Francis

The Sultan, His Palaces, and His Household in the Seventeenth Century
THE SULTAN, HIS PALACES, and HIS HOUSEHOLD IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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I. THE LOCATION OF THE PALACES

The Ottoman Turk in his westward march was destined to change governments and destroy empires. He carried over the organization of the nomadic camp life into the organization of his government and household when at last he established his capital at one principal place. From the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, his influence had spread over western Asia Minor and southeastern Europe. Brusa, or Prusa, a city of great antiquity and seat of the kings of Bithynia, may be called his first capitol. It was taken by Orchan in 1326 and made the seat of his empire. Adrianople fell a prey to Murad I whose grand vizir assaulted and took it in 1360. A spacious \textit{Ja\textipa} or Mosque was built near the royal palace. Near the end of the fourteenth century, the Sultan Bayazid I encamped under the very walls of Constantinople without opposition. No siege took place, however, the sultan being persuaded by his grand vizir that it would be more dangerous to reduce the city than to leave it in the hands of the Greek Emperor. But in 1453, Constantinople fell before the victorious Mohammed II. A great palace was promptly built in the center of Constantinople, subsequently called the \textit{Eski Serai} or Old Palace, and before his death the Conqueror had chosen the site and begun the construction of the more famous "Seraglio".

The palace which was summoned into existence for the Ottoman Sultan, recalled, in structure and appearance, the patriarchal tents and the nomadic life of the plains. We have a descrip-

3. ibid., p. 106.
tion of the Mongol Turkish camp from the travels of Rubruquis and Carpini across the great steppes. They carried their reed houses on great wagons drawn by twenty-two oxen, eleven abreast. On reaching a favorable place, they halted and made camp. "When they take down their dwelling houses from off these large carts they turn the doores always to the south: and next of all they place their carts, laden with their chests, here and there within half a stones cast of ye house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. -----the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their turn: so that the last wife dwelleth upon the East frontier:" The master's place seemed to be on the north.

The first palace was at Brusa which was situated at the foot of the Bithynian Mt. Olympus in northwestern Asia Minor. The city and suburbs, at the time Dr. Pococke saw them in the middle of the eighteenth century, were about six miles in circumference. The castle of Brusa was on the highest part and was walled around, which our traveller thought was the ancient city of Prusa. It was nearly a mile in circumference. "On the north brow of the hill are the ruins of the grand signior's seraglio, which was burnt down some years ago; this being one of the royal cities which have been the residence of their monarchs." Evliya Efendi says the "palace in the castle was the residence of the early Ottoman Emperors to the time of Mohammed II." Von Hammer says that the "seat of the

throne" was moved there from Yenishehr. Cantemir tells us that Orchan adorned the city of Prusa with a new Mosch, Academy, and Hospital, Structures truly royal. But especially the Academy, which was founded in a Monastery, became so famous and illustrious for Professors of the liberal Arts, that out of Arabia and Persia, which before were looked upon as Preceptors of the World, very many to pursue their studies, flocking thither, disdain'd not to be the disciples of the Othmanidae." Shortly before the fall of Constantinople, foundations for the stately palace, the Jihan Numa, or Watch-Tower of the World, were laid at Adrianople. The city, although a capital, was regarded as mainly a camp or imperial bivouac, the sultan often going there on hunting trips and with his ladies. Tribute children were sent there to the palace schools. A little without the city and to the north stood the Grand Seignior's Seraglio, with a park some three miles in circumference, walled about. The palace was low and seemed more like a garden-house for pleasure. It was kept by the ajemoghlans, not only for the Sultan's entertainment, but also in his absence, for any Pasha or other principal minister.

While Adrianople was made the principal capital by Sultan Murad, the heart of the Ottoman still clung to Brusa; but with the capture of Constantinople, his interest turned to Europe. It

10. Ibid., p. 98.
is there that the splendid palaces arose which in some ways rival all others in the world for richness and splendor. In the seventeenth century there were three palaces in Constantinople, of which the first was the above mentioned Eski Serai or Old Palace, whither the women of the predecessor of the reigning prince retired. The walls, built in the form of a square, were about an Italian mile in compass. Of the four gates two were always shut, the other two being guarded night and day by about five hundred baltagees or axemen. The doors of the inner palace were kept by white eunuchs, to whom the black ones as the more noble, committed the care and attendance of the women. 14 Evliya Efendi says that the old palace was placed on the site of an old convent in a delightful grove full of all sorts of beasts and birds. It was begun in 1454 and finished in 1458. The wall had neither battlements nor ditch, but was very strong, being cased with azure-colored lead. 15 The seraglio of the Hippodrome, which was built by Ibrahim Pasha, served Suleiman II as an amphitheatre for festivals, plays, and combats, and particularly for the festivals of the circumcision of the Ottoman princes, which constituted the greatest solemnity of them all.

Our chief interest lies in the third palace, or the Grand Seraglio. It was not one immense structure, but a number of small buildings carrying out the idea of the nomadic camp life. From the outside, the seraglio appeared to be an approximate long

triangle about three miles in circuit. It was surrounded by a lofty wall which was encompassed by a ditch save along the water front, and the best soldiers of the sultan's guard stood day and night in the square watch towers, one or two hundred paces distant from each other, to ward off intruders. Several entrances opened to the sea on either side, but the main entrance faced St. Sophia, to the south. Through a vast and spacious portal of white marble, one was admitted to the first court where the ajemoghlans or apprenticed janissaries lived, and where the great wood yards were located. From this wood yard could be seen finely planted cypress trees, cool groves, and a solitary wilderness which surrounded the whole seraglio between the wall and the buildings. The second court, which opened out of the first, was larger and more important. Here, we find, the divan was held, where justice was rendered in a public manner on appointed days of the week. Here also were the great stables, private and public, and farther on, the seven great kitchens where immense quantities of food were prepared every day. The third court, however, was not as regular as the other two, and its uses were varied. Here the foreign ambassadors were received and the highest officials of the sultan, and the sultan himself, lived; here the pages were educated; here the treasures of the empire were kept in the immense treasury; here finally were the sacred precincts of the women.

At the head of this very interesting government was

18. ibid., p. 151.
the Sultan, and his officials were as much a part of his household as they were of his government. Following the oriental idea, his word was law; every slave must obey him. But one is many times led to doubt his absolute power. Below him were the grand vizir and other officials down the scale as far as the meanest slave in the household. It is the purpose of this paper to present mainly a description of the entire group of buildings and the people that constituted the palace and household of the sultan as contained within these three courts.
II. THE FIRST COURT

If the walls and towers which enclosed the Grand Seraglio resembled a prison more than a royal palace, the rich apartments within these walls bore testimony to the contrary, for they had the luxurious and pleasant air of many of the palaces of France and Italy. The principal gate looked toward St. Sophia and was always open, but several others, which give entrance from the water front, were never opened except at the bidding of the sultan. A vast and spacious portal of white marble admitted one to the first court. There was a two-leaved iron gate through which one passed, which when opened, were about twenty paces apart. Guards were always on duty here. Sandys says, "The proud Palace of the Tyrant doth open to the South: having a lofty Gate-house without Lights on the outside, and engraved with Arabic characters set forth with Gold and Azure, all of white Marble," which read "Glory to the God of Mahomet and Mahomet his Prophet." This court, oblong in shape, was smaller than the other two. A sketch by Hill of the seraglio grounds will be used to aid in locating the various buildings, although it greatly over-emphasizes the regularity of plan and the symmetry of the buildings.

Near the entrance and to the left stood the ruins of an ancient chapel, said to have been built by Constantine the Great in the fourth century, adorned with relics and trophies taken from the Greeks at the capture of the city. A little farther within

the court and on the same side, a row of low, mean buildings contained lodging for some hundreds of ajemoghlan. These were captives taken in war, the sons of Christians taken from their parents at the age of ten or twelve years, and brought to Constantinople where they were inscribed and estimated. 5 If they were unused to the Turkish language and ways, they were first scattered among the Turkish country gentlemen. There they were set at hard labor in order to strengthen their bodies; but at the same time, they were expected to learn the Turkish language, faith, laws, and customs. 6

At the end of two or three years, if they knew enough Turkish and were strong enough, they were brought to Constantinople, again inscribed, estimated, and distributed, but this time in groups. Some were sent to serve in the fleet at Gallipoli; but the choicest of them were designed for service in the seraglio, to perform the menial labor. They were subjected to a severe discipline, and were taught obedience and readiness to serve, with fasting and other penances.

