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A BIOGRAPHY OF AN OTTOMAN PRINCESS:
CEMİLE SULTAN (1843-1915)

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A Biography of an Ottoman Princess: Cemile Sultan (1843-1915)

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- 2) Ottoman Princess
- 3) Biography
- 4) Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları
- 5) Mahmud Celaledin Pasha

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ABSTRACT

This thesis enables us to witness the life of Sultan Abdülmeçid's daughter Cemile Sultan, who was born in 1843 until her death in 1915, as much as it was recorded. Cemile Sultan's life has been examined in various aspects such as her education, marriage, expenses, relationship networks, living spaces, and her existence in the business world.

The object of this study is to provide witnessing on how Cemile Sultan, who was a member of the Ottoman dynasty, had concession through *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları*, and how she used that concession. In addition, the aim of this thesis is to show that it is possible to create a narrative with another subject, instead of a biography narrative of the Sultan, which always comes up as the main subject when talking about Ottoman dynasty biographies. When it comes to dynasty, monographs or biography studies of the Sultan appear, and when it comes to the dynasty women, these studies are mostly about royal mothers (*valide sultans*). The lives of the sultans' daughters (princesses) is a field left incomplete and ignored. There are, undoubtedly, completed and ongoing biography studies on this subject, and they will be mentioned when the occasion arises. However, this area still seems to be incomplete.

In this study, the life of Cemile Sultan, who lived in the 19th and 20th centuries, was examined using mostly archival sources as well as primary and secondary sources, and a chronological biography narrative was preferred.

ÖZET

Bu tez, 1843 yılında dünyaya gelen Sultan Abdülmecid'in kızı Cemile Sultan'ın 1915 yılındaki ölümüne dek geçen süreçte, yaşamının kayıtlara geçtiği kadarına şahitlik edebilmemizi sağlamaktadır. Cemile Sultan'ın hayatı; eğitimi, evliliği, masrafları, ilişki ağları, yaşadığı mekânlar, şahsına ait hisseleri yönetme biçimi gibi çok çeşitli açılardan incelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Osmanlı hanedanının mensubu olan Cemile Sultan'ın Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları imtiyazına nasıl sahip olduğuna ve bu imtiyazını nasıl kullandığına şahitlik edebilmeyi sağlamaktır. Ayrıca bu tezin hedefi, Osmanlı hanedan biyografilerinden bahsederken daima asıl özne olarak karşımıza çıkan padişah özelinden bir biyografi anlatısı yerine, başka bir özne ile bir anlatı oluşturmanın da mümkün olduğunu göstermektir. Hanedan söz konusu olduğunda padişah, hanedan kadınları söz konusu olduğunda da çoğunlukla valide sultanlara ait monografi yahut biyografi çalışmaları karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Sultan kızlarının yaşamı eksik bırakılmış, görmezden gelinmiş bir alan. Bu konuda tamamlanmış olan ve halen devam etmekte olan biyografi çalışmaları şüphesiz vardır, yeri geldikçe bahsedilecektir. Ancak bu alan yine de eksik görünüyor.

Bu çalışmada, 19 ve 20. yüzyıllarda yaşayan Cemile Sultan'ın yaşamı, birincil ve ikincil kaynakların yanı sıra çoğunlukla arşiv kaynakları kullanılarak incelenmiş ve kronolojik bir biyografi anlatısı tercih edilmiştir.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. DVN.	Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemî Defterleri
BOA	Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi
BEO	Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası
C. SM.	Cevdet Tasnifi Saray Evrakı
DH. MKT.	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî
İ. DUİT.	Dosya Usulü İradeler Tasnifi
HH. d.	Hazine-i Hassa Defterleri
HAT	Hatt-ı Hümayun Tasnifi
İ. D.	İrade Dahiliye
TS. MA. D	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defterleri
Y.A.HUS	Yıldız Sadâret Hususî Maruzât Evrakı
Y. A. RES	Yıldız Sadâret Resmî Maruzât Evrakı
YEE	Yıldız Esas Evrakı
Y.MTV	Yıldız Mütenevvî Maruzat Evrakı
Y. PRK. BŞK.	Yıldız Başkitâbet Dâiresi Marûzât
Y. PRK. HH.	Yıldız Hazîne-i Hâssa
Y. PRK. ZB.	Yıldız Zabtiye Nezâreti Marûzâtı

INTRODUCTION

In my thesis, *A Biography of an Ottoman Princess: Cemile Sultan (1843-1915)* I tried to follow the developments that Cemile Sultan experienced from her birth to her death by preferring a chronological biography narrative. While pursuing these developments, I aimed to show Cemile Sultan in the big picture, in the spirit of the period by trying to convey the changes and developments that took place in her personal environment.

The way of protection, the conditions of upbringing, the education she received, the choice of husband and the marriage of the princess, who lost her mother at an early age, are important to see the rituals within the Ottoman dynasty family. After her marriage, her husband was exiled and killed for allegedly being one of the murderers of the deposed Sultan Abdulaziz, led Cemile Sultan to have a distant and lonely life. Although the husband and son murderers were common in Ottoman history, we can accept this as a turning point in the life of Cemile Sultan. After her husband's exile and death by Sultan Abdulhamid, she and her Sultan brother were at odds with each other, and she left the Kandilli Palace, which was given to her by her brother as a gift, and led a reclusive life.

The privilege of *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları*, which brought a new breath to 19th century Istanbul transportation, was given to Cemile Sultan, and the authority and responsibilities of the enterprise were given to the concessionaire, thus making the princess visible in the business world via her deputies. The political and economic power of the Ottoman princesses was undoubtedly due to family ties. Therefore, examining this political and economic role in the business world will allow us to understand how capital accumulation found place in the dynasty family.

In Ottoman historiography we see a history narration focused on the Sultan when the biography of dynastic family is concerned. The historiography has reached an important subject in 20th century. The understanding of history written

by a male dominant viewpoint was now changing slowly. Thanks to the popularity of women's history in the 1970s, an overlooked subject had received and the reputation lost for centuries had been tried to be regained. But it was not possible, or rather difficult, to see this effort in Ottoman historiography in 20th century.

As Zilfi says, historians who studied the Ottoman period did not pay attention to women to apart from very few exceptions.¹ Some of these exceptions are Jennings's work² on the use of the Islamic judicial system of women in Anatolia, Judith Tucker's work³, the study by Bates⁴ on the dynasties women's who builds monuments, Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou's work⁵, on women as economic actors, female Ottoman artists and women effect in print culture. Maksudyan's work⁶ on Ottoman women's political organizations and women in the post-Ottoman public sphere. Accept these studies, there are two simple reasons for the lack of work on the Ottoman palace women in the 20th century. The first one is, as told by Suraiya Faroqhi⁷ there is very little record left of Ottoman women in a male-dominated society, in short, a source problem. The second one is the understanding

¹ Madeline C. Zilfi, *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*, translated by Necmiye Alpay, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 1.

² Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records – the Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975) : 53-113.

³ Judith E. Tucker, "Problems in the Historiography of Women in the Middle East: The Case of Nineteenth-century Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15 (1983).

⁴ Ülkü Bates, "The Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Women", *Asian Art* 6, 1993.

⁵ Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, *a Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2013.

⁶ Nazan Maksudyan, *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective on Ottoman Urban History*, Berghahn Books, UK 2014.

⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, "18. Yüzyıl Anadolu Kırsalında Suç Kadınlar ve Servet", ed. Madeline C. Zilfi, *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*, trans. Necmiye Alpay, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000.

of women's existence and power in rulership being seen as 'undeserved' and therefore not worthy of writing.

For royal mothers the situation is a little bit different. The government policy that the Ottoman state followed in the 17th century -bureaucratized state instead of the conqueror state- and the changes in the method of succeeding to the throne (*ekberiyet system*) had influence in the empowerment of women. In fact, because the sultans who took the throne didn't go to the sanjak as they used to do, they hadn't had any administrative experience, some were even afraid of administration. For this reason, royal mothers, the most influential women in harem, were effective in administration and from time to time made decisions on behalf of the state.⁸ By way of taking place in the era's resources very often with their influence in harem. For this reason, the royal mother lives, had been the most studied subject after the Ottoman sultans.

The *teracim-i ahval* and *tabakat* books (the genres of Islamic biographical literature), which were common in the Turkish-Islamic tradition, and can be mentioned as biographical works in the Ottoman society, describe the lives of famous personalities as a group since the 16th century. This biography tradition, also known as 'group biographies' starts with works on poet's life, and these works, which describe the lives of scholars, constitute the first biographical works of the Ottoman world.⁹ Later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the biographies of prominent names such as rulers, viziers, shaykh al-islams, poets, scholars, historians, sufis, etc. were written.

⁸ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History From 1718 to 1918*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press 1986, p. 12; Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Kadınlar Saltanatı: Kösem Sultan*, ed. Ahmet Önal, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, p.15; Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan: 1640- 1715*, İstanbul 2014, p. 49.

⁹ Sehi Bey, *Heşt Bihişt*; Taşköprizâde Ahmed Efendi, *Şekaiku'n- Nu'maniyye*; Âşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-Şuara*.

The literature, which developed under different names such as *tabaqat*, *vefeyat*, *ravza*, *tezkire*, *riyâz*, *güzlâr*, *hadîka*, *devha*, *gölşen*, *tuhfe*, *sefine* and reached a serious accumulation,¹⁰ points out that there was a tradition of biography in Ottoman society. The transition from group biographies to individual biographies became possible in the 19th century; however, telling and writing about the ordinary people was a difficult field. Ottoman biography studies had been possible for scholars, poets, viziers, ulama and especially dynasty members who could go on the state records.¹¹

If we look at the sources which are about the biography of sultan's daughters; Mehmet Sureyya Bey's six-volume *Sicill-i Osmani*¹² book gives biographical information about Ottoman sultans, royal mothers, sultan's daughters, grandchildren, and dynastic family. This work, which is the last example of Ottoman biography tradition, and interesting because of passing some basic information about the people from the tombstones, is important because it gives information about many sultan's daughters who lived from the establishment of the state to the 20th century.

Ahmed Refik Altınay, in his four-volume work *Kadınlar Saltanatı*, quoted the writings of the era's state chroniclers such as Naima, Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, Katip Çelebi, Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi and used only primary sources in his work. Although Altınay's work is precious in terms of seeing the attitude of the 17th century historians towards the palace women, it can be said it is unfortunate to

¹⁰ Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlı Kronikleri ve Biyografi", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol 3, 1990, p. 83-90.

