 217). The birthday of a Murad mentioned by Raşid (*Tarih*, vol. II, Istanbul 1282/1865, p. 579) is also the birthday of Ahmed as mentioned by Silâhdar (*Nusretname, II*, pp. 131, 195). Raşid must be mistaken in calling him Murad. - Alderson gives nine daughters, Uluçay eight, several names differ. Again I follow Silâhdar, who claims that the sultan had ten daughters.

51 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters*, I. p. 380. Apart from her sons she had a daughter, who was still alive, when the sultan died.

them, Murad (A), Murad (B) and Ahmed, in 1114 (without being triplets!), Mehmed in 1110 and Selim in 1111. The source, not mentioned, is the often unreliable Mehmed Süreyya⁵². Following Silahdar's *Nusretname*, the best source, we learn that only four sons had died before the Sultan was dethroned : Süleyman, Mehmed, Hüseyin and Selim, but Ahmed, the youngest, died only two weeks later, so we have indeed five sons. But no source explicitly states that they were all Afife's/Hafife's sons. We only can tell that the intervals between their births don't make it impossible to assume that they all had the same mother. The exception is Hüseyin, who was born only six and a half months after his brother Mehmed. A bill dating three days before the birth of prince Mehmed could, however, be taken as an indication that Afife was his mother : gold-plated silver-spangles (*cibinlik pulları*) for a mosquito net had been made for Afife Kadın. This certainly would be an adequate present for a mother with a newborn child⁵³.

The names of the princesses' mothers are completely unknown. We only know that Afife had a daughter who still lived when her father lost the throne. In any case the mothers of the eldest girls ought to be among the first *kadıns*, namely Alicenab, Bahtiyar, Afife and İvaz.

There is one document which allows us to identify a mother⁵⁴, because it names a *kadın* and the *ebe kadın* side by side. Both receive presents. The document dates 24. Muharrem 1108, three weeks after the birth of Prince Mahmud, whose father was on campaign. Unfortunately his mother Saliha is already known by name.

The criteria for being promoted to the rank of *kadın* (the term *hasseki* is never used in the archival material I had at hand) are not clear. The evidence we have for Mustafa II might at first sight point to pregnancy as the decisive qualification. In Rama-

52 *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. I, (Istanbul 1308/1890-91), pp. 71, 40, 78, 16, where, however, the second Murad is not to be found. The new edition by Gültekin Oransay added the information given by Alderson, see *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kim-di*, pp. 210, 265, 224 (both Murads), 128.

53 TSA E 88/200.

54 TSA E 88/101.

zan 1108 there were six *kadins* and in fact four children had been born, two *cariyes* were pregnant at the time⁵⁵. On the other hand the mother of the firstborn girl could have born a second child in the meantime and if we look back at the end of Muharrem 1108, two children had then been born, two were expected but we only know of three *kadins* in that month⁵⁶ and in Rehiülahir 1108 we have the names of five *kadins* but only four children had been born and no *cariye* was pregnant as far as we know⁵⁷. How, when and whether an *ikbal* became a *kadın* under Mustafa II and whether pregnancy played a role in this promotion cannot be clarified for lack of information.

A «new kadın» in 1108/1696-97 according to the *harc-i hassa defteri* received five *kaftans* with *entaris* and five *dizliks*. At the same time the other three *kadins* got 4 *kaftans* etc. and two *bulas* one *kaftan* etc. each. Obviously the present was meant to furnish her with the proper clothes of a *kadın* and the others had to be treated well and justly too, in order not to arouse their envy⁵⁸.

Besides the *cariyes* who strove to create paradise on earth for the padişah there were *cariyes* serving his brother Ahmed, his cousin İbrahim, his daughters, his son, and (in 1109-1110) the Hasseki Sultan of his predecessor⁵⁹ in the Eski Saray.