These ajemoghlan in the palace did not ordinarily become Janissaries, or soldiers, as did those outside, but were advanced toward the directing of the transport, commissary, and artillery services, the oversight of the imperial stables, and similar positions in the administration of the household. Their pay was from two to five aspers a day which they received every three

7. Ricaut, P. op. cit., p. 76.
months. Besides this they were given their food and clothing. Their diet was principally fish and rice. Their clothes were made of a coarse cloth; their hair colored caps of felt were in the form of a sugar loaf. While most of their education was of a physical kind, they were taught reading and writing if they wished to learn.

Behind the lodgings of the ajemoghlanis was spacious square wherein were piled logs and faggots used in the Grand Seraglio. Fifty thousand wagon loads were annually brought in from the forests of the empire. This wood was split and carried to the various parts of the seraglio by the baltagees or axmen who resided in the next court. From this woodyard to the wall were closely planted cypress trees and thickets. On the right of the court were the quarters of the helvagees, distinguished by a peculiar dress as were most of the groups in the palace service. These slaves could go anywhere within and without the seraglio, except in the women's quarters, on errands for the great officials. The helvagees numbered, ordinarily, about six hundred. They received no pay, with the exception of those who had served three or four years, who had from two to seven and one-half aspers per day. But they always made immense profits by taking advantage of the commissions assigned to them, charging double for almost everything they bought. Considerable gain came from their trade in supplying the hospital.

Behind the lodging of the helvagees stood this hospital where so much of their profits were made. It was divided into

rooms, furnished according to the rank of those who occupied them. Two physicians and two surgeons, appointed by the sultan, inspected the sick, who were carefully attended by a number of white eunuchs, two of whom stood constantly to guard the entrance. Tavernier says that we cannot imagine the good order maintained. The sultan sent frequently to learn how the sick members of his household felt and how they were being treated; he inquired if the physicians came to them often and if each officer of the hospital did his duty. There was scarcely an empty place, for one had no sooner left than another came; and though not ill, many persons were brought there under the pretext of some indisposition. As soon as they became ill, they were put in covered carts and taken to the hospital. When they had entirely recovered they were taken to their rooms in the same manner. They usually remained ten or twelve days and no doubt the diversion provided for them caused them to remain to the limit of their time. One amusement, particularly disquieting for nervous people it would seem, was a sort of shrill music, either vocal or instrumental, which began in the morning and only left off at night. But the most attractive diversion was wine which they could have at no other time. This was smuggled into the hospital by the helvages. Behind the hospital was a spacious green where the sultan came to watch exercises, such as throwing the dart and javelin, shooting bows and arrows, and wrestling and riding.

III. THE SECOND COURT

This court was not much larger, if any, than the first, but much more stately. There were many bubbling fountains and beautiful gardens in it. On the gate which gave admittance to this court in great characters of gold, were the words of the central formula of the Moslem faith: "La Illaha il Allah, Mohammed Resul Allah", or, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet."

In the center of the court was a square portico supported by many pillars of curiously variegated marble with their capitals and bases of the finest sort of polished marble. The walks which crossed the courts to the different apartments that could be seen through the columns in the distance were of this same marble.

Several lodging rooms were above the portico for officers of considerable authority, but their positions are not given. As it is in this court that the great stables, the aqueduct, and the kitchens were situated, without doubt some of the great officers connected with these lived there. Looking to the left of the portico, one saw the lodging of the baltagees or axemen who worked about the woodyards and buildings. This lodging was divided into humble rooms such as were suited to slaves. Behind their lodging were the private stables where from twenty-five to twenty-seven horses were kept for the Sultan's own pleasure. Above these stables were the saddles, bridles, and rich furniture for his "Led-Horses"; seven or nine horses covered with these rich trappings were led before the Sultan whenever he went abroad.

3. Ibid., p. 152.
stables, behind the private ones, held about five hundred horses, "where there is now to be seen a Mule so admirably streak'd, and dappled with white and black, and in such due proportion as if a Painter had done it, not to imitate nature but to please the eye and express his curiosity." It is said that the Turks paint all sorts of objects on mules and clip their hair in various patterns, but this animal may have been a zebra.

On the right side of the court were the great kitchens. There is a difference of opinion as to the number of them, but in a picture, nine are shown. Each provided food for certain people within the Seraglio, from the sultan down to the meanest slave. Above the kitchens were an equal number of preserving rooms where four hundred confectioners made sweet-meats, conserves, preserves, jellies, candied and dried fruits, liquid syrups and marmalades, sherbets and lemonades of rich and costly composition for the Sultan and such of his higher officers as would pay the high price. Not far from the kitchen and adjoining the garden was the aqueduct, which extended below and above the ground in very strong and stately arches, in vaults, and in cisterns. This aqueduct was attended by an Officer, or Master, of the Waterworks under whose command about two hundred men were constantly laboring. Kitchens, butteries, lodging rooms, and fountains were supplied from this aqueduct which also fed many artificial lakes.

The most interesting and attractive structure was per-

5. As told by a visitor to Turkey a few years ago.
haps the Hall of the Divan which stood in the open square of the
portico. Here the Grand Vizir and the Kaziaskers or Chief Justices
gave decisions on appointed days: Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and
Tuesday. The Divan was not a legislative chamber. It was in a
sense a combination of a president's cabinet and a supreme court; yet
it was unlike both. The place was low and open to the view of all
the people; the roof was supported by wooden pillars leaded over in
a very curious manner. Over the floor a rich carpet was spread
around which on low benches or divans sat the judges and other
officers. From the roof of this hall, a small gallery ran along
the left side leading to the apartments of the Sultan, who often
came and hid behind a velvet curtain in order that he might over-
hear the trials.

Presiding over this court was the Grand Vizir whose of-

cice was of oriental origin, growing out of necessity, and the
natural result of an urgent situation. Formerly the sultan had
presided at the Divan but Suleiman did not, and he was greatly
blamed for discontinuing the custom. The office, while coveted
by many, was not a safe one, for the vizir's life was continually
in danger. One reason for desiring it was probably the immense
riches connected with it. The revenues coming immediately from
the crown amounted to twenty thousand dollars yearly, the income
from certain lands and villages in Rumelia. The rest of the im-
mense riches which accrued to this office flowed in from all parts
of the empire, for no pasha or minister of trust entered on the

8. Zinkeisen, J. U. Geschichti des Osmanisches Reiches. v.lta.,
1855. v. 3. p. 60.
duties of his office without making a present and offering to the Grand Vizir, to obtain his consent and purchase a continuance of his favor. Those with governments abroad always kept agents at court, who, with gifts, continually mollified the vizir's mind, entreating him to represent their service to the Grand Seignior in an acceptable and grateful manner.

In the spring at the equinoctial, all pashas, and any that had governments of note, made presents of considerable value to the Sultan, at which time the Grand Vizir was not slighted. He was further presented with large sums of money, by all persons, in proportion to the nature of their business. Such gifts were not secretly but boldly demanded, and the bargain made as in matters of merchandise and trade. But the Sultan was not ignorant of the great wealth accumulated in the Grand Vizir's coffers, and accordingly provided remedies to drain them. When he was appointed to his office, the Sultan claimed an immense sum from him for advancing him. Then under the color of friendship, the Grand Seignior favored him with a visit, in return for which the Grand Vizir must give a rich present. Many times the Sultan sent for a loan of ten thousand dollars for jewels, horses, and other things of great value. Often he invited himself to a banquet at the expense of the Vizir.