¹¹ Ali Akyıldız, "İnsanı Yazmak: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Biyografi Yazıcılığı ve Problemleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vol. 50, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, İstanbul 2017, p. 219-242.

¹² Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, ed. Nuri Akbayar, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996.

deliver these sources to the reader without any criticism. In that regard, the writings of Adnan Giz on sultan's daughters are valuable; as a matter of fact he crosschecked the validity of the information he quoted from Naima from the Ottoman Archives and relayed to the reader that the state chroniclers can also be mistaken.¹³

We come across some important information about the daughters of the sultan on the work called *Tezâkir*¹⁴ by Cevdet Paşa. In addition to all these, we can express it clearly that Çağatay Uluçay¹⁵ gives the most general and detailed information about the sultan's daughters. Uluçay tells in his work about almost all of the sultans' wives and daughters from the establishment of the Ottoman State to the last sultan. He has also included Western sources as well as the Turkish primary sources of the Ottoman period. He also used the archive resources to the extent possible, but this work was not written exclusively about a sultan's daughter. It gives general information on the lives of the sultans rather than being a detailed biographical work.

Ferda Mazak, in her work called *Ölümünün 100. Yılında Sultan II. Mahmud'un Kızı Adile Sultan: Hayatı, Vakıfları ve Hayratı*, which was based on her master's thesis, reveals the existence and visibility of Adile Sultan during the period through the sultan's daughter's identity as the poet and a foundation establisher. Mazak provides that through the endowment of Adile Sultan, we can follow the undeniable effect of the women sultans in social life, who established foundations almost twice the number of the foundations established by the four Ottoman sultans which reigned between the years 1809-1917.¹⁶

¹³ Adnan Giz, "Altı Vezirle Evlenen Bir Sultan: Ayşe Sultan." *Tarih Dünyası* vol. 7, 1950.

¹⁴ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun, No. 17, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1967.

¹⁵ Çağatay M. Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992.

¹⁶ Ferda Mazak, *Ölümünün 100. Yılında Sultan II. Mahmud'un Kızı Adile Sultan Hayatı, Vakıfları ve Hayratı*, Çamlıca Kültür ve Yardım Vakfı, İstanbul 2000.

Lucienne Thys-Şenocak examines the life and architecture identity of a royal mother who ruled in the Ottoman Palace for more than thirty years in her book *Ottoman Women Builders; The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Sultan*. Thys-Şenocak, says that Hadice Turhan Sultan’s patronage for building castles alongside mosques, complex (*külliye*), and imaret, was a mean of consolidating her political authority and that it made the royal mother a prominent force. Three areas of history have been utilized in terms of resources and methodology, namely Ottoman history, architectural history and the history of gender in early modern Europe. The work allows us to recognize the royal mother who make their presence felt in social life with imposing structures, despite the widespread view that the existence of women in public spaces is restricted in Islamic societies.¹⁷

Betül İpşirli Argıt in her book called *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan (1640-1715)* opposes this view which insists that the role of the women from the Ottoman dynasty in the political sphere was limited to the period between 1550-1656, which is called the Women's Reign. She explains how the presence of the women from *harem-i hümayun* was felt in the state system through the case of Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Valide Sultan. Gülnuş Sultan’s expeditions, correspondence with foreign states man of the period, the close relationship with the sheikh of the period and even in the correspondence of the palace steward (*kethüda*) “how the states man are performing their duties” was presented as an indication of the power of Gülnuş Sultan’s harem. Through this work, we will refer to the activity of Gülnuş Sultan in the palace life as examples of material culture; personal belongings (*muhallefat defteri*) and gifts presented on various occasions through gifts we are able to witness.¹⁸

¹⁷ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders ; The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Sultan*, Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

¹⁸ Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan (1640-1717)*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2014.

Leslie Peirce in her work called *Empress of the East; How a European Slave Girl Became Queen of the Ottoman Empire* tells the story of Roxelana, who entered the Ottoman Palace as a slave, had five children from the Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent and became an influential figure in the palace, and how she evolved into Hürrem. Again, her foundations imarets, which were the symbols of power and benevolence, are mentioned in the work. Documents and letters are the leading sources for this work. Peirce, with the example of Roxelana, who shares power with her sovereign husband, once again proves the need to change the perspectives which believe in the invisibility of women and that the power is in the dominion of the patriarchal rule.¹⁹

Arzu Terzi's work called *Bezmialem Valide Sultan* is again based on a royal mother's life through her architectural identity. Unlike other studies, her role and position in the harem as the mother of a prince, before her time as the royal mother, is also examined. These examinations are made specifically in her son Abdülmecid's *bed'i besmele* ceremony, *hatim* prayer, and circumcision ceremony. We are aware that the royal mothers are the most effective people in the management of harem. However, Bezmialem Valide Sultan also played an active role in the administration of the state due to his son's accession to the throne at a young age. Terzi, claims that it is the most distinct evidence that the public conveyed their petitions to the royal mother where they wrote their wishes and complaints.²⁰

Ali Akyıldız's work called *Mü'min ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı: Refia Sultan* does not focus on issues such as the powerful roles of the sultans and their structures known as symbols of power. It is about the personality, lifestyle and spiritual world

¹⁹ Leslie Peirce, *Empress of the East; How a European Slave Girl Became Queen of the Ottoman Empire*, Basic Books, New York 2017.

²⁰ Arzu Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2018.

of the sultan's daughter. By means of her correspondences that she had due to her illness, Akyıldız relays some clues to her inner world. By means of the inheritance lists, we can also follow the material culture remains. In all these aspects, the study is a pioneering work for the Ottoman sultan daughter biography studies.²¹

As I have mentioned above, in the monographs belonging to the family of the Ottoman dynasty, mostly the story of the life of royal mothers was mentioned. Study of the lives of the sultan's daughters is a field, which has been left incomplete and ignored. There are already completed and ongoing studies in this field, but it still seems to be empty. I want to study the life of a sultan's daughter in this study. I want to evaluate one of the sultan's daughter in terms of her family, childhood, education, marriage, relationship networks. I would like to examine all these subjects in the case of Sultan Abdülmecid's daughter Cemile Sultan. In this work, I will look at some parts of Cemile Sultan's life and try to get to know, and to see and show the joys, sorrows, and worries of a sultan's daughter who lived in the 19th and 20th centuries.

If we look at the work which had studied about the Cemile Sultan, Nafi's Surname conveys important information about the subject of this study, Cemile Sultan. The work has details about the wedding held in 1858 for Cemile Sultan and her sister Munire Sultan. However, it does not give as much details as the memories of Cemile Sultan's granddaughter Mevhibe Celalettin²² published as serials in the *Vatan* newspaper in the beginning of 1950s. The first publication of these writings as a book was in 1953. This book, which enables us to have information on many subjects such as palace customs, ceremonies, traditions, daily and social lives, sense of entertainment, eating culture, music culture, shopping habits and exchanging gifts, has also great importance because it is the autobiography of a woman from

²¹ Ali Akyıldız, *Mümin ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı: Refia Sultan*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1998.

²² Mevhibe Celâlettin, *Geçmiş Zaman Olur ki*, ed. Sara Ertuğrul, Çağdaş Yayınları, İstanbul 1987.

the Ottoman dynasty. It is also a very interesting story to find that the granddaughter Mevhibe's life which starts in the harem of the Fındıklı Palace, ends in an apartment building in Şişli. Although the book contains observations, interpretations and memories about her grandmother Cemile Sultan that we can not encounter anywhere else, it is still not a biographical work written about the Cemile Sultan. However, due to the fact that it is a memoir, it should be examined in comparison with other sources of the period. The works of Leyla Saz²³, Safiye Ünüvar²⁴, Ayşe Osmanoğlu²⁵, Şadiye Osmanoğlu²⁶ and Melek Hanım²⁷ are also memoirs which belong to Cemile Sultan's era, and should be read carefully. They give the details about the daily and social lives from the palace. Especially Ayşe Osmanoğlu's work tells about Cemile Sultan's childhood and adulthood stage.²⁸ In the work of Ziya Şakir²⁹ Cemile Sultan's private life is mentioned, even though it is just a few lines. We can find details of Cemile Sultan's personality in the work of Lütü Simavi Bey³⁰.

Relevant local and foreign bibliography will be shared in the footnotes as the occasion arises. However, what I really want to draw attention to is that an independent work related to the life of Cemile Sultan, who lived for 72 years and was in close contact with the palace during a turbulent period of the empire, is not present among all these sources.

²³ Leyla Saz, *Harem'de Yaşam: Saray ve Harem Hatıraları*, ed. Sedat Demir, Dün Bugün Yayınları, İstanbul 2010.

²⁴ Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray Hatıralarım*, Bedir Yayınları, İstanbul 2000.

²⁵ Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Güven Yayınevi, İstanbul 1960.

²⁶ Şâdiye Osmanoğlu, *Hayatımın Acı ve Tatlı Günleri*, Bedir Yayınları, İstanbul 1966.

²⁷ Melek Hanım, *Thirty Years in the Harem or, the Autobiography of Melek Hanum, wife of H. H. Kıbrızlı Mehemet Pasha*, Londres, Chapman and Hall, 1872.

²⁸ Osmanoğlu, *ibid*, p.22,49.

²⁹ Ziya Şakir, *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, Akıl Fikir Yayınları, İstanbul 2011.

³⁰ Lütü Simavi Bey, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Hanın ve Halifenin Sarayında Gördüklerim I-II*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Şehir Yayınları, İstanbul 2007.

Besides that, there are several other reasons I want to study Cemile Sultan's life. The first of these is that Cemile Sultan who did not end her marriage which was not approved by her brother Sultan Abdülhamid II and who tries to continue her dialogue with her exiled husband despite everything is an important name to be examined in terms of a female resistance which is rarely seen in the Ottoman history. The second and most important reason for me was the correspondence with her husband Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha who was exiled. However, I couldn't reach these letters which were mentioned by Çağatay Uluçay and Mevhibe Celaleddin.³¹ These correspondences would be very valuable in terms of seeing the inner world, sadness, joy, communication and intellectual accumulation of an Ottoman princess in the late 19th century. The research which I started in the Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi to reach these letters helped me discover Cemile Sultan's relationship with the *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları*. Upon the exile and death of her husband, Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, the privilege of the ferries owned by Pasha was passed on to Cemile Sultan, and she had to manage this process. The questions such as which ways she applied to this process, what difficulties or conveniences she faced, whether she managed it alone or if she had any deputies who were they, led me to examine this subject in more detail. In addition, a Sultan's daughter owning the privilege of these ferries, which was going to turn into a corporation of one of the Ottoman Empire's few joint-stock companies, is a matter that should have been examined. It is also important to examine this period through the lens of a princess's life as she witnessed the reigns of the five sultans to the Ottoman throne and a period that changed the whole world order such as the Great War.