With only two exceptions the *kadins* and *ustas* having functions in the harem appear in the sources only with their functions. The exceptions are Hadice, the *kilerçi usta* and Emine Kadın the *Külhancı*⁶⁰. When in Şavval 1111 money was distributed to the harem in Davud Pasa Sarayı five of these ladies were among the recipients: the *kethüda kadın* (300 guruş), the *cameşuy usta* (50), the *hazinedar usta* (50), the *kilerçi usta* (50),

55 Ayşe, Mahmud, Emine and Safiye, the mothers of Rukiye and Süleyman were pregnant.

56 Ayşe and Mahmud had been born, Emine and Safiye were expected. Âlicenab and Bahtiyar figure in the *harc-i hassa defteri* (Zilhicce 1107-Safer 1108) as *Kadins*.

57 We know of the *kadins* Âlicenab, Bahtiyar, İvaz, Afife and Saliha; but only Ayşe, Mahmud, Emine and Safiye had been born.

58 TSA E 118/4.

59 TSA E 68/10.

60 TSA E 88/199.

and the *çeşnegir usta* (50)⁶¹. The *kethüda kadın* according to the sum she received was the most important *figure*, whereas the *hazinedar usta* whom Uluçay thought to be second after the Valide Sultan in importance⁶², appears on equal terms with the other *ustas*. The list from which this evidence was drawn in addition can give us an idea of the ranks in the harem: Valide, brother, cousin, eldest son, rest of the children according to their ages, *başkadın*, *kadıns*, *kethüda kadın* and *ustas*. In another list, however, *kethüda kadın* and *dayı kadın* even precede the *başkadın* and the *kadıns*⁶³.

We have already heard that the harem accompanied Mustafa II on all his campaigns, not of course into the theatre of war, but as far as the Danube⁶⁴. The Valide Sultan, however, stayed behind and according to what «Hafife» told Lady Mary, not all *kadıns* went with him⁶⁵. For those accompanying him, the enterprise must have been the most adventurous period of their harem-lives. Apart from that Mustafa II's harem wasn't always hidden behind the same walls. For the greater part of his reign he resided in Edirne. Sometimes duties, as the reception of ambassadors after the Peace of Carlowitz, forced him back to Istanbul. The *harem* went with him of course, lived in the Edirne Sarayı or in the Topkapı Sarayı, in summertime sultan and harem liked to stay in Akpınar bahçesi, Çatalça Sarayı, Davud Pasa Sarayı, Tersane Bahçesi and Üsküdar Sarayı. In January 1696 Valide and harem visited Aya Sofya and the *türbes* around it after everybody had in obedience to a sultanic order, left the well-guarded place⁶⁶.

61 TSA E 68/11: the document contains also a list of the living children of the sultan (Mahmud, Ayşe, Emine, Safiye, Mehmed, Osman, Hasan, Hüseyin and Fatma), the total number of *kadıns* is six, *başkadın* and five *kadıns*.

62 Ulukay, *Harem II*, p. 132; other authors as Penzer, *The Harem*, p. 177, Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilâtı*, p. 150 and long before them Paul Rycout (*The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* London 1668, pp. 39-40) had stressed the importance of the *kethüda kadın*.

63 TSA E 68/10.

64 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 103, 106, 107, 199, 208, 302.

65 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters*, I, p. 384.

66 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 134.