With all these bribes, the Vizir was supposed to give impartial judgments. He was assisted at the divan by several other Vizirs; two Kaziaaskers or judges of Rumelia and Anatolia, Kazis

10. ibid., p. 92.
11. Lybyer. p. 164. The number of Vizirs was not rigidly fixed. They were his chief councillors for peace and war, administration and justice.
or judges; the three Defterdars or treasurers; the Reis ul-Kuttab or chancellor, together with many secretaries and clerks. The divan assembled at day break. The vizirs sat at the further end of the divan at the right of the Grand Vizir, facing toward the door, every one in place according to his degree. On the left sat two Kaziaskers. On the right, coming in at the door, sat the three Defterdars, while behind them in another room, divided by a wooden rail, were all the clerks, sitting on the ground, ready to record the business. On the left of the door sat the Mishanji or chief scribe with his officers. In the middle of the room stood all who required audience. There were no attorneys to plead cases, every one speaking for himself. The pashas, or governors, did not speak unless asked to do so by the Grand Vizir. Cases were referred to the different officials, as accounts to the Treasurers, and civil law to the judges. Only those of greatest import and consequence did he reserve for his own decisions.

At noon, the Grand Vizir commanded that dinner be brought in, and the common people left immediately. A thin round brass plate, or tray, set upon a stool, was placed before the Grand Vizir and one or two of the governors; another before the rest of the governors; one before the judges; one before the treasurers; and one before the Mishanji. A napkin being spread upon their knees and bread laid around the plates, meat was brought in, in great dishes. As fast as they had finished with one dish, another was placed before them. The diet ordinarily consisted of mutton.

hens, pigeons, geese, lamb, chickens, broth of rice prepared in many ways, pilaffs, and tarts. The pashas and other great men had sherbet brought to them in great porcelain dishes, while the rest drank "faire Water brought them from the Fountaines". The remains from their tables were given to officers of the divan together with their allowance from their own kitchen. The under officers, waiters, and keepers dined at the same time, being about four or five hundred in number, but their food was only "bread and pottage".  

On Sundays and Tuesdays if an ambassador came to the divan he sat on a stool facing the Grand Vizir. Having conversed for a while, dinner was brought in and the food was in greater abundance and more delicate than ordinarily and the service was of silver. After dinner the ambassador was entertained until his retinue had dined also. After the business of the divan was completed and a report given to the sultan, the ambassador was then presented.  

14. ibid., p. 337.
IV. THE THIRD COURT.

The third court is perhaps the most interesting, for it contained the palace proper. Here with all the insolence and haughtiness of the Orient, the ambassadors of Europe were received by the Sultan; here the Sultan and his principal officials resided; and here was the sacred harem. The gate to this court was carefully guarded by white eunuchs, being too near the Sultan's person to be approached by common soldiers. The arrangement was as in the former two courts and there were many different apartments independent of each other.

In the center near the entrance stood the audience room whose neatly arched roof was supported by a double row of marble pillars. When an ambassador sought the presence of the Sultan he was first entertained by the Grand Vizir as has been described in the preceding section; then after the Sultan had received the reports of the divan, the ambassador was called in by the Master of Ceremonies. When about to enter, the ambassador and his men were given rich garments to put on, the richness depending on the importance of the emissary. From the gate to the audience room the ambassador walked on richly woven carpets. Ascending to the room by fine marble steps, he was entertained by the music of water falling into shells of stone or polished brass. The water issuing from various places in the wall descended to a large pool "flagg'd and floor'd with exquisite mosaic work of various colors, which (easily perceiv'd thro' the transparency of the included

1. See p. 20.
2. Tavernier. p. 452.
Water) wonderfully pleases the observing Eye with a surprising and
uncommon Scene of Beauties."
3 The ambassador, having ascended the
marble steps covered with richest silks, walked on a golden carpet
toward the Sultan. This golden carpet one of our sources said,
"resembled mats in Britain, the threads looking a little less than
the gentlest sort of straw."

About the middle of the room played a fountain not un-
like a shower of rain. Opposite to the ascent stood a throne of
no great height, but splendidly adorned with an extensive canopy,
a broad back piece and thick plated bases, all of black and costly
velvet. This velvet was very much embroidered with a mixture of
gold and silver wire, in the squares of which were sewed turquoises,
diamonds, pearls, and rubies, so arranged that they easily attract-
ed attention. Upon this throne, cross-legged, sat the disdainful
Sultan looking about with a haughty frown upon the base and servile
postures of his slaves. The Grand Vizir stood humbly on his right
hand and very near him. At a more submissive distance almost op-
posite appeared the greatest officers of his Seraglio, each ranged
according to his dignity with hands humbly crossed and eyes cast
down. As the ambassador approached, two officers grasped him by
each arm and led him forward. Early in the century, it was the
backward
custom to lead the ambassador/to the door as soon as he had bowed
before the Sultan; but in the latter part, he was seated before
the haughty monarch on a low stool covered with rich brocade.

The members of his retinue were then presented and led back of his stool. Next the presents of the ambassador were brought in. The terjuman, or interpreter, then declared the ambassador's commission, to which the Sultan made no reply directly to the ambassador, but only a few haughtily addressed words to the Grand Vizir. After a profound and reverend bow, without removing his hat, the ambassador departed.

To the left of the entrance were three rows of buildings, the apartments of the highest udas, of the Icholans or Pages, who had gradually ascended from the lowest chamber of pages, where for six years they had been subject to such menial drudgery as baking, washing linen, and brushing clothes. In the second chamber they remained three years employed in studying and improving the mind. They proceeded to the third chamber, and after two or three years' service they were called to fill vacancies among the pages of the presence. According to Withers, the complete education was distributed through four schools. In the first one they learned their lesson of obedience and submission, hanging down their heads and crossing their hands in front. They learned the Turkish language and writing, but their prayers they repeated with all due reverence in the Arabian tongue. In this school they remained six years. They were taught the Persian, Arabian, and Tartarian languages in the second school, reading many different authors so that they might the better speak the Turkish language. Here also they learned to wrestle, to shoot the bow, to throw the mace, to toss

6. Hill. p. 156.
the pike, to handle their weapons, and to run. If any negligence was shown by any one of them he was severely punished. Having spent five or six years in this school, they proceeded to the third. By this time they were men grown. They learned to ride a horse and to be quick and nimble in wars. They learned a trade necessary for the service of the sultan; such as making a turban, shaving, folding apparel, and waiting upon the Grand Seignior's table. Some of them also learned mechanical trades such as sewing in leather, mending guns, and making bows, arrows, and quivers.

While in these three schools they were very plainly attired, having two robes of cloth per annum, and received ten to twelve aspers per day. At any sign of dishonesty, they were severely punished by a hundred blows on the soles of the feet. They were not permitted to be friendly with any except their comrades, and that with great modesty. It was, therefore, only with great difficulty that a stranger could see or speak with them. Should permission be obtained from the Kapi Agha, a eunuch was always present as long as a stranger was near.

Those who entered the fourth school were intended for the service of the Grand Signior. Here they received up to eight aspers per diem each according to his ability, and their clothes were of costly silk and gold cloth. But their heads and beards were still shaven, as a sign of bondage, except that long locks were allowed to grow down on either side of their temples, indicating that they were nearest to entering the Sultan's Chamber. Furthermore, they were allowed free conversation with all of the

8. ibid., p. 356.
great men of the Seraglio, and were given rich presents by those who hoped to find favor in their sight when they became great in command.

From these young men, the Sultan chose his Aghas, or gentlemen, those who served him only. They were: sword-bearer; carrier of shoes; yoeman of the stirrup; water-carrier; turban-bearer; he who washed his linen; chief sewer; chief huntsman; chief attendant; nail parer; bather; and chief secretary. At all hours of the day they remained within beck and call. He bestowed on them gifts of garments, swords, and other like presents. They had charge of dispatching the embassies to foreign countries, in which there was great profit.