This thesis, will fill the gap in the literature about the live of Ottoman princess. Having knowledge about the family members will make it easier to look at the whole picture while examining the political and social structure of the Ottoman period.

³¹ Uluçay, *ibid*, p.225; Korle, *ibid*, p. 14.

The most important problem experienced in this review process has been undoubtedly the source problem. The woman of the dynasty also shares the same problem with the woman in the countryside who were remembered occasionally in the population censuses, which had ignored them for centuries. Despite coming from the Ottoman dynasty, they never reached the rank of being the heir to the throne, and that's why their existence was ignored. The resources available for getting to know the sultan's daughters are very limited, which we come across in the records only as *bed'i besmele* ceremonies for their prince brothers (*şehzade*), their expenses, inheritance (*tereke defteri*), and wedding ceremonies organized to prove and demonstrate the political power of the ruler. The studies on the Sultan's daughters are also usually about these 'grandiose' ceremonies, festivals, and regiments.³² Since the literature is limited, a narrative based on archival documents will be mostly followed in this study. Topkapi Palace Archives and mostly Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi are the first archives to be applied. Memoirs of the period, observations of foreign travelers about the palace surroundings and magazine writings will be among the reference sources of this thesis.

³² Hatice Aynur, "Saliha Sultan'ın Düğün Töreni ve Şenlikler", *Tarih ve Toplum*, S.61, (Ocak 1989), s.30-39; Münir Sirer, "Velâdeti Hümayun ve Beşik Alayları", *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, Cilt.IV, Sayı.43 (Temmuz 1953), s.2453 – 2436; Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Osmanlı Sarayının Bir Muhteşem Düğünü", *Resimli Tarih*, II, İstanbul 1951. Şehsuvaroğlu "Fatma ve Safiye Sultanların Düğünleri", *İstanbul Enstitüsü Mec.*, IV, İstanbul 1958.

1. CEMİLE SULTAN'S BIRTH AND THE PROCESS LEADING TO THE YEARS OF HER MARRIAGE

1.1. Cemile Sultan's Birth and the Preparations

*Tarih dedi cemal-i kemter
Afaka verdi zinet el- hak Cemile Sultan*³³

Cemile Sultan was born as the fifth child of the Sultan Abdulmecid I in August 17, 1843 (21 Receb 1259) at the Old Beylerbeyi Palace.³⁴ Her mother Düzdidil was the third *kadın efendi* (a title of the sultans' official concubines)³⁵ of the sultan. Cemile Sultan, who was born in the Old Beylerbeyi Palace, also known as the Istavroz Palace, had a birth ceremony according to the Ottoman palace customs as the other prince and princess did. When the birth approaches in the palace, the royal mothers, would take care of the preparations for the birth, take the necessary items and get them prepared.³⁶ For the birth of Cemile Sultan also, bejeweled items were made in the harem.³⁷ A mashaallah decorated with diamond, an emerald chandelier, a ruby chandelier, a brass chandelier and a silver bath bowl, a gilded washbowl, a gilded ewer were prepared in the harem.³⁸ Some objects were also given to Cemile Sultan's mother to be used during the birth. These stuff includes; a gold threat silk; a purple shawl dress, a tafetta dress, a silk inlaid or just silk inlaid dress, a scarf, a quilt for swaddle and cradle, twenty muslins, two muslin bed linings, twelve pink

³³ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*, TS. MA.e., 368/10, file 8, 29 Z 1259 (January 20, 1844).

³⁴ Uluçay, *ibid*, p. 221.

³⁵ For these definitions, the annexes of Fanny Davis' book and Redhouse Dictionary were used.

³⁶ Mehmet Arslan, "Osmanlı Döneminde Padişah Çocuklarının Doğumları Münasebetiyle Yapılan Şenlikler ve Viladet- Name- i Hadice Sultan", *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*, vol 4, Sivas 1997, p. 23-24.

³⁷ *BOA*, TS.MA.d, 2111/139 29 Z 1260 (January 9, 1845).

³⁸ *BOA*, TS.MA.d, 2491/1, 29 M 1260 (February 19, 1844).

muslin duds, twelve pink thread dresses, a cradle blanket, a pink cradle blanket, ten cloth for shoes, two scarves, two *fitilli* muslins, a muslin for beds and bed linings, a gilded dress for a gilded wood cradle.

Candles were burnt in Beylerbeyi and Topkapı Sahil Palace in honor of Cemile Sultan's birth.³⁹ It is highly probable that her grandmother, Bezmialem Valide Sultan, was in charge of all these preparations as it was customary.⁴⁰ In line with the rescript *hatt-ı hümayun* written by her father Sultan Abdulmecid, five cannonballs were held for each day for three days in Istanbul, the main city of Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Ottoman subject were informed about the birth of the princess.⁴¹ On the occasion of Cemile Sultan's birth, sheiks, the caretakers of the selatin mosques, the brass band, town criers, sergeants, and others benefitted from the treasury.⁴² As usual as it is to celebrate the birth of a child and treat the guests who pay a visit to congratulate in today societies; the celebrations and treats for the birth of a sultan's child in the 19th century can be considered as equally usual. When a new child of the Sultan was born, the Ottoman provincial governors and kadis would be notified about this through written documents. In response to these circular notes, congratulations and all good wishes were conveyed to the capital city from various parts of the Ottoman geography. In 1843, some of these

³⁹ It is mentioned in the document that the materials needed to burn oil lamps -a wood tin, a candlewick, a soap, a bottle candle- would cost 6754 kurus and these costs would be covered by the private treasury of Ottoman sultan *hazine-i hassa*; *BOA*, HH. d. 21713 22 B 1259 (August 18, 1843).

⁴⁰ Arzu Terzi mentions that; "Bezmialem Valide Sultan organized the birth ceremonies of the prince and princess of Sultan Abdülmecid during her life time." Arzu Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan*, İstanbul 2018, p. 268. Although we could not reach a definite document about this during our study, it is highly probable that it was not possible for anyone else in the harem to take care of these preparations while royal mother was alive.

⁴¹ *BOA*, HAT, 1638/32, file 1, 21 B 1259 (August 17, 1843).

⁴² *BOA*, C.SM, 129/6481, file 1, 29 ZA 1260 (December 10, 1260)

congratulations were relayed to Sultan Abdülmecid by the kadis of Rusçuk and Şehirköy.⁴³

The birth of the Sultan's children also would make a big impression among the poets of the time. Poems and eulogies were written; historical texts were penned. Undoubtedly one of the biggest motivations of this situations was to get a good income from the palace and to be recognized again in the palace and its environs. Each of the poets who were raised in the palace (*Saray-ı Hümayun*) would be removed from the palace through getting entailed estate, manor, fee, and fief, and they would stay at their homes without doing anything and write eulogies, tell stories to sultans, viziers, and important people; and they would get benefits and donations for it. In this way, Abdülaziz Bey tells us that poets had achieved some of their goals and desires.⁴⁴ And the birth of the dynasty members was a quite good opportunity for these intentions to come true. There are also history couplets and eulogies which were penned by the era's poets in honor of the birth of Cemile Sultan.⁴⁵

Along with these verses written by the poets of the period about the happiness for the birth of the princess, a common rumor⁴⁶ about her infancy in secondary sources is also reported. It is mentioned that Cemile Sultan had a very aggressive disposition and that this matter would manifest itself even in her infancy. As the rumor goes, when the princess was four months old and lying in her cradle, the chief companion (*baş musahip ağa*) came into the room and straightened his fez on the mirror. While this was they realized that the princess slightly arose from her

⁴³ BOA, C.SM. 8/398, file 1, 17 N 1233 (; C.SM 31/1568 1233 N 17 1

⁴⁴ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet Merasim ve Tabirleri: İnsanlar, İnanışlar, Eğlence, Dil*, ed. Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan Günay, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1995, p. 449-450.

⁴⁵ BOA, TS. MA.e., 368/10, file 8, 29 Z 1259 (January 20, 1844)

⁴⁶ Sare Ertuğrul Korle, *Geçmiş Zaman Olur Ki, Çağdaş Yayınları İstanbul 1987*, p. 9; Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahın Kadınları ve Kızları*, Ötüken Yayınları, İstanbul 2011, p. 224.

cradle and waved her finger at the chief companion for doing something that he should not had done in the princess's room. After this incident Cemile Sultan became known as "the princess who waves finger from the cradle". Even if it is not possible for a four-month-old baby to be aware of the court's rules of good manners and to have the awareness to warn the palace employees, this anecdote should be quoted.

1.2. Cemile Sultan's Mother, Foster Mother (Analık) and Sultan Father

Cemile Sultan's mother Düzdidil *kadın efendi* passed away from tuberculosis,⁴⁷ two years after giving birth to the sultan, in Şaban 1261 (August 1845)⁴⁸ Her grave is in Refia Sultan Mausoleum in Yeni Mosque.⁴⁹ Cemile Sultan, who was two years old after her mother's death, was given to one of her father Sultan Abdülmecid's women, the Fourth *kadın efendi* Perestu, 'childless' who was without a child. With the needs of the sultan, who was left without a mother at the age of two, were taken care of by her foster-mother Perestu *kadın efendi*.

It was customary to give the prince and princess along with the people in their room (*daire*) to the protection of *kadın efendis*, which would be approved by the Sultan.⁵⁰ Not only was Cemile Sultan, but her half-brother prince Abdulhamid was also nurtured by Perestu Kadın. The prince Abdulhamid, who lost his mother Tirimüjgan *kadın efendi* at the age of 11, was also given to Perestu Kadın. According to Ayşe Osmanoğlu, these two siblings grew up and spent their childhood together in the care of the foster-mother which they were given to.

⁴⁷ Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahın Kadınları ve Kızları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, İstanbul 201, p.206

⁴⁸ Mehmed Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmani*, ed. Nuri Akbayar, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1995, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Jamil Adra, *Genealogy of the Imperial Ottoman Family*, Paris 2004, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk, Kitabevi 2001, İstanbul, p. 312.