The Valide Sultan Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan of course had more freedom of movement and contacts than the *kadins*. Quite often she accompanied her son. She visited her daughters in their palaces, took part in the wedding of her daughter Fatma Sultan at the side of her son⁶⁷, visited her daughter Hadice Sultan in company of the sultan⁶⁸, after she had given birth to a daughter. She looked at parades⁶⁹, visited Eyüb⁷⁰, received the Grandvezir and the Şeyhüislam⁷¹ and accepted invitations by the Grandvezir⁷² and the Bostancıbaşı⁷³ (with her son). She had *hasses* and a *Kethüda* who administered them for her⁷⁴. Mustafa kept close contacts with his mother, he honored her demonstratively whenever there was an occasion, he sent her information⁷⁵, asked for her well-being and received many, many horses as gifts from her⁷⁶. He even prohibited that anybody should stay in a house in Çorlu, between İstanbul and Edirne, in which his mother had spent a night⁷⁷. His relationship to individual members of his harem can only be guessed on the basis of entries relating to gifts of furs, jewelled belts, ear-rings, bracelets, kaftans, or cash, and the documentation is far from being complete. His children received similar presents. A small scene related by Silâhdar gives us a glimpse of his sultanic way of treating babies: he had ordered to bring four months old Sultan Mahmud and seven months old Ayşe Sultan to the Hassoda Köşkü, where he poured sparkling new *akçes* over their heads and then made them look at the tricks of trained elephants, in order to amuse them⁷⁸. Mustafa II's favourite son was his second son Mehmed, who died at the

67 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 134.

68 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 246.

69 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 144, 209, II, p. 25.

70 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 142.

71 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, I, p. 339, II, 52.

72 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, II, pp. 24, 43 (with her son).

73 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, II, p. 24.

74 For many years a Hacı Mehmed had that function. Many entries in the Mühimme Defterleri proof his energetic service, for example Başbakanlık Arşivi (BBA), Mühimme Defterleri 109, p. 17; 107, pp. 14, 29.

75 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 78, 100, 109, 197.

76 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 33, 208, 307, 342, II, p. 26.

77 Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 106, p. 306.

78 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 237.

age of five years. Silahdar tells us how deeply the sultan was affected by his death⁷⁹.

The sultan's relationship with his female relatives outside the harem, especially with his sisters, is a topic in its own right.

The harem of Mustafa II changed little throughout his lifetime. The Valide Sultan preserved her position even after Mustafa's deposition⁸⁰, when her second son became Ahmed III. Ali Ağa, the *kızlar ağası* was deposed in September 1700⁸¹, his successor, the *ic hazinedar* Solak Nezir Ağa⁸² preserved his position to the end of the reign. As far as we know only one of the *kadins* died before the sultan. She as well as the princesses who died in Edirne during the lifetime of their father were buried in the Darülhadis Mezarlığı in Edirne⁸³. Fatma Sultan, however, who died in Istanbul, was buried in the *türbe* beside the Valide Sultan Camii⁸⁴. The princes were buried at the side of their grandfather Mehmed IV in his *türbe* beside the Valide Camii in Istanbul, whether they had died in Edirne or Istanbul⁸⁵. Only Prince Ahmed, who died some days after his father's deposition was buried in the Darülhadis Mezarlığı with his sisters⁸⁶. Their funerals were state affairs, vezirs, ulema and members of the divan participated, even if such a child had been born dead, as Prince Süleyman.

When Mustafa II was dethroned on 22. August 1703 he accepted his fate but he felt concern for his *cariyes* and children. Silahdar preserved for us his word to his mother: «*kul beni tahttan indirmişler, yerime karındaşım Sultan Ahmed'i padişah eylemişler, Allah mübarek eyleye, evladlarım ve hassa cariyelerim kendüye Allah emaneti olsun*»⁸⁷. Ahmed III left Mustafa's harem as sultan, Mustafa went into his brother's harem until his death

79 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, II, p. 136.

80 For this event called «Edirne vak'ası» see Rif'at Ali Abou-al-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Istanbul 1984).

81 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, II, p. 42.

82 For his biography see Ahmed Resmî, *Hamilet ül-Kübera*, fol. 27b-28b.

83 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 17 (Rukiye), 50 (Ümmügülsüm).

84 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 33.

85 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 332 (Süleyman), II, p. 38 (Hüseyn), p.

81 (Selim), p. 136 (Mehmed).

86 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 195.