On the right side of the entrance were the five rows of baths of different form and structure, varying in richness according to the degree of those who were to use them. Fifteen of the most robust johoglans tended the fire. The baths for the use of the Sultan and his high officials were of exquisite beauty. Those of the officials will be discussed first. Two large windows looked out on the gardens and gave a view of the two seas and the passage to Asia. In the dressing room was a dome, in the middle of which was a fountain. The water fell into two basins, the first and smallest one being a piece of white marble, with veins of red and black, from which six brass pipes led the water into the second basin, also of variegated marble. At one side of the fountain was an opening where one might enter the bath.

At the end of a little gallery which led off to the left

was a door. This gave entrance into three rooms where were the baths of the sultan. The last of these was followed by a large room paved with marble of various colors, and was the shaving room. It was raised in the middle and sloped away toward the sides. On two sides of the room were great double spouts from which hot and cold water fell into a white marble basin. Opposite the room of the barbers were three others which, vaulted with white marble, surpassed all the rest in beauty.\(^1\) The floor was of black and white and the walls were of blue and white tiles, in each tile being flowers painted in relief. Little sheets of gold concealed the junctures. The ceiling was made of several little "rounds" of Venetian glass about half a foot in diameter. The second chamber, also a bath, exceeded the first in beauty, and the third the second, the floor being inlaid with precious stones. All of the room was tiled with squares of marble on which were flowers in natural relief covered with gold and azure. This was the bath of the Sultan.\(^2\)

On either side of the court were the quarters of the powerful white eunuchs, reaching almost to the garden wall. These eunuchs, taken from those boys captured, levied, and educated in the four schools, were appointed to guard the Sultan and his gate. The highest and oldest of these attended to the most trusty and important employments, both about the Sultan’s person and his household. The principal one was the Kapi Agha or high

\(^{11}\) Tavernier. p. 461.
\(^{12}\) ibid., p. 462.
chamberlain; the second was the chief treasurer for the house; the third was the chief butler and master of the wardrobe; and the fourth was the keeper of the Seraglio. The high chamberlain was held in greatest esteem and none but he could voluntarily speak to the Sultan; neither could any messages, writings, or petitions be sent in ordinarily except by his hand and means. He accompanied the Sultan wherever he went except into the women's quarters, but he always went with him to their gate and returned for him when he left. He received eight ducats per diem besides as many robes and other necessities as he wished. Everyone, both within and without the Seraglio, gave presents to him, in order to gain his good favor.

Of the chief treasurer more will be said in connection with the treasuries. The master of the wardrobe kept account of all the household material of the Sultan. All presents such as cloth of gold, silks, woolen clothes, furs of all sorts, feathers, raw silk, carpets, and whatever else the Sultan might own was placed in the wardrobe so that the keeper might note what was given to the Sultan and what he gave away. This was a very important position, for the Sultan gave away many robes each day. The master of the wardrobe had a great number of helpers and it was said that the business was so well conducted that there was little or no confusion. This officer remained within the Seraglio most of the time. His pension was a thousand aspers per diem, besides robes and many other presents that he received from time to time.

He succeeded the treasurer in the event of his death.

The keeper of the Seraglio never left it in the Sultan's absence. He not only saw that all things were ready for daily service, but that all officials performed their several duties. He received a pension of eight hundred aspers per diem besides as many robes and furs as he had occasion to wear. When promoted, he became keeper of the wardrobe. Because these four men were so old they were permitted to ride within the Seraglio, and to have a stable of horses in the garden for their own use.

Proceeding to the left and a little beyond the audience chamber, one came to the apartments of the mutes who were used to amuse the Sultan. They expressed themselves by signs, which they employed, not only to converse but "to recount stories, understand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the Alchoran, and the name of Mahomet." Parallel to these dwellings, but on the right, were the lodgings of the dwarfs, likewise for the Sultan's pleasure.

Directly beyond the audience hall was the royal mosque, a magnificent building, facing toward Mecca as do all mosques. Opposite the entrance there was a little retreat in the wall, where their Imam or priest, stood to pray. The Sultan, attended by the forty pages of the highest chamber, sat in a small room and looked out at the priest through barred windows. On both sides of the

retreat there ran a gallery supported by fine marble pillars, alternately green and blue. Within the mosque, and in these two galleries there was no other decoration than the whiteness of the marble. But there were hanging in several places quaint writings in Arabic characters framed in gilt expressing texts from the Koran of Mohammed. Opposite the niche for the Sultan was another for the women. In the middle of the dome of the mosque was a circular iron from which hung many crystal lamps, which were also to be seen in the galleries. In the evening, these lamps were lighted to illuminate the mosque for the prayers of the night. When the Sultan and his ladies had arrived a signal was given and the priest began to chant. After prayers, they returned by the private galleries to their own apartments.

A large semicircular piazza opened into the vast treasuries by two doors at either end. The treasury consisted of four large rooms, alike in form and size and making four half moons, two on either side of the court. All the open spaces were planted with trees and flowers. Six seals on each door and three large chains secure the entrances, which were never opened except at the express command of the Sultan to the High Treasurer. The Treasurer had one key and the Sultan the other. Each room contained cupboards, iron chests, and large shelves and coffers filled with riches of different kinds, shining brightly with inestimable wealth and curious rarities, which as Hill says, "have from time to time been freely given, bought or taken from the distant Corners of the

There were private and public treasuries. The public treasury furnished funds for the public pomp and solemnities, the payment of the soldiers, and in general, all the needs of the empire and the Seraglio. But the secret treasury, which was underground, "was like a sea where several rivers entered and from which nothing departed."  

In the first treasury were a great number of bows, crossbows, muskets, sabres, and other arms of that nature which had been presents to the Sultans. The second treasury contained chests full of all sorts of robes and rich furnishings, magnificent turbans and cushions with pearls, and fine English and Dutch clothes. In the third room were more chests. One large chest, divided into three compartments, contained the rich coverings of the throne. Another contained the bridles and harness covered with rubies, emeralds, pearls, and turquoises. Much of this rich harness came from deceased pashas, for the Sultan was the heir of all his people. Still another chest held swords and sabres set with pearls and precious stones, which the Seignor presented to the pashas when he wished to honor them with a rich present. Musk, amber, sandal wood, and aloes were kept in this room also. Many plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones never left this room, the Sultan having other pieces for his table. The most precious thing in the room was perhaps an iron chest which contained all sorts of jewels: diamonds, rubies, emeralds, topazes, ear rings, 

bracelets, strings of pearls, and aigrettes.

There were always sixty pages, more or less assigned to the Treasury. When the Grand Seigneur wished something from the Treasury, he sent to the Chief Treasurer, and the article was brought to him by the Chasnador bashi, or chief treasurer, who was supposed often to take this opportunity to purloin some of its contents. In the middle of the third Treasury was a large platform, covered with a tapestry of gold, on the top of which one saw in relief, the Emperor Charles V. seated on a throne. In one hand he held a sword and in the other a globe, while around him the great men of the empire did homage. On the platform were books in Latin, French, Italian, German, English, and the languages of the Orient, besides maps and globes. The fourth room was quite dark, daylight showing through only a small dormer window which looked on the court. In Turkish letters at the top of the door were these words, "Money acquired by the diligence of Rustan".

Gold and silver came in as revenues of the Empire, but much came from the estates of the pashas after their decease. Five million livres or about one million dollars came from Egypt. Pashas paid liberally for their office to the Sultan as well as to the principal women, the Mufti, the Grand Vizir and other personages whose favor they might need in the future.

In the fourth room of the Treasury there was a door

23. ibid., p. 474. Rustan was a Grand Vizir who was called upon to take charge of the finances of the empire when Suleiman I was at war with Persia. He is usually called Rustan Pasha. He became very rich. See Von Hammer, Geschicte, v. III. 144.
covered with sheets and bars of iron which opened into the passage-
way of the Secret Treasury. This door was never opened except at
the wish of the Sultan. A second door, barred as the first but
much smaller, so that one had to stoop as he entered, admitted one
to this Secret Treasury. Several large chests were arranged around
the room in the same manner as those in the Public Treasury.
When enough gold and silver had accumulated in the outside Treasury
to amount to about eighteen million livres, it was transported
within with much ceremony. The door was opened by the Sultan, then
he was preceded by the bearers' several lighted white tapers. The
pages of the Treasury followed him two and two through the door,
carrying sacks bound with cords of silk. After having deposited
the money, the Treasurer made the usual compliment to the Sultan:
"My Sultan, we hope that you will be generous in your liberality
toward your slaves." If the sultan was in the right humor, he
gave twenty or thirty purses to those who accompanied him.