Perestu, was a Cherkes woman from Ubuh tribe.⁵¹ Perestu *kadın efendi* hold the position of royal mother with the title woman chef of the sultanate as cradle of the great (*mehd-i ulya-yı saltanat-ı seniyye*)⁵² starting with the date of prince Abdulhamid's accession to the throne on 1876 until his death on 1904.

Her father Sultan Abdülmecid I had twelve *kadın efendi* whose names were Servetseza, Şevkefza, Gülcemal, Mahitab, Bezmiara, Serfiraz, Huşyar, Mahitab, Nev'eser, Nühketseza and Verdicensan except Perestu, Düzdil, Tirimüjgan. Also, Abdülmecid had ten favorite (*ikbal*) women whose names were Nalandil, Nesrin, Gülistu, Şayeste, Ceylanyar, Nergizev, Navekmisal, Ruzidil, Zeynimelek and Şayan.⁵³ Abdülmecid I who ascended to the throne at 1839, had twenty-five children.⁵⁴

1.3. Cemile Sultan's Education

Cemile Sultan's father, Sultan Abdülmecid, paid close attention to the education of his children. In fact, he personally attended the *bed'i besmele* ceremony that was deemed highly important first step of the education of the princesses and the

⁵¹ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid*, ed. Elif Çakır, Selis Kitaplar, İstanbul 2008, p.15.

⁵² This translation is belonging to Fanny Davis, from her book *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History From 1718 to 1918*, p. 9.

⁵³ Necdet Sakaoglu, "Abdülmecid'in Kişiliği", *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi (1823-1861)*, ed. Kemal Kahraman and İlonca Baytar, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, p. 34.

⁵⁴ "Naime Sultan, Neyyire Sultan, Sultan Murad, Fatma Sultan, Abdülhamid Han, Refia Sultan, Cemile Sultan, Reşad Efendi, Samiye Sultan, Ziyaeddin Efendi, Sabiha Sultan, Mehmed Abid Efendi, Mehmed Fuad Efendi, Ahmed Kemaleddin Efendi, Behice Sultan, Bürhaneddin Efendi, Mukabile Sultan, Seniha Sultan, Nizameddin Efendi, Medih Sultan, Nureddin Efendi, Naile Sultan, Süleyman Efendi, Vahideddin Efendi, Mehmet Vamık Efendi. ", Ahmed Lütü Efendi, *Ahmed Lütü Efendi Tarihi*, c.IX, ed. Münir Aktepe, Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, İstanbul 1984, p.174.

princes, and he himself made his children to recite *bismele* for the first time.⁵⁵ Since the sons of Sultan Abdülmecid; Prince Murad and Prince Abdulhamid; and his daughters; Sultans Fatma, Cemile, Refia and Behiyye started reading the Holy Qur'an, a *hocalık takımı* was prepared for them on September 20, 1847 (9 Şevval 1263). The items prepared for each of the princesses and princes were delivered to the harem.

Following items were prepared for Cemile Sultan: A fascicle (*cüz*) and a volume of *elifba*, a velvet, pearly, brocaded, and engrailed fascicle purse, which was embellished with diamond and has lids with tughra and imperial (*hümayun*) picture on it; a large lectern (*rahle*) decorated with roza diamond, gilded, and with a globe picture on it; a pearly, brocaded, and engrailed purple atlas cushion; two crescents, one of which was adorned with diamonds and the other was plain gold; a wooden gilded lectern brocaded on velvet, and fringed with silver thread; a crepe lectern cover fringed with gold threads, and a cushion cover; five needles embellished with diamonds; a blue shawl dress, pearly, brocaded, and embroidered with engrailed trimming; an *ispenç*, a pair of shoes; a shawl, and a stringed fardel (*telli bohça*).⁵⁶ It is possible for us to understand the importance given to the education of princesses from these carefully prepared and decorated items.

We know that their classes were at the princes' classroom in Topkapı Palace.⁵⁷ Not being able to reach the information of which teachers taught what kind of lessons to Cemile Sultan after these preparations does not prevent us from learning about her educational process. It is possible that this educational process, which she started with her siblings, continued in parallel. As a matter of fact, while

⁵⁵ Hülya Tezcan, *Osmanlı Sarayı'nın Çocukları*, p.176; Akyıldız, *Mümin ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı: Refia Sultan*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1998, p.11.

⁵⁶ BOA, TSMA.d 8131 0001 1263 L 09.

⁵⁷ François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, trans. Ali Berktaş, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul 2006, p. 30.

we can reach from her inheritance the information of her sister Refia Sultan taking French, Farsi and writing lessons⁵⁸ it would be unfair to assume that Cemile Sultan never benefitted from this educational environment. In addition to that, we know that the Sultan's daughters took lessons of Qur'an, Arabic, Farsi, Turkish writing and reading, Ottoman Turkish grammar (*kavaid-i Osmani*), calculation, history, and geography.⁵⁹ The Sultan's daughters showed how much they care about reading by obtaining valuable books, donating books to libraries, or building libraries. Shah Sultan, daughter of Yavuz Sultan Selim, is presented as a book collector.⁶⁰ As a more recent example, Bezmialem Valide Sultan, Cemile Sultan's paternal grandmother, also establishes Darül Maarif's waqf library which contains 439 volumes of books.⁶¹ The way in which Cemile Sultan expresses herself and the way she uses the language in her individual correspondence give us clues about her accumulation of knowledge. We will not focus on the way and subject of her communication for now, since it will be examined in detail in the second chapter.

The 19th century Ottoman world's perception of entertainment which emerged as a manifestation of its change and transformation with the Westerns style reforms, showed itself with musical instruments, violin, and piano especially at the palace.⁶² Godfrey Goodwin says that most of the princesses from the last dynasty family were talented musicians and were trained by important and determined masters. Their repertoires included polka and waltz, Schubert and Saint-Saens.⁶³ Leyla Saz, the bridesmaid of Cemile Sultan's sister, Münire Sultan, mentions in her

⁵⁸ Ali Akyıldız, *ibid*, p.12-13.

⁵⁹ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *ibid*, p.118.

⁶⁰ Hülya Tezcan, *ibid*, p.209.

⁶¹ Her library contains books of astronomy, hadith, fiqh, kalam, Quran, a Quran of calligraphers, history, and medicine, linguistic; see Arzu Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan*, İstanbul 2018, p. 17.

⁶² Emre Aracı, *Donizetti Paşa*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006, p.145

⁶³ Godfrey Goodwin, *Osmanlı Kadınının Özel Dünyası*, trans. Sinem Gül, Sabah Kitapçılık, İstanbul 2007p. 152.

narrative about *harem* that the royal highness played the piano very well and she had beautiful songs, which she composed in accordance with the period's musical style. In fact, Ms. Leyla had the music sheets for the piano of these songs with her. However, these sheets could not reach today because they were destroyed in a fire in Ms. Leyla's home. Again, in her memoirs, she says that the princesses would gather in their chambers and spent time while listening to the music they enjoyed the most. And she adds that they knew the Western music, along with the Turkish music. The princesses would also play well the kemancha and the lute along with the piano. We know that Cemile Sultan only played the piano⁶⁴ and was known as a pianist.⁶⁵ Prince Ali Vasıb Efendi also says that European style (*alafranga*) songs and even a symphony by his aunt Cemile Sultan and after that a piece by master *hoca* Tarzinevin were played by the *Mabeyin* orchestra in his circumcision ceremony in 1915.⁶⁶ However, in the same memoirs Cemile Sultan is mentioned as Abdulmecid's granddaughter, so this information should be approached with caution.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Leyla Saz, *ibid*, p. 95

⁶⁵ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hanedanlar: Türkiye (1074-1990)*, vol II, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2005, p. 295. According to Ayşe Osmanoğlu, we know that Guatelli Pasha gave piano lessons to Zülfet Kalfa, the second treasurer of the palace. Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid*, p.118. Safiye Ünüvar, one of the teachers in the Yıldız Palace during the reign of Sultan Reşat, also mentions that the Sultan had said "I have brought a female teacher. May Allah not ask about her from me. Whoever wants to benefit, they may.", and says that, besides the sultan and princess, she also had given Qur'an lessons to the master treasurer, *Hazinedar Usta*, for about two months, and to the other courtiers she has given gymnastic *idman* lessons within the extent of the harem garden of the Yıldız Palace. Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray Hatıralarım*, p. 34. If we consider this information, it is not difficult to have an idea about the education which the sultan's daughters had gotten from private teachers.

⁶⁶ Şehzade Ali Vasıb Efendi, *Bir Şehzadenin Hatıratı: Vatan ve Menfada Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, ed. Osman Selaheddin Osmanoğlu, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2004. p.64

⁶⁷ Şehzade Ali Vasıb Efendi, *ibid*, p.165

2. CEMİLE SULTAN'S MARRIAGE, CHILDREN, and CORRESPONDANCE

2.1. Marriage with the Ottoman Princesses

In the years of the Ottoman Empire's establishment and in many European countries at that time, marriage between dynasties was common. These marriages would carry various intentions within themselves. There was a general concern of establishing a relationship network in marriages with intentions such as strengthening the state's power, establishing a connection between the two states, or strengthening the connection if there is any; and we can mention the desire to provide material gains as one of the greatest motivations.

From the years of the state's establishment until the mid-15th century the daughter of the Sultan would only marry the elected people, the rulers of the states of their religion, their princes, or those who belong to one of the ruling classes of the Ottoman state.⁶⁸ We can see that the Ottoman rulers gave their daughters or sisters to the Asia Minor, Muslim princes,⁶⁹ Anatolian principalities, or to their sons. For example, Nefise Sultan, daughter of Murad I, was given to Alüiddin Bey of Karamanoğlu in 1381. And the daughters of Çelebi Mehmed were given to İbrahim and Kasım from Candaroğulları.⁷⁰ As Artan stated "Ottoman princesses for their part had usually been married to the sons of dynasties, as well as to

⁶⁸ Leslie P. Peirce, *Harem-i Hümayun: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hükümranlık ve Kadınlar*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, p.91.

⁶⁹ J. Mouradega D'ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire Ottoman 1222/1807*, vol. VII, Firmin Didot Freres Editeurs, Paris 1824, p. 89.