87 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 184.

some weeks later. If Silâhdar gives the correct number, five children went with him⁸⁸. This could mean that his eldest daughters Ayşe, Emetullah and Emine, in spite of their being still children, were living in the houses of the *paşas* they had been married to. His *kızlar ağası* was deposed, imprisoned, and later banished⁸⁹. Whether some of the *kadıns*, especially the mothers of his living children were allowed to stay with the former sultan we do not know. Contacts to his mother, however, were not hindered⁹⁰.

A short time later we learn that that the deposed Sultan and his sons Mahmud, Osman and Hasan were brought to the Topkapı Sarayı together with Prince İbrahim, the son of Ahmed III⁹¹. Mustafa's daughters and *kadıns* according to tradition must have been sent to the Eski Saray. Thus his harem ceased to exist. Two of his *kadıns*, Saliha and Şehsuvar⁹² left the Eski Saray when they became *Valide Sultan* in their turns. Afife/«Hafife» left it when she was married to the *reisülküttab* Ebubekir Efendi⁹³, the other *kadıns* probably were also married. The same is known of two *ikbals*⁹⁴. This traditional measure⁹⁵ honoured the husbands and reduced the costs of the harem. One of the *cariyes* had been solemnly transferred to the palace of the Grand Vezir Elmas Mehmed Pasha early in the reign⁹⁶, when there was not yet a daughter that could be married to him as a token of high sultanic grace and esteem. Thus the harem functioned as the enlarged sultanic family, as a reservoir for honouring distinguished officials and binding them to the dynasty.

The harem of Mustafa II seems to have fulfilled its function of making the Sultan's personal life pleasant, it contributed to the monarch's representation and it certainly fulfilled the dynastic functions of securing progeny.

88 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 187.

89 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, pp. 187, 201.

90 Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. Diez 75, fol. 292 b.

91 Silâhdar *Nusretname*, II, p. 196.

92 On their biographies see Uluçay, *Harem III*, pp. 73-74.

93 For his career see İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Osmanlı Devlet Erkânı* (Istanbul 1971, pp. 336, 338-339).

94 See above p.

95 Rycout, *The Present State*, p. 40.

96 Silâhdar, *Nusretname*, I, p. 131.

İkbals *Mustafa II.* Kadins

1. Şahin Fatma (D)
2. Hanife (D)

1. Âlicenab, d. 1110/1699 (D)
2. Bahtiyar (D)
3. Saliha, d. 1152/1739 (D)
4. Afife (D)
5. İvaz (D)
6. Şehsuvar, d. 1165/1756 (D)
7. ? (D)

(3)			(4?)				(4?)	(6)
<i>Ayşe</i>	<i>Mahmud (I)</i>	<i>Emine</i>	<i>Safiye</i>	<i>Rukiye</i>	<i>Süleyman</i>	<i>Hadice</i>	<i>Mehmed</i>	<i>Osman (III)</i>
1107-1165	1108-1168	1108-1152	1108-1192	1109-1110	1109-1109	1109-?	1110-1115	1110-1171
NI 145	NI 169	NI 197	NI 236	NI 306	NI 332	NI 338	NI 353	NI 10
(D)	(D)	(D)	(D)	NI 17 (D)			(D)	(D)
				(4?)	(4?)			
<i>Hasan</i>	<i>Hüseyin</i>	<i>Fatma</i>	<i>Esmihan</i>	<i>Selim</i>	<i>Ümmügülsüm</i>	<i>Emetullah</i>	<i>Ahmed</i>	<i>Zeyneb</i>
1110-1145	1110-1112	1111-1111	1111-?	1111-1113	1111-1111	1113-1139	1114-1115	?-1117
NI 17	NI 19	NI 27	NI 32	NI 33	NI 36	NI 80	NI 131	NI 226
(D)	NI 38 (D)	NI 33 (D)		NI 81 (D)	NI 50	(D)	NI 195	(D)

D = Document

d. = died

N = silâhdar

Nusretnâme