Directly opposite the piazza of the Treasury, stood the royal
lodgings. In the space between, there was a fountain, and two
ancient Greek obelisks overgrown with shrubery, for the Turks were
no lovers of antiquity. A pavement leading into the midst of a
large piazza brought one to the entrance. There were many stately
rooms, appropriate to the various seasons of the year. Two semi-
circular wings looking toward the Sultan's gardens and away from
the treasury, and adjoining the central portion, were entered by a
door at each corner of the piazza. In the right wing lived the

25. ibid., p. 481.
forty pages of the Presence. Their lodgings were under the inspection of an official of high degree. In the middle of their room was a raised platform where their chief slept, in order that he might keep watch over them. Every need was attended to promptly. Engraven in gold letters on the door were the words, "La illaha ill Allah, etc." or "There is no God but God and Mohammed is his prophet." On the four corners of the door were the names of the four "early Caliphs" of Mohammedanism: Abu- Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. On the right wall of the room were several words of the Koran written by Sultan Murad IV, father of Sultan Achmet, and enclosed in a gilt frame. At the left against the wall was a coat of mail with a helmet and a round shield, one of the memorials of the valor of Murad IV at the siege of Bagdad.

Opening out of the Hazada, or highest chamber of pages, was a room paved with black and white marble. A fountain with three basins stood in the middle of the room, from which the water spouted four or five feet high. A door on the right led into a garden of flowers and one on the left, into a winter room, which was one of the most beautiful rooms of the palace. Its ceiling was a confusion of little triangular arches set forth by two lines of gold and a line of green between. From each angle there hung a pendant of gold. The walls, covered with white marble, displayed careful workmanship. A rich carpet concealed the great

27. Tavernier. p. 515.
28. ibid. p. 516.
squares of marble with which the floor was decorated. Along the wall were cushions used for display only, embroidered with pearls and precious stones, those for service being covered with brocade of gold or silver or other rich cloth. In one corner of the room there was a camp bed covered with jeweled cushions. When the Sultan came in, the ornamented cushions were laid aside and others of valours or satin were substituted on which the Sultan might easily repose. In a small ebony casket at the foot of the bed was the seal of Mohammed enclosed in crystal with a border of ivory.29

Entering into the winter room of the Sultan, just described, one discovered a beautiful facade of three doors of blue, of which the middle one opened into the private apartment of the Sultan. The other two opened into the lodging of the Chokadar Aga, or garment-bearer, and the Khazinehdar Aga, or treasurer. The room was inlaid with rich marble of various colors, the floor being covered with a Persian rug. All around the room to the width of four or five feet were divans of white silk and embroidery with fine cushions. Of the two doors in this room, one opened into the apartment of the pages, and the other led into the garden. At the end of the garden was a room supported by pillars built on a steep rock. The walls were of white marble in which Arabic letters were cut in gold. It commemorated the capture of Bagdad or the Bagdad-kiask. Being open on all sides one could see Para, Galata, Scutari, the harbor of Constantinople, and a great way into Europe.30

From the door leading into the gardens, one might pass along a kind of gallery to the summer room of the Sultan, which had windows on three sides. The door opening into this room was

30. ibid., p. 525.
highly ornamented with flowers in relief. Its ceiling was on the model of that of the winter room, except that great balls of richly carved crystal hung from the ceiling instead of pendants of gold. The carpet surpassed all others for richness and beauty, and likewise the divans, covers, and cushions. The Sultan did not sleep on a bed but on three or four mattresses laid in one corner of the room. These were brought in in the evening.

The quarters of the women were divided from the rest of the Seraglio by a swift stream which, fed from the aqueduct, arose in the middle of the highest ground of the Seraglio where it formed a small lake, and then ran down hill on either side through artificial channels. Two great draw bridges, guarded on one side by white eunuchs and on the other by black eunuchs, crossed the river. The black eunuchs were in the women's quarters. Passing through a miniature triumphal arch, one came to a winding gallery supported by two rows of pillars of red and white veined marble. The floor was of marble squares, one half red and the other a lovely greenish color. The wall seemed to be of burnished gold, but was, however, copper gilt highly polished. On either side within the wall were deep artificial hollows filled with earth in which were planted woodbine, jasmine, tube roses, and green plants. These plants met at the top and grew upon a frame of boxwood gilded.

31. Tavernier, p. 527.
32. Hill said it was brought in from the sea.
The gallery was terminated on the left side by a door which opened sidewise into the apartment of the black eunuchs. This apartment consisted of one large hall supported by large vaults in which were the cellars and laundries, and other conveniences required by the ladies. The principal officer was the Kizlar Agha or General of the Maids. Other officials were: the Valideh Aghasi, or General of the Queen-mother; Schah Zadeler Aghasi, or General of the Royal children; Hazina Aghasi, or Treasurer to the Queen-mother; and commander of the girls who were servants in the same apartment; Kiler Agasi, or Keeper of the sugar, sherbets and drugs of the Queen-mother; Buyuk Oda Aghasi, or Commander of the greater chamber; Kutchuk Oda Aghasi, or Commander of the lesser chamber; Bash Kapu Oghlani, chief porter of the Women's apartments, and the two Mesjidgeti Bashi, or priests of the royal mosque which belonged to the Queen-mother and was set apart for the prayers of the women.34 These black eunuchs, while boys, were kept and taught with the other youths of the Seraglio until they came to the age of service. They were then put in the women's apartments, receiving a pension of from fifty to sixty aspers per diem and two robes of silk a year together with linen and other necessaries fit for their use. They received money from the women strangers who went to see the Sultan's ladies. They were named for flowers: Hyacinth, Narcissus, Rose, Gily-Flower, and the like. When black Moorish girls were brought into the Seraglio, they were taken immediately to the women's lodgings where they were trained for service.35

34. Ricas. p. 68.
35. Withers. p. 369.
The apartment of the women, opposite to that of the eunuchs, likewise consisted of one large room and gallery with offices below. The ceiling, walls, and floor were richly decorated with gold and crystal with mirrors between the panels of marble. Their beds were only quilts doubled four or five times and laid on the floor. Two rows of beds were placed along the wall between the columns which supported the room. They were rarely allowed to sleep beyond day-break. The young ladies were kept busy all day either embroidering on silks and linens, or else learning to sing and dance after the Turkish mode, being taught these arts by black eunuchs. These young ladies were commonly the prize of the sword, taken on sea and on land, almost as far as the Turk commanded or the wandering Tartar made his excursions. They came from many nations, and none were accepted unless beautiful and of undoubted virginity.