⁷⁰ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Saray Teşkilatı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1988, p.146.

influential states man, who in one way or another had gathered around the House of Osman.’’⁷¹

Marriages between the dynasties were abandoned after a while. At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the Sultan’s daughters married the states men or their sons, whom we would mention as the ruling elite of the Ottoman State. Leslie Peirce interprets not marrying the Turkish members of this ruling class, but only states men who had been devshirmeh, as a policy of thought belonging to the era of *the Conqueror*, and as the reason of this, she shows that Mehmed II did not want any Turkish power to rise within the state structure or any rival to the dynasty.⁷² The decision to give the Sultan's daughters only to the Ottoman viziers and governors (*beylerbeyi*) and to the *beyler* from the palace environs is attributed by Uzunçarşılı to the fact that the Ottoman Empire gained power and reputation since this period, and that there were no more despots in the surrounding regions.⁷³ No doubt there was not just a single reason for the abandonment of inter-dynastic marriages, and the fact that devshirmeh families were preferred over Turkish families; however, both of these interpretations are probable.

In the 19th century, there was no inter-dynastic marriage in the Ottoman Empire; however, political concerns continued to be raised in the marriages of women belonging to the dynasty. In fact, the Sultan himself would approve the suitors for his daughters and sisters. The suitor would often be a person, who had a strong political identity.⁷⁴ It is difficult to think that the marriage of women from

⁷¹ Tülay Artan, “Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century”, *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, Brill 2011, p.342.

⁷² Leslie Peirce, *ibid*, p.91-92.

⁷³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Saray Teşkilatı*, p.146, 159.

⁷⁴ Hülya Tezcan, *ibid*, p. 127.

the dynasty may have had reasons other than political ones,⁷⁵ because the jurisdiction of the Sultan, who played a decisive role in the life in the palace, and the harem of the time, made itself evident here, and he was decisive in women's spousal choices or renunciations. There were exceptions to this;⁷⁶ however, the suitors were selected from the palace environs, and the ultimate decision-maker was the Sultan. It is stated that these political marriages were beneficial to the most influential name of the harem: the royal mother. It was even possible for the grooms to rise to the place of vizier with the status they had been provided with marriage. A groom, whose jurisdiction had been expanded and whose ideas and movements were to be agreed with, could be the biggest help of the royal mother in the palace life. The alliance between Hurrem Sultan and Rustem Pasha can be shown as the best and the most concrete example of this.⁷⁷ "The great event in the life of a woman sultan was her wedding, the magnificence of which depended partly on the state of the Treasury at the time and partly on how much affection the ruler had for her."⁷⁸

The marriages carried out with preparations to add color to the routine life of the dynasty women in the palace. Preparations were made days before for the weddings, which made a big impact in the whole capital.⁷⁹ As in the birth and

⁷⁵ Godfrey Goodwin, *ibid*, p.121.

⁷⁶ Mediha Sultan's marriage was different from others. For more information about this situation see Özge Kahya, *Sultan Abdülmecid'in Kızı Mediha Sultan'ın Hayatı (1856-1928)*, Master's Thesis, Marmara University, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Türk Tarihi Anabilimdalı, Yakınçağ Tarihi Bilim Dalı, İstanbul 2012; Hıfzı Topuz, *Paris'te Son Osmanlılar: Mediha Sultan ve Damat Ferit*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul 1999.

⁷⁷ Leslie Peirce, *ibid*, p. 205.

⁷⁸ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady*, p.18.

⁷⁹ For more information about this topic see Hatice Aynur, *Saliha Sultan'ın Düğününü Anlatan Surnameler (1834)*, Harvard University Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Department, 1995; Mehmet Arslan, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnameler: Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri*, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 1999; Nurhan Atasoy, 1582: Surname-i Hümayun: an Imperial Celebration. İstanbul 1997; Vehbî, *Sûrnâme: Sultan Ahmet'in Düğün Kitabı*, edited by

circumcision ceremonies, parades such as marriages were also celebrated with flashy feasts. The more such events would occur the more satisfied the people of the harem would be. Feasts and festivals were a fun pastime, which was loved in every period. They were to escape for a while from the monotony of everyday life. The most beautiful dresses and jewelry would be worn and everyone would bring a symbolic gift, which they could afford.⁸⁰ Looking at the abundance and diversity of today's concepts of entertainment and consumption, these celebrations, which would be considered ordinary, were valuable and important as they were exceptional circumstances within the zeitgeist.

The Sultan's daughters were economically strengthened and enriched by providing them with new properties. This gave them an enormous political and economic power. From the beginning of the 18th century, princesses began to settle in coastal palaces. For example, when Mustafa II's daughters got married, they did not move in to the palaces of their husbands, but to the ones, which were allocated to them. Ayşe Sultan moved in to Zeyrek Palace, and Safiye Sultan to Rami Palace in Demirkapı.⁸¹ While the contribution of marriages to dynastic women may have been limited to a flashy wedding and perhaps a new palace, this contribution would go up to achieving a new title and profession as well as changes, which the man who became a son-in-law to the dynasty could have never imagined.

Mertol Tulum, Istanbul 2008. Also, for a type of festivities, see Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, 1999; Suraiya Faroqhi, "When the Sultan Planned a Great Feast, Was Everyone in a Festive Mood? Or, Who Worked on the Preparation of Sultan's Festivals and Who Paid for Them?", In *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi & Arzu Öztürkmen, 208- 224. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.

⁸⁰ Godfrey Goodwin, *ibid*, p. 93.

⁸¹ Hülya Tezcan, *ibid*, p. 127.

Being a son-in-law to the Sultan family was a great honor, often given to senior government officials or promising young officials.⁸² The title of *damad-ı şehriyari* was given as an honorary detail, a status, which came with marriage. Due to the bond established with the dynasty, this honor, which was granted to the subjects by the Sultan,⁸³ was able to change the positions of the son-in-laws and increase their influence.⁸⁴ However, we should remind you that, in addition to all these positive situations, this new status created a great ‘personal loyalty, and debt bond’ towards the Sultan and his family; this could even limit a statesman’s ability to act, because of the responsibilities it brought with itself.⁸⁵

Georgeon tells that Cemile Sultan was married to an influential figure, Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, a member of the Consule of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) and the Minister of Commerce.⁸⁶ Whether she had married to an influential person, or whether this person has become influential through marrying her is a subject that we should consider and examine. We do not know for sure whether Cemile Sultan played a role in Mahmud Pasha's life, but we do have some information about the social environment and status that she could provide.

⁸² Leslie Peirce, *ibid*, p. 201.

⁸³ Juliette Dumas, “Evlilikle Gelen Ek Yükümlükler: Erken Modern Dönemde Dâmâd-ı Şehriyârî II”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, 227 (November 2012), p. 72-79.

⁸⁴ Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Hayatlarının Çeşitli Safhalarında Harem-i Hümayun Cariyeleri, 18. Yüzyıl*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2017, p.165. The situation was similar for the other women who were not members of the dynasty, but had been in the Ottoman palace. Their marriage had positive contributions to their husbands. For more information about this topic see. Argıt, *ibid*, p. 165-167.

⁸⁵ Leslie Peirce, *ibid*, p. 91, 204.

⁸⁶ François Georgeon, *ibid*, p. 45.

2.2. Engagement and Wedding Ceremony

2.2.1. Engagements of the Sisters

Sultan's daughters Refia, Cemile, and Münire Sultans were engaged.⁸⁷ According to La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, one of the travelers of the era; the most important event of the day was the engagements of the Sultan's three daughters, because such entertainment had never been seen in the country for the last seven years. Fontmagne said that she attended the engagement ceremony upon the invitation of Refia Sultan's father-in-law Mehmed Ali Pasha. She states that the elaborately prepared gifts for the palace, each decorated with gold filigree, were placed in two hundred large baskets: "Diamonds in velvet cases, gold tableware, rare fabrics for clothing and upholstery, cashmere scarves, elegant shoes and slippers with gold and pearl embroidery. Simply, a rich and luxurious dowry worthy of the Sultan's daughter." All these gifts were delivered to the palace in the next day with a procession organized.⁸⁸

After the engagement ceremony, on the 28th day of the month of Şaban (April 23, 1857), the marriage ceremonies of Refia, Cemile and Münire Sultans were performed. There would be representatives and witnesses along with shaykh al-islam at the wedding. Rose water and incense would be given before the ceremony. Two pieces of amber would be placed inside, and the door of the room, where the wedding ceremony was going to take place, would be closed as it was the custom. After the speech from shaykh al-islam and the decisions on *mehr-i müeccel and muaccel*, the question would be asked and answered three times, and

⁸⁷ J. H. A. Ubcini, *1855'de Türkiye*, trans. Ayda Düz, Tercüman Gazetesi, vol. 1, İstanbul 1977, p. 111.

⁸⁸ La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, *Kırım Harbi Sonrasında İstanbul*, trans. Gülçiçek Soytürk, Tercüman Gazetesi, İstanbul 1977, p. 129-131.

thus the marriage would be officiated.⁸⁹ The princesses' weddings were officiated in the *Hırka-i Saadet* Room upon this tradition. Leyla Saz describes the parts of these ceremonies she had witnessed: "After the announcement of the wedding of the princesses, chief harem eunuch and the chief master agha (*dariissaade agha*) was the proxy of Sultans; the grand vizier was the proxy of the groom pashas, wedding contracts were solemnized by shaykh al-islam. *Kadın efendis* and grooms were informed by the Sultan that weddings will be held with a one week break." After this, the dowry of Cemile Sultan was shown in the large hall next to the chambers of the fourth woman. We see that there were precious jewels placed in clay trays and personal items (fan, comb, watches, coffee set, tablespoons, cups etc.) decorated with precious stones. These items were brought to Giritli Mustafa Naili Pasha Waterside Mansion in Emirgân, since the construction of the princess's coastal palace in Salıpazarı was not completed. And after all the arrangements were done, Cemile Sultan arrived at her waterside mansion.⁹⁰

It is mentioned also in the document that reign carriages and harnesses were provided for Cemile and Münire Sultans and for those who were under their service to be carried during the wedding.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Hatice Aynur, *Saliha Sultan'ın Düğününü Anlatan Surnameler (1834)*, Harvard University Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations Department, 1995, p. 22.

⁹⁰ Leyla Saz, *ibid*, p.162-163.

⁹¹ BOA, HH.d. 17527 1274 Z 17: file 1

2.2.2. The Wedding Ceremony of Cemile Sultan and Mahmud Celeleddin Pasha

Preparations for the Ottoman dynasty weddings would take long times, sometimes even months, and these weddings would be grandiose.⁹² The wedding place would be decided, thousands of gold would be spent on the construction of the necessary places for the wedding, entertaining of the guests, feasts, games, shows, gifts, *nahıls* (festival trees), fireworks (*ateş işleri*), and other expenses. There are several reasons for why the weddings and the festivals were celebrated so ostentatiously. While these ceremonies, where foreign statesmen and ambassadors were also invited, were intended to display the grandeur of the Palace, these shiny ceremonies sometimes had the aim of concealing and effacing the political and military failures of the State.⁹³ Verse and prose works describing the festivities and celebrations made for circumcision, marriage and ascent to the throne are called *surname*.⁹⁴ There is some information about the great Sultan weddings in the works of chroniclers, and poets, as well as *surname-i humayun*, which are directly about one single wedding.⁹⁵ The *surname*, which was written by the Ottoman statesman and scientist Abdünnafi İffet Edendi in 1858, is one of the *surname-i hümayun*, which was only about the weddings of Cemile and Münire Sultans.

⁹² For instance, the wedding of Fatma Sultan; Metin And, *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları*, Toprakbank, İstanbul 2000.

⁹³ Mehmet Arslan, ‘‘Mensur Surnamelerin Son Örneği: Nafi’ Surnamesi (Peyam-ı Sur)’’, Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Fen- Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, sayı: 15-16, Ekim 1993, p. 117.

⁹⁴ Vehbi, *Surname: Sultan Ahmet’in Düğün Kitabı*, ed. Mertol Tulum, Kabalcı, İstanbul 2007, p. 31; Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household 1400-1800*, 2008.

⁹⁵ Necdet Sakaoglu and Nuri Akbayar, *Binbir Gün, Binbir Gece: Osmanlı’dan Günümüze İstanbul’da Eğlence Yaşamı*, Denizbank, 1999, p. 77.

The last example of the *surname* tradition, which was first written for the circumcision ceremony of the son of Sultan Murad III in 1582, is the *surname* of Nafi called '*Peyam-ı Sur*' or '*Surname-i Selatin*'. This work is the only *surname*, which gives information about the wedding ceremonies of Münire Sultan with İlhami Paşa. After praise to God and salutation to the Prophet, the work continues with the praise of Sultan Abdulmecid, and there are ten and nine couplets that were written separately for Cemile and Münire Sultans' weddings. These lines praise the Sultan and the grooms.⁹⁶ According to the chronicler Ahmet Lütü Efendi and the scientist and scholar Abdünnafi İffet Efendi, the wedding, which took place in the area in around Dolmabahçe, where the tents were set up, on Thursday 13th of Şevval (May 27, 1858) was celebrated with joy for fifteen days.⁹⁷

At the wedding, separate tents were set up for the Sultan and the princesses. According to Mehmet Arslan, the surname writer Nafi was the guest of the tent allocated to the Ministry of Finance. Nafi described his work *Peyam-ı Sur* based on his observations in this tent. He stated that he felt the desire that this wedding and its features to be known in the coming years, so he dared to write such a work and named it *Peyam-ı Sur*. In his work, he talks about the drinks and the food inside the tents and in other places during the wedding, the splendor of the tents, the *nahıls* prepared for the wedding, the wedding candles, the oil lamps, the lanterns and chandeliers, and he separately praises each important tent belonging to the pashas. Abdünnafi İffet Efendi describes, with a very artful language, the performances of the acrobats, jugglers, and tightrope walkers, and the singers and musicians, the parades of some of the craftsmen, and the other entertainments and shows lasted day and night. One of the topics that the author dwells on when talking about this wedding is the fireworks. The furnishing of the seaside place was also arranged

⁹⁶ Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Edebiyat-Tarih-Kültür Makaleleri*, 'Mensur Surnamelerin Son Örneği: Nafi ' Surnamesi (Peyam-ı Sur)''', Kitabevi İstanbul 2000, p. 468.

⁹⁷ Ahmed Lütü Efendi, *ibid*, p. 136; Abdünnafi İffet Efendi, *Surname-i Selatin*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY. No: 2998

beautifully at the wedding site.⁹⁸ Exceptional preparations were also made in the surroundings of the capital for the princesses' weddings.⁹⁹ Nafi, at the end of his work, states that so far no one had ever seen such a wedding entertainment and festivity, and he and other guests also enjoyed this entertainment; and prays for Sultan to reach such weddings, to have a long life, to be in constant joy and pleasure; and thus, he finishes his text.¹⁰⁰

On the evening of the sixth day of the wedding, high state officials, foreign country ambassadors, and government officers attended the wedding which was held in the palace. All the people in the service of the sultan (*bendegan*), orators, sheikhs, soldiers, prominent figures of the Jewish, Armenian and Greek communities (*milel-i mevcude*), foreigners, and students also attended the feast. During the wedding candles were burnt in and around of the tents of the representatives and other guests.¹⁰¹ For the wedding dinners of Cemile Sultan, Sefik Pasha and Hamdi Pasha's lands by the shore in Kuruçeşme, and, if needed, for her sister Münire Sultan, Matlum or Matlom's land by the shore were planned on October 29, 1856 to be rented.¹⁰² 9 months later this plan was abandoned.¹⁰³ In the feasts for the wedding ceremonies of the sisters, which took place in the Mısırlı Ismail Pasha Mansion in Emirgan, the expenses of ice cream, various

⁹⁸ BOA, HH.İ. 27/82 1274 L 22 1; Expenditures have been made for Sultan's apartment, furnishing of guest rooms, items such as sofas and armchairs, lighting, chandeliers and gilded paper. A total of 1399523 kurus was spent for the expenditures such as furnishing for Damad Paşa's chambers, furnishing for kalfa rooms, rooms and furnishings of steward (*kethüda*) and other aghas.

⁹⁹ La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, *ibid*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ Mehmet Arslan, 'Mensur Surnamelerin Son Örneği: Nafi ' Surnamesi (Peyam-ı Sur)'' , p. 468.

¹⁰¹ Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *ibid*, p. 136.

¹⁰² BOA, MB. İ. 14/82, file 1, 29 Za 1273.

¹⁰³ BOA, TS.MA.e 1111/17, file 2, 5 Z 1273.

confectioneries, vegetables and others¹⁰⁴ were covered from the State Treasury.¹⁰⁵ It is stated that the expenses made for the Court Kitchen (*Matbah-ı Amire*) were 679395 kuruş.¹⁰⁶ The palace functioned as a model throughout the Empire, the public meals of the imperial council (*divan-ı humayun*) served as a window to the outside world.¹⁰⁷

There were criticisms from the 19th century scholar and statesman Cevdet Pasha about the ways of celebrating weddings and the current order. He criticizes the state for being extremely fond of pleasure and entertainment, instead of getting its act together after coming out of the Crimean war defeated. As a matter of fact, he criticizes the wedding ceremonies of Cemile and Münire Sultans being held even during the news of insurrection of the Crete Island on top of the military defeat in Montenegro. Cevdet Pasha, who thinks that the ceremonies held on the occasion of the weddings seemed very ugly in the eyes of the people, even expresses that these celebrations hurt the feelings of the people.¹⁰⁸ In addition to these, he touches on the issue of women's appearance in the social life, and finds it odd the harem women

¹⁰⁴ Ice cream platter, ice cream spoon, 15 box of pineapple, fırın ocaklarının tamiri, güğüm tamiri, 175 box of frenk green pea, 95 box of beans, 50 box of asparagus, 30 box of candy, sweets with ice, dried grape and almond, sugar, flour, caviare', wine for the servers, spice for the meal, drinks, preserve of dried meat pastırma and sujuk sucuk, money for the servers; 1277154 kuruş; BOA, HH.d. göm no 17528 1275 S 05

¹⁰⁵ BOA, HH.D. 25088 1275 M 30; HH.D. 17531 1275 R 11.

¹⁰⁶ BOA, HH. İ. 29 48 1275 R 24 1.

¹⁰⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann, *Soframız Nur, Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*, trans. Zeynep Yelçe, Hedda Reindi- Kriel, 'Cennet Taamları: 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı Sarayında Resmi Ziyafetler', Kitapyayınevi, İstanbul 2006, p. 55

¹⁰⁸ Cevdet Paşa, *Tezakir (13-20)*, ed. Cavit Baysun, TTK 1991, p. 49-50.

to take trips by cars to participate in the city life and socialize.¹⁰⁹ However, La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne speaks of this appearance with admiration.¹¹⁰

In Ertuğrul's book, Mevhibe Celaledin Sultan reports what one of female servants (*kalfa*), Ebrukeman Kalfa, shared about the wedding: 'Princess's wedding dress was of a unique beauty. The greatest tailors worked for days to make the dress, and they embroidered diamond and pearl on the thick white atlas, because Cemile Sultan's height was very short, and her shoes were custom made from white atlas with very long heels and with pearls and diamond buckles. The gifts which were received were innumerable. The arrangement of the gifts lasted for days. Fethi Ahmet Pasha's wife sent a twenty-person European style music band among the wedding gifts. The arrival of these beautiful Circassian girls to the palace caused a lot of gossip. Everybody wondered if Damat Pasha fancied any among them. Then they did what they did and made this gossip to reach to Cemile Sultan. And she never summoned them. Only one of them, Necmihan Kalfa, found a way and won the Sultan over. Well, she was the ugliest one among them anyway.'¹¹¹ Although we haven't found any information about these girls, who were said to be given as gifts, we know that it was common to give slaves as wedding gifts in such ceremonies.¹¹² Cevdet Pasha says that the marriage of Cemile Sultan and Mahmud Pasha was consummated on the 21st of Şevval on Thursday, and of Münire Sultan and İlhami Pasha on 28th of Şevval on Thursday.¹¹³

As I stated earlier, the only *surname*, which is about the weddings of Cemile and Münire Sultans, is Nafi's work. However, since there are three *surnames*, which

¹⁰⁹ Cevdet Paşa, *ibid*, p. 8.

¹¹⁰ La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne, *Kırım Harbi Sonrasında İstanbul*, trans. Gülçiçek Soytürk, Tercüman Gazetesi, İstanbul 1977, p. 131.

¹¹¹ Sara Ertuğrul Korle, *ibid*, p. 10-11.