Coming out of the ladies' apartments on to a gallery beautifully adorned with embroidered cushions and rich furniture, one looked out upon the gardens, which filled the space between the buildings, and extended their avenues, fountains and cool grottos, from the winding gallery to a thick set hedge, open in the middle at an artistic gate. Some of these walks led out to a green where the ladies went for exercise. Gardens and groves of fruit trees filled the large remaining space within the inner wall of the Seraglio which enclosed the women's quarters and divided the whole from the vast gardens which quite surrounded the palace. These gardens contained fruits and **herbs** of every kind required for the kitchen and dining room. 38

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36. Hill. p. 162.
37. Ricaut. p. 69.
38. Hill. o. 164.
V. THE SULTAN AND HIS HOUSEHOLD ABROAD

Since Ottoman life in the palace was organized after the camp life manner, we may look with especial interest at the Sultan in the Camp. The camp in the time of Suleiman was said to occupy a plain eight to ten miles long. 1 Directly in front were probably encamped the Azabs and the Akinji. The Janissaries were considered to hold the chief glories of the Ottoman Camp being located in front of the Sultan's tents. In the midst of the plain, and most conspicuous, were the large pavilions of the Sultan, the Grand Vizir, or any general marching at the head. These pavilions were surrounded by the tents of the Defterdar or Treasurer, Kaziaskers or Chief Judges and the Nishanjis or chancellor. The pavilions of the Grand Vizir and other principal persons appeared to be palaces rather than tents, "being of large extent richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houses, accommodated with stately Furniture, with all conveniences of City and Country, and in my opinion far exceeding the magnificence of the best of their Buildings." 2

While it was no longer the custom for the Sultan to march with his armies when Dr. Covel visited Turkey, he saw the Grand Seignor's tents arranged as in camp on the battlefield.† There were three courts, as it were, enclosed with a wall tent, and embattled like the walls of a city. In the first court stood a round tent, a square tent, and a long tent; in the second court were the Odá or sleeping room and many other tents of Itchoglans or pages; and in the third court were all other offices such as

† Sultan Achmet was the last to march willingly with his armies.
the kitchen and confectionary. First, came a small stand about eight feet square with a pair of stairs leading to it. It was covered with a reddish purple cloth with four golden balls at the corners and one at the top. The corners could be lifted up, or the whole side might be taken away. Here the Sultan stood to review his troops. The first tent had a flat roof. On the outside of every post which supported it was a golden ball or flower pot. The sides were opened and shut at pleasure. The second, or round tent, was supported by one post in the middle with a golden ball or pot on the top. A curtain drawn upon a cord partitioned the tent into two rooms, in the front one of which the Sultan often held divan, and in the back one entertained ambassadors.

The third tent was thirty-five paces long and was supported by three posts and golden balls or pots. From the middle post to the outside was set a divan or broad couch bolstered at both ends with ticking satin; the coverings were embroidered silk. The floor was covered with a thick sort of coarse woolen cloth over which were spread rich carpets, sometimes Oriental, sometimes satin embroidered with gold. On the other side of the curtain which partitioned this tent was the sleeping room of the Sultan. It was square with a ridge above like a house. The walls, latticed and richly gilded and painted, had openings on three sides. When very warm, these lattices alone were used; if cold, they were walled about with red cloth lined with flowered damask. The floor was much like that of the outer room. At one

4. Ibid., p. 164.
5. Ibid., p. 165.
end of the room was a bed stand, and upon a little stand near by lay the Alkoran.

In the midst of the square formed by the five tents of the Sultan and his four chief officials was a double row of pillars supporting a canopy. Here all punishments ordered by the Sultan were put into execution; here also the divan was sometimes held. The chests containing the money for the soldiers, piled in form of a circle, were guarded by spahies in this square. After this large square of tents came those of the pashas, beys, beglerbeys, sanjacks, and agas. They were very plain on the outside but richness and luxury were not spared on the inside. Back of them came the feudal spahies who cared for the munitions, baggage, camels, and horses.

The great persons were furnished with two sets of tents, one set of which was advanced, as they arose, a day's journey beyond, so that, leaving one tent in the morning, another was found ready and furnished at night. "That is the reason," continues Ricaut, why the Turkish Camp abounds with such multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horses of Burden, with so many thousand Attendants on the baggage, which are of a vast expense, and if duly considered, is a matter of the greatest state and magnificence in the Turkish Empire."

Almost the whole household belonged to the army, except younger pages and the Ajemoghlans who were not yet fit for war.

8. Hill. p. 28. Ricaut, who was present in the camp when the Grand Vizir was returning from Hungary in 1665, said that the munitions were without the camp on the right.
Their infantry may be divided into two divisions. The body of regular known infantry was called Janissaries. They were physically trained beyond comparison with their intellectual education. Those not married lived in the barracks in Constantinople and other places, of which there were one hundred and sixty-two, eighty being of ancient foundation and called Eski Odalar, and the remaining eighty-two, or new chambers, being called Jeni Odalar. A few married, but this hindered their military advancement, as a wife and other dependencies were judged to render them less capable for service. At the time Ricaut resided in Turkey, before 1670, they numbered about twenty thousand. The other part of the infantry was made up of Azabs who volunteered and who were levied from particular cities. These Azabs went into battle first, to take the brunt of the attack.

The cavalry consisted of feudal Spahis and Spahis of the court. From this last body, troops were chosen to guard the Grand Seignor. These received their pay of from twelve to one hundred aspers per day directly from him. Ricaut says that they may be called the gentry of the Empire, for they were commonly better educated, more courteous, and more refined than the other Turks. They were armed with a scimitar, lance, dart, sword, axe, and bow and arrows. The feudal Spahis were so called from the timar or fief given to them for life. They were somewhat like the English knights except that the land was not hereditary. Besides these, there was another body of horsemen of whom some volunteered "to gain sudden

11. See Ajemoghlans in First Court. p. 9.
13. Ibid., p. 347.
booty; they are the basest of the Christians and the Turks." 14
A second part volunteered to gain timar and a third to gain paradise by dying in the Mohammedan cause.

The Turks took most particular care to have their soldiers furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions, for the Janissaries would not touch anything twice baked or baked the preceding day, before they enter the enemies' territory. And if they should miss having it, or their daily allowance of meat, butter, and rice, their leaders could scarcely keep them from a mutiny. Very little information is given on the "mobilization of food." Almost a year before the campaign took place, a man of approved honesty was appointed moolbakji or "steward of the victualling." He was told the number of men taking part in the campaign and the amount of provisions needed. Six months before the provisions were needed, a sum of money was allowed from the Treasury according to the price and the scarcity of food. If the stores were not in at the appointed time, the poor man lost his head. Nearest provinces sent wheat and barley, but those most remote sent money instead.

15. ibid., p. 248.
VI. THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

The imperial family of the Ottoman Empire differed from the rest of the royal families of Europe in a marked degree and in almost every respect. While the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, or the king of France or England might theoretically expect to be obeyed so far as government was concerned, his will was not absolute, as the Sultan's was supposed to be. The Sultan's family, moreover, were his slaves. His queen was a slave, bought or captured in war or by the Tartars on their excursions through the country. No girl was ordinarily admitted to the harem after eight years of age, although it frequently happened that a full grown woman was sent to the Seraglio by some great pasha.  

The Sultan's ladies were said to be elegant beauties, ruddy, clean, and smooth as polished ivory, never ruffled by the weather. Large black eyes and black hair were best liked. They put a fine black powder under the eyelid to set forth the whiteness of the eye, and dyed their eyelashes and eyebrows, as well as their hair, which was parted in the middle and smoothly plaited at the back of the head. They painted their nails a yellowish red. Their headdress was a cap not unlike the top of a sugar loaf, covered with silver cloth or tissue. On their upper arms and ankles they wore bracelets. When they went abroad, they wore long loose gowns of violet or scarlet tied closely together, the large sleeves hanging over their hands. On their feet they wore buskins, and their

1. Ricaut. 69
heads were so swathed in fine linen that only their eyes were seen.

Happy was the lady who became the mother of the first son. She was called the Hasaki Sultan, being honored with a solemn coronation and crowned with a small coronet of gold set with precious stones. She was given a dwelling apart, of many stately rooms, and a retinue of servants to attend her. A liberal allowance was made her so that she might give and spend at her pleasure. Formerly the queen or first lady was married by the Sultan but that custom was departed from, Withers says, because of the patrimony given them, and used by them often to build churches and hospitals, the Sultan being dissuaded from it by the pashas so that the money could be used for something else.