¹¹² Y. Hakan Erdem, *Osmanlı'da Köleliğin Sonu*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2004, p. 64.

¹¹³ Cevdet Paşa, *ibid*, p. 49-50.

are about the wedding of Saliha Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II, Hatice Aynur has been able to compare the surnames, and detected that each of these *surnames* mentions the entertainments, games, and shows at the weddings differently. For instance, the show in the wedding, which is said that was performed by acrobats in Rıf'at's *surname* is being told that it was performed by *zurnabazlar* from Europe *Frengistan* in Es'ad's *surname*. Again, while in Rıf'at's *surname* he says both *köçeks* and dancers (*çengiler*) danced and performed; but in Es'ad's *surname* only dancers are mentioned, and it is only in one single couplet. When this is the case, it would be undoubtedly better to not to look at Nafi's *surname* as absolutely truthful, considering the information we get from the only *surname* we have on Cemile and Munire Sultan's weddings has questions marks.

In conclusion, the *surname* writers' willing to win the Sultan's favour, and desire to obtain status and rank¹¹⁴ should not be overlooked. And the "grandiosity and the gorgeousness" of the said wedding should be evaluated with this perspective. How satisfied and happy were the sisters with these ceremonies, which were organized like a mass circumcision ceremony? How much of a disappointment the palaces, which were promised to them to be built for their weddings, but were not finished before the wedding date? Or were these feelings of the Sultan's daughters mentioned out loud? No doubt that we will not be able to find the answers for any of these questions in this *surname*; however, we believe that 'the splendid day' which Nafi reports should be looked at under these shadows, and should be read and interpreted after that.

2.3. Cemile Sultan's Dowry

The process of preparation for marriage would take place as wide as weddings in the Ottoman-Turkish customs. Giving gifts between the families of the people to be

¹¹⁴ Hatice Aynur, *Saliha Sultan'ın Düğününü Anlatan Surnameler (1834)*, p. 3.

married and dowry preparations were never neglected. As in the other princesses' cases,¹¹⁵ there were also precious presents prepared for Cemile Sultan and her sister Münire Sultan. Among these presents, tiara, necklace, earrings, ring, bracelet, belt buckle, jewelry set were given to *kadın efendi* in order to be presented to Cemile Sultan and her sister. And the dresses, which came from the private treasury of the Ottoman Sultan (*hazine-i hassa*), were sent in boxes along with the dowries. "The duds were yellow brocaded on various colors of sateen, with a root upward tree branches in three skirts, flowers were decorated frequently, waist were tied, decollate dress, arms were folded and brocaded with tulle lace. All pattern and style of them were same. A violet purple dress was belonging to Cemile Sultan and yellow dress belong to Münire Sultan." They were gifts of Sultan Abdülmecid as a wedding dress and *paçalık*. We can confirm this information that Leyla Saz conveys¹¹⁶ and more from also the archive documents. Indeed, on the notebook, which shows the dowry sets of Cemile Sultan, there were atlas dresses colored blue, red, yellow and purple as passementerie trimmings; diamond pearly and brocaded red atlas fur coat, a *bükme* fur; short fur; mustela erminea fur (*kakum*)¹¹⁷; pearl dresses; silk embroidered calico dresses; dresses with yellow sequined on diamond; combs and shoes embellished with roza diamonds; silken gas silverware; pearly and brocaded diamond wool quilt; silverware; pearly and brocaded diamond bed mattress; roza diamond embroidered and engraved diamond knee cover; brocaded and engrailed knee cover; roza diamond brocaded, and engrailed navy blue cover; embellished shawls which embroidered, gold fringed and sequined; silk embroidered shawls; a navy blue shawl with engrailed corners on diamond; hand-carved (*kalemkari*) quilts; fourteen silken quilts; four shawl quilts (a gold and sequined, two *canfes*, and another one brocaded quilts) and many more other quilts

¹¹⁵ For example, see the dowry that Sultan Mehmet VI gave to her daughter Hatice Sultan. Osman Kademoğlu, *Çeyiz Sandığı*, ed. Ali Pasiner, Unilever and Duran Ofset, İstanbul 1999, p. 82.

¹¹⁶ Leyla Saz, *ibid*, p.169.

¹¹⁷It's living in northern areas, resembling a marten, black-tailed, its's skin is very acceptable; its fur made of an animal skin.

with embroidery.¹¹⁸ Tezcan states with reference to a tailor's notebook dating back to 1854, fabrics such as heavy baldachin (*ađır diba*), velour (*kemha*), *seraser*, atlas, and *çatma*, which were used as an indication of traditional apparel in the 19th century Ottoman women clothing, and were highly preferred in 16th and 17th centuries, were not used. She says that these fabrics were replaced with *şalaki*, crepe, yellow gilded crepe, string embroidered, and hand-carved fabrics; as lining, *canfes*, single and double layers of muslin, imperial fabric, and gauze fabric were used. While in colors and patterns, few and basic colors such as red, blue, cream, green, black were used in contrast; in the notebook from 19th century, we see the use of shades such as violet, lilac, maroon, nutbrown, pink, purple, unripe almond green, white, navy blue, canary yellow, and brown. The changes made in patterns and colors allow us to think that the period was a transition period. The tailor book in question is thought to belong to a lady named Mahinev, one of the ladies of Sultan Abdulmecid, who was between Cemile Sultan's mother Düzdıdıl Kadın, and Perestu Kadın. As we can see from the book, although three skirts were worn on top of a shalwar, the details of the dress were adorned with European trimmings.¹¹⁹ Thus, palace ladies were able to carry the influence of Western European fashion on their clothes. It is possible to make similar inferences by looking at the abundance of such trimmed (*harçlı*) ornaments in the records mentioning the dowry of Cemile Sultan. We see that Sultan's daughter's preference was atlas fabric, crepe, *şalaki* with pearly, sequined, engrailed, and brocaded fabrics.

By the way Leyla Saz's father Ismail Pasha was the chief physician of the palace during the reign of Abdulmecid, so she could easily fall within the palace borders. She had the opportunity to be in the harem with her sister, and witness the things that happened there. She says that she was the maid (*nedime*) of Münire

¹¹⁸ BOA, TSMA.d 8342 0004- 0A-0B.file

¹¹⁹ Hülya Tezcan, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi'nde Bulunan Bir Terzi Defteri", *Topkapı Saray Müzesi Yıllık*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1987, p. 166-174.

Sultan, while her sister was the maid of Cemile Sultan. She relays that her sister was mostly with Cemile Sultan, and was very much beloved by Her Highness so much so that she would even ride in the personal vehicle of Her Highness with her from time to time.¹²⁰ Ms. Leyla was able to share her memories of weddings and engagement ceremonies in detail due to her proximity and witnessing.

In the archive sources, there is also the notebook (*defter*) that mentions the items given to Cemile Sultan by the fourth *kadın efendi*. We understand from here that Perestu *kadın efendi*, who was a mother to Her Highness, whom she had adopted since her childhood, did not leave her daughter alone either when she reached the age of marriage. She provided the items for her dowry that would be deemed valuable under that time's conditions. Nettle cloths, *yazmalar*, and especially the *kandilli yazmaları*, which were very trendy at that time,¹²¹ cotton mattresses, and even rhino spoon was some of the items that were in this notebook.¹²² Among the items prepared for the dowry of Cemile Sultan were dress, shoes (*potine*), scarf with diamond, a dress with brilliant and pearl on red sateen atlas, a comb with roza diamond, and clothes with pearls on them.¹²³

Again, among the archival documents, there is a book showing the items, which were removed from the Treasury and given to the jeweler to be used in the dowry of Cemile and Münire Sultans. It is highly probable that the goods were given to the jeweler for embroidering, because, as mentioned in the document, there were embroideries on many of them. These items include *elvan* silk embroidered,

¹²⁰ Leyla Saz, *ibid*, p. 164.

¹²¹ For more information about the *Kandilli Yazmaları*; Yusuf Durul, "Kandilli Kalem İşi Yazmaları", *Türkiyemiz*, vol. VIII, Ankara, 1978; Reyhan Kaya, "Kandilli Yazmaları", *Sanat Dünyamız*, vol. VI, İstanbul, 1980, p. 9-14; Ozanay Onur, "Üsküdar'da Yazmacılık: Üsküdar, Kuzguncuk, Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi, Kandilli, Vaniköy Çizgi İşi ve Kalıp İşi Yazmaları", *Üsküdar Sempozyumu II: 12-14 Mart 2004 Bildiriler*, vol. II, p. 436-443.

¹²² BOA, Y.EE. 55 1 1274 Za 05 2

¹²³ BOA, HH. D. 24753 1275 M 28: 1- 2. lef

brocaded and sequins embroidered pillows -colors of purple, etc.- merino quilts with sequins and satin embroidery, embroidered cloth upper sheets. A great number of crepe underpants and crepe shirts were seen in the documents even the underpants prepared for the harem eunuch were specified; we can see that the details of the items prepared for the princess were not given, as it is understood from the expression “*bohça* in the chest for Her Royal Highness” towards the end of the document. And again, as stated in the document, these belongings were separated from the dowry set of Refia Sultan, the elder sister of Cemile and Münire Sultans, preserved in the *hazine-i hümayun*, and were presented by the master treasurer (*hazinedar usta*) to the princesses, who were going to get married.¹²⁴

In addition, to pay the cost of goods purchased for the dowry sets of Cemile and Münire Sultans, some money was borrowed from Mösyö Seşan, who was one of the merchants of Galata. It was decided that this debt was going to be paid later from the Treasury in installments.¹²⁵ Some pearls were taken from the Treasury to be spent on the dowries and wedding dinners of Cemile Sultan and her sisters Behice and Seniha Sultans.¹²⁶

2.4. Cemile Sultan’s Husband: Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha (1836-1884)

Mahmud Celaleddin was born as the child of Ayşe Şemsinur and Ahmed Fethi Paşa in 1836. It is highly probable that he received a good education as the son of Fethi Paşa, who was raised in the *enderun agha* division of the palace; however, as far as I have researched, I have not been able to obtain clear information about his education, and his place of birth. His grandfather Hafız Ahmet Agha was one the

¹²⁴ BOA, TSMA.d 8125 0002 1274 Ca 11

¹²⁵ BOA, HH.İ. 28/26 1274 Z 08 6; 432,780 francs were borrowed for the cost of two bridal chambers.

¹²⁶ 733 dirhams taken from the treasury is a carat pearl. BOA, TSMA.e 556 28 1293 Za 14 11, BOA, TSMA No: 2910/5 15

Muslims of Rhodes. He was also known for his charitable works, such as the library he built in Rhodes, which has become the symbol of Muslims in the city.¹²⁷

Ahmed Fethi Pasha, the son of Hafiz Ahmet Aga and father of Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, was brought from the enderun agha division of the palace to the position of major, and to colonelcy due to his achievements during the Ottoman-Russian War in 1828-1829, and, later on, to adjutancy. After a successful military career, he worked in Vienna, Saint Petersburg, London, and Paris from 1834 to 1838 both for temporary and permanent embassy duties. And sometimes his reason to be in foreign countries was to represent the dynasty in state ceremonies. After all these assignments, Fethi Pasha returned to Istanbul when Abdülmecid ascended the throne in 1839, and became a member of *meclis-i vala* (It is the supreme board of the Ottoman Empire which served as the equivalent of the Supreme Court and the Council of State during the Tanzimat period), and a year later was assigned as the Minister of Commerce.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, Fethi Pasha, who was married to Şemsinur, divorced his wife and got engaged to Atiye Sultan - the daughter of the late sultan Mahmud II, and the sister of the new sultan Abdülmecid. After 7-month engagement period, they got married on August 7, 1840 with a flamboyant ceremony.¹²⁹ Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, as his father did, married into the dynasty. After being considered as a suitor (*namzet*) to marry Cemile Sultan, his career shined in a similar way as many of the other men who married into the dynasty.

¹²⁷ Meryem Orakçı, *Rodos Müslümanları*, Selam Gazetesi (1926-1936), Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2012, p. 21.

¹²⁸ *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Davut Hut, "Fethi Ahmet Paşa", vol. 1, İstanbul 2016, p. 450-451.

¹²⁹ For more information about the wedding in great glory see Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, "Fethi Paşa ile Evlendirilen: Atiye Sultan", *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, vol. 3, 1952, p. 1201; Metin And, *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları*, Toprakbank, İstanbul 2000, p. 34.

First, he was appointed to the *meclis-i vala* membership as vizier in 1858, and about two months later he got married with Cemile Sultan in August 18, 1858. Korle, who tells the biography of Cemile Sultan's granddaughter Mevhibe Celaledin, shares anecdotes about Mahmud Celaledin Paşa in her book. One of Mevhibe Celaledin's head of female servants Ebrukeman Kalfa's statements about Pasha, which contains a lot of admiration, are as follows: "He was a stunner, a strapping man. The princess and he got along very well. She loved him so much."¹³⁰ The title of *damad-ı şehriyari*, which came with the marriage, opened the way for Mahmud Pasha to be appointed as a member of *Şura-yı Devlet* in 1871, and even the leadership of kavanin agency (some kind of legal division) was given to him in *Şura-yı Devlet*, which was divided into the agencies of *dahiliye*, *muhakemat*, *kavanin*. One year later, he was appointed as the Minister of Commerce (*Ticaret Nazırlığı*). And on April 1876 he was appointed as the President of Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet Divan-ı Muhakemat Reisliği*). He was the Minister of Commerce many times.¹³¹ We can say that Celaledin Pasha, who was not born from the marriage of his father Ahmet Fethi Pasha to Atiye Sultan, reached privileged positions, which he could not have with his birth, thanks to the marriage he had with the sultan's daughter. These remarks of Busbecq make the situation clearer: "In Turkey, even among the Turks themselves, no value is attached to anything, but to personal merit. The house of Osman is the sole exception to this rule, being the only family in which birth confers rank."¹³²

However, this rapid rise in positions did not last long and he was dismissed from the position of Tophane Chief in 1878. He was removed from Istanbul by being appointed as the governor of Tripoli in January 1879.¹³³

¹³⁰ Korle, *ibid*, p.13.

¹³¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Taif Mahkumları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1950, p. 129

¹³² Ogier de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, Sickle Moon Books, 2001, p. 15

¹³³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, p. 129.

2.4.1. The Taif Prisoner: Mahmud Celaledin Paşa

During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid, many people who were suspected of their loyalty to the Sultan was exiled here and there for small or big reasons. Damad Mahmud Pasha supported Abdulhamid's ascent to the throne with his wife and was an influential figure in his accession. In the first years of the reign of Abdülhamid, even Mahmud Pasha, who had a say in many subjects and was like senior advisor to the young Sultan was dismissed and sent to the governorship of Tripoli¹³⁴ or we can say he was exiled. Uzunçarşılı mentions that Mahmud Pasha was removed from Istanbul in 1878. Thanks to his brother-in-law, Abdulhamid met many important people who would be in his circle in the early years of his reign. Said Bey, who was called Küçük Said Pasha and was entrusted with Abdulhamid's seal of loyalty seven times, was also in this circle.¹³⁵ Despite all these political aids and the relationship network they established, the Sultan not only removed Damat Pasha from Istanbul, but also continued to receive intel about Pasha. There is also a report of an informer that a group, including Mahmud Pasha, had the intentions of making Murad V the Sultan again.

The fact that whether the death of Sultan Abdülaziz at the Feriye Palace was murder or suicide is still an unclear incident. The first written texts, mentioning that his death was definitely suicide, were the reports signed by local and foreign doctors.¹³⁶ According to Mustafa Göleç, the history textbook of the period -*Mirat-ı Tarih-i Osmani*- tells that Abdülaziz was only dethroned without the emphasis on any murder or suicide, and that Murad V was enthroned. 'A sloppy and problematic

¹³⁴ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, TTK, Ankara 1967, p. 192.

¹³⁵ François, *ibid*, p. 45

¹³⁶ Ahmet Özcan, "Sultan Abdülaziz Öldürüldü Mü İntihar Mı Etti?", *Sultan Abdülaziz ve Dönemi Sempozyumu: 12-13 Aralık 2013, Ankara, Ordu ve Siyaset*, vol. 3, TTK, Ankara 2014, p. 7.

expression' such as Abdülaziz perished himself was used in *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani*.¹³⁷

Sultan Abdülhamid held responsible eleven people, including Mahmud Pasha, for the still unclear way of dying of Sultan Abdülaziz in June 4, 1876, and established a court in Yıldız to try these individuals. Mahmud Pasha's name, too, is on the Accusal Record (*İtham Mazbatası*). It is mentioned in the record that Pasha was minister and commander in the Feriye agency, and he had given the order to kill the Sultan Abdülaziz by coming to Feriye and using his official title. Kocahanoğlu says that these allegations are pretend and fictitious. As a matter of fact, Mahmud Pasha was counted among the prisoners with the charges of being one of the perpetrators who organized to overthrow Sultan Aziz, and being the one who gave the order to kill him, in the court where the eleven defendants were being tried in the Yıldız Court in June 27, 1881. He hired Kostaki Sardenski Efendi as his attorney.¹³⁸ However, he did not find his attorney's defense to be sufficient, and tried to defense his own case. Mahmud Pasha stated that on Friday, the day before the painful incident occurred, he was at his home in Çamlıca from morning till evening; on Saturday he was at the Ministry of Commerce; on the day of the incident he was at the mansion of Rüştü Paşa in Bebek, and that he got the news while he was there. Lastly in his testimony, Mahmud Pasha, who was accused of being an accomplice in the death of Sultan Abdülaziz, states that he could not be the extortioner (*amir-i mücbir*) in Dolmabahçe Palace, because that would not be appropriate for the palace etiquette. Their defense, however, did not yield any result, and on 30th of June the court declared that they had ordered the execution of Mahmud Pasha (Nuri Pasha and Midhat Pasha).¹³⁹ There is even a letter which was

¹³⁷ Mustafa Göleç, "II. Abdülhamid ve II. Meşrutiyet Devri Tarih Ders Kitapları İle İlgili Monografilerde Abdülaziz'in Katli Yahut İntiharı", *Sultan Abdülaziz ve Dönemi Sempozyumu: 12-13 Aralık 2013, Ankara, Ordu ve Siyaset*, vol. 4, TTK, Ankara 2014, p. 34-35.

¹³⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, p. 224-238.

¹³⁹ Kocahanoğlu, *ibid*, p. 13- 278.

written by Mahmud Pasha to his wife Cemile Sultan two days before his death. In May 5, 1884 he asks for a favor from his wife for Hacı Şükrü Agha, who was in his service, by telling her how all of his personal belongings remained in Istanbul, and could not get paid for the past two months, and the money he was supposed to get was accumulated, and he suffered through all kinds of hardship, and therefore should be complimented from the income of the boats. Unfortunately, I could not reach this document in the Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, which was mentioned in the works of Uzunçarşılı and Kocahanoğlu. Uzunçarşılı says that Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha wrote to the Sultan in his own handwriting for this sentence to be commuted;¹⁴⁰ however, the same author stated that Pasha could not even write two sentences, since he was not even literate. Although it is not clear who penned the letter, which was signed “Lamentingly your servant Mahmud”, Pasha’s admission of guilt for the crime of ‘ordering to kill the Sultan’ he was accused of, and how he was given this order by Murad Efendi and that he had to carry out this order because Murad Efendi was on the throne, is explained in the letter. After lines and lines of plea, for the sake of the Sultan's sister Cemile Sultan, it is asked that the sentenced should be commuted.¹⁴¹

We do not know if these please¹⁴² were directly effective; however, Abdülhamid II discussed the sentence of the court which was established in Yıldız on July 22, 1882 with the “extraordinary council” that he called. Majority of the committee stated their decision of the sentence to be enforced.¹⁴³ However, as Yaşar Şahin Anıl states, “The sentence (death sentence), which was approved at the end of a three-day trial in Yıldız by a special committee consisted of the highest level managers of the state, which was gathered by the Sultan, was later to be

¹⁴⁰ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Taif Mahkumları*, p. 5- 113.

¹⁴¹ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, p. 312.

¹⁴² Another groom, Nuri Pasha, who was among the prisoners, asked the Sultan for his forgiveness.

¹⁴³ Kocahanoğlu, *ibid*, p. 276.

changed into exile by Abdülhamid's pardon (*afv-ı şahane*).”¹⁴⁴ With the extraordinary parliamentary decision and without doubt the order of the Sultan, the execution order was revoked and the prisoners were exiled to Taif. Even though it seems like a decision of forgiveness and pardon, the dead body of Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha was going