The sultan's children had a special nurse brought in from without the palace. The other mothers held the place of concubines. They too lived in rooms apart, well attended, and wanting in neither money or apparel in conformity to their degree. The ladies visited together freely but not without some inward malice lest one should be better beloved by the Sultan than the other. If it happened that the first son of the queen should die, and another lady had the second son, she arose to the rank of Hasaki Sultan, while the former remained a great lady only. The sons of concubines were cared for by their mothers. All the royal children played together until they were six or seven years of age,

3. Sandys, pp. 53-54.
4. Ricout, p. 73
5. Withers, p. 341.
and lived among the women until they were nine or ten. A school master came to the women's quarters every day to teach the princes but never saw the ladies, the children being attended by two old black slave women. When the prince reached the age of about fourteen, or after circumcision, he was sent, with one of the principal eunuchs, to govern a province. An income sufficient to his station was allowed him. When he came to the throne he imprisoned his brothers in a building known as the Kaffes or sort of cage. They never left this unless called out to ascend the throne. Thus they had no opportunity to learn the affairs of the government.

The daughters of the Sultan were but slightly looked after. They learned to embroider and to sew, to sing, to dance, and to read if they wished. It was thought that they would not have much to do with the state in the future. They were regularly married to great men of the empire, often while very young. A wedding procession seen by Dr. Covel at Adrianople is strikingly different from one in the west. The bridegroom sent a magnificent present to the bride and on an appointed day it was taken to her. A company of Janissaries passed by first with their Agha, in cloth of gold; next came the grand master of Ceremonies, clothed in green velvet, and the lawyer richly dressed. Then came several companies of spahies, followed by thirty mules handsomely decorated and furnished, each laden with two little painted chests filled with gold and silver. Next came one hundred and twelve persons on foot bearing

* Ibrahim was imprisoned for forty-five years.
cloth of gold, cloth of silver, satin, velvet embroidered work, and pearled work.

Janissaries came behind these men, and after them were led stately horses, one a handsome straw-colored bay. These were designed for the Grand Seignor to dispose of as he wished. Then came two or three little naculs or paper pyramids, and three or four artificial gardens full of flowers and trees, all of wax work, with two artificial fountains in the middle. Sugar figures of ostriches, peacocks, swans, lions, bears, horses, elephants, and other animals, "brutishly done," followed. After this display came more Janissaries; and then came a present of all things necessary for a Turkish lady's dressing room among which were; jewelry, fine cloth and rich girdles embroidered with precious stones. In a crystal glass with a little golden open frame was carried a plain gold ring with a rose diamond of eleven and one-half carats. Lastly, came the Defterdar with his music of pipes, drums, and kettle drums followed by many servants leading the horse of their master, who had gone before on foot.

The marriage was performed by proxy, the Kizlar Agha, or Chief Eunuch, acting for the bride; and the Defterdar or Treasurer, for the groom; and two witnesses, the Kadileschers, or judges. The chief eunuch, in company with the two judges, proceeded to the door of the princess and asked the princess if she were content to make him her deputy for marrying her with Mustapha. She answered that she was. This question and answer was repeated three times. The

10. ibid., p. 230.
same witnesses went with the treasurer to Mustapha and asked him three times if he were content that he should be his proxy for marrying him with the princess. Each time he answered yes. Then they proceeded to the Mufti, or chief officer or religion who asked each of them the same question and received the same answer. He next demanded the amount of dowry that would be given, and the answer being acceptable, the marriage was blessed. The deputies were entertained with coffee and sherbet and all of the party were given rich presents by the Sultan.

The night before the bride was taken home, her mother invited many women in to celebrate, and most of the night was spent in feasting. The next morning, she was dressed in her richest jewels and clothes to await her fate. The bridegroom, who likewise had a feast, sent his guests, conducted by his nearest of kindred, to receive the bride; she was delivered to him closely veiled. Early in the century it was the custom to place her on her horse with a canopy covering held over both horse and bride so that she could not be seen. Her dowry was carried before her. \(^\text{12}\) Covel, in the last quarter of the century, tells us that the bride rode in a coach plated with silver and gold, the top of which was set with pearls and diamonds. The coach was drawn by six white horses with jewelled harness and plumed bridles. The covering was tucked up so that the beauty of the coach might show, but the bride could not be seen distinctly because of the close latticed windows. \(^\text{13}\) Another rich coach followed, then more ordinary coaches. Half-an-hour later

\(^{11}\) Covel, J. op. cit., p. 231.
\(^{12}\) Sandys. Travels. p. 52.
\(^{13}\) Covel. p. 235.
came her mother in a rich coach of gold and silver, attended by four eunuchs and many baltagees. More ordinary coaches came, after which straggled many baltagees. Wedding festivities began at the new moon and lasted about a fortnight. Some of the amusements included rope walking, wrestling, falconry, and performances by acrobats, dancing bears and dogs, and a grand display of fireworks. Besides wedding festivities and those at the circumcision of his sons, the Sultan had private amusement about the palace. Mutes and dwarfs played before him while he ate. 14 Buffoons, mutes, and wrestlers performed before him. Oftentimes he threw the mutes into cisterns or made them fight, compensating them for their injury with rich presents. He delighted in watching his slaves throw the dart and javelin, shoot bows and arrows, and ride around the green, or exercise ground, which had been prepared for that purpose in the first court. 15 The Sultan was also fond of hunting, one favorite place being the neighborhood of Adrianople. And then the Sultans of this century, with perhaps the exception of Murad IV, delighted in spending most of their time in the harem, where they watched the dancing and listened to the singing of their beautiful ladies.

14. Withers. p. 374
VII. THE SULTANS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
AND THE KULLIYE

The sultans of the seventeenth century show a further decline in the excellence of the sovereign. Of the sultans of this century, four stand out more prominently than the rest, either for their own worthiness or that of their vizirs. The first of these sultans was Achmet I whose reign lasted from 1603 to 1617. Departing from the ancient custom of the empire, he spared his brother's life. His brother was a lunatic; and as insane people were reverenced by the Ottomans, that may have been the immediate cause of the innovation. At first, Achmet showed flashes of imperious decision which many thought to be the dawning of a vigorous and successful reign. Coming to the throne before he was scarcely fifteen, he took up the affairs of the government; and by the time he was seventeen, he insisted on presiding at the divan.

Complaints had come to him of his Asiatic soldiery, and an army was sent out which defeated them and restored order in the provinces. In 1606 occurred negotiations for a peace between Austria and Turkey. There was no change in territory, but this peace was important in marking an era in the diplomatic relations with the states of Christendom. Hitherto, only short truces had haughtily been offered as a favor from a superior to an inferior, but now, the Sultan observed the courtesies of international law. The Austrian Emperor was given the title of Padishah or Emperor. Tribute was to be abolished and the ambassadors sent by the Sultan to

2. Cantemir. The History of the Othman Empire. p. 239.
Austria were to be at least of the rank of Sanjak Bey. This bound not only the reigning Sultan but also his descendants. He was the first sultan to control a treaty with several of the Christian powers. He had early guarded the empire against war and revolt. One thing praiseworthy was his mildness and his great love of justice. Achmet was very fond of building and was said to excel his predecessors in liberality and magnificence. Jealousy and vice caused the shortness of the reigns of the next two Sultans, Othman II and Mustapha I. Then came probably the most capable of the seventeenth century sultans, Murad IV. It is said that he was aided to the throne through the power of his mother. There was misery everywhere and an empty treasury. The janissaries revolted and the Grand Vizir Hafiz was killed by a mutiny. But Murad IV was a new player on the stage, different from any that had been before them for a long time. He called his soldiers and the chief of the spahis together and made them swear on the Koran to obey him.

This Ottoman ruler, the most capable sultan of his century, as portrayed by Creasy, was about of middle stature, uniting strength and activity. His features were handsome and regular and his aquiline nose and jet black beard gave dignity to his aspect; but the imperious luster of his full dark eyes was marred by a habitual frown, which, however, was well suited to the sternness of his character. He won the admiration of the soldiery by his strength and skill as a cavalier and swordsman; he was unrivalled in force

4. Ibid., p. 491.
and dexterity in using the bow. At night he patrolled the streets in disguise, striking dead with his own hand numerous offenders against his edicts in matters of police. Riding fearlessly in among the groups of spahis or janissaries, he no doubt often saw them slink away in savage silence, each one dreading lest his own doom be pronounced. Men summoned before him took absolution before they entered into his presence. His temper grew more moody until human life became as nothing in his eyes. His maxim was: "Vengeance never grows decrepit though she may grow grey." Von Hammer says that Murad was a tyrant, truly a melancholic, bloodthirsty, revengeful tyrant. As birds flee before a coming storm and are silent, so everyone was silent and fled from his presence. In the last seventeen years of his reign over fifty thousand men were executed.

It was thought that his temper was agitated by intoxication for he used to resort "with particular friends to certain pleasant places and gardens without the city and in a manner unbecoming in an Emperor, converse with them, light fires, dress victuals, buy wine from a tavern, and drink it familiarly with his companions." There is an excuse given that he intended to search more accurately into the nature and inclinations of man, and taste the pleasures of a private and rural life. But he was not content to drink wine in private. He compelled even the Mufti and the "Kadileshers" to drink with him, and by a public edict allowed wine to be sold and drunk by men of all orders and degree. As he was

7. Creasy, p. 252.
an immoderate lover of wine, just so much was he an enemy to opium and tobacco, forbidding both on pain of death. When, however, civil or military duty required his attention, no one could surpass him in austere abstemiousness or in the capacity for labor. As Creasy continues, order and subordination were restored. There was discipline in the camps; there was pure justice before the tribunals. The revenues were fairly raised and justly administered. Marching into Nicomedia, he found the roads badly in need of repair and immediately executed the chief judge. Warned by his mother of the complaints of the Ulema or learned men, he returned and put the Mufti to death. This is said to be the only case of a Mufti's being put to death by a Sultan's order. He was the last Sultan to return victorious from a campaign which he had conducted in person. By this campaign the possession of Bagdad was solemnly given again to the Turks.

Murad IV was followed by his brother Ibrahim, whose death he had commanded with almost his last breath, but the Sultan Validen prevented the order from being carried out. When the messengers came to the door of the Kağan prison, Ibrahim refused them admittance for he feared it was his murderous brother, Murad. Under Ibrahim, the spirit of cruelty continued to rage and weaknesses and evils developed again. The Grand Vizir, Kara-Mustapha, endeavored to check the excesses and supply the deficiencies of his sovereign. He strove particularly against the influences of the

women of the harem. Still Ibrahim spent money recklessly for them and for himself. New imposts and taxes burdened the people. Finally the janissaries rebelled, making three demands: firstly, that the sale of offices be abolished; secondly, the death of the Grand Vizir; and thirdly, the banishment of the favorite sultana from the court. He would not grant these demands and being accused of many things, among them the bringing of more misery on the people, spending his time in sensual pleasures, and squandering the treasures of the empire, he was deposed.

His successor was Mohammed IV, not famous because of his own government and power, but because of his Grand Vizirs, the Kiuprilis. Nicaut gives a graphical description of the revolution of the janissaries, the murder of Ibrahim and the old Valideh, and the installation of Mohammed IV, on the throne of the Ottoman Empire. It seems that after the death of Ibrahim, the old Sultan wished to be in command. Mohammed's mother feared for him and necessarily resisted her. The palace was divided but at last the young Sultan succeeded and the old queen was made away with.

Mohammed-Kiuprili, the first of the Kiuprili Vizirs, was a poverty stricken Albanian who enjoyed the title of pasha. Not having the wealth to uphold his title he escaped murder by the spahis when all the rest of the pashas and the Grand Vizir were murdered. Being the only pasha left he was raised to the rank of Grand Vizir. He destroyed all who were in revolt against the Sultan.

He was possessed with a great firmness of character and keenness of common sense. Demanding full power, it was given him even over the authority of great men and favorites. He was not afraid to proceed against any race, class, profession, or station. He was succeeded by his son Ahmed Kiuprili. Cantemir said he was famous among the Turks for his learning, prudence, fortitude, and steadiness. They ascribed the Cretan victories to his invincible mind and eloquence, and declared that if he had not been General, Candia could never have been taken. He was called by the Turks, "the Vicar of God's shadow, the light and splendor of the most beautiful and sweetest Nation, inspector and keeper of the true laws, and of good and holy manners, breaker of the bells of the straying and blasphemous Nations, the terrible Leader, most learned, most merciful, etc." But he was defeated in the war against Austria. Thanks to his talents, however, the Ottoman Empire again assumed responsibility and power among nations. Dr. Covel described Achmet Kiuprili as being a little man, lame and stooped. "He hath a small round face, a little short, thin black beard, little eyes, little mouth, without any wrinkles in his lips; a smooth round forehead and an erected brow, with thick, but very short hair on it. His is much pockbroken. In summe, he hath an acute but morale and serious look; and, if I can judge anything, I should think him a subtle cunning man, though I had never heard so much from the world."
For the remainder of his reign, Mohammed did not have such famous vizirs but he seemed to be ruled by them. It is a satisfaction to notice that the last levy of Christian boys took place in the latter part of his reign. Cantemir says that he was a prince "eminent for justice and warlike abilities, of great clemency, and very happy, except the last four years." There was but one thing which his enemies can reproach him with, namely, his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of the care of his empire. Creasy points out that he showed a hereditary fondness for the society of learned men. He was very liberal in his encouragement of history. The defeat at Vienna and Mohacz excited the soldiery to insurrection against the sultan.

Although Suleiman II had lived forty-five years in seclusion, he showed more capacity and courage than his brother who succeeded him. He despised idle sports and debasing sensuality. He tried to reorganize the military power, but met with the ill-will of the janissaries. But he had Kaimprili-Zade Mustapha as Grand vizir, a son of the first Kaimprili, who was a strict observer of the Mohammedan law but tolerant of other religions, and an uncompromising enemy to profligacy and corruption. He sought to fill the treasury by exacting heavy contributions from those who had lately enriched themselves at public expense. All the superfluous gold and silver vessels of the palace were sent to the mint to be made into money. His tolerance was shown in that the Greeks were

21. Mohammed was confined to his apartments after his deposition.
22. Cantemir, p. 349.
24. Ibid., 301.
allowed to build churches wherever they wished.

Of the three Kiuprilis, Ahmed seems to have been liked best. His father had at first met with opposition but this does not seem to have been the case with the son. Besides being well educated for the place, probably through the experience of his father, he was a good poet and historian, and developed, as Cantemir says, into a good general. While a Sultan's word was supposed to have been law and the Sultan was regarded as above the law, yet it has been seen that his position was very insecure. Jealousy and fear were abundant everywhere and a fetva from the mufti or a strong mutiny of the soldiery might endanger the Sultan's position, if it should not actually depose him. Again the action of the ladies of the harem might determine the length of his career. Everything had its price and must be paid for in order to get it done.

It seems almost too presumptuous for one of the Occident who has had only a slight intercourse through literature with the Orient, to pass any judgment whatever upon the way of the Turks. Looking at the Ottoman system from a western point of view, one is struck by the radiating scheme of the empire with the Sultan as the center. Everything is for his glory, yet a parallel idea of religion runs along with that of state. There is also a democratic and an aristocratic spirit; democratic, in that any one may obtain a position according to his ability; aristocratic, in that the emperor and his officials demand more attention and humility on the

part of the subjects than almost any sovereign of the west. We notice again the great spirit of loyalty to the whole Ottoman System. While Sultans were deposed and even murdered, it was done theoretically for the empire. But through it all there comes to one that atmosphere of haughty, mysterious, and treacherous Orientalism.
VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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B. SECONDARY MATERIAL

This is one of the best secondary sources of Turkish History. The material is compact, and valuable footnotes aid greatly in extending the text.

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IX. APPENDIX

1. First Court
2. Ruins of an old Chapel
3. Quarters of ajemoghlans
4. Quarters of ajemoghlans
5. Wood-yard
6. Quarters of the Helvagees
7. Quarters of the Helvagees
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11. Entrance of Second Court
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32. The quarters of the Pages of Presence
33. The quarters of the Great Officers of the Seraglio
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35. Royal Lodgings
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39. Apartment of black eunuchs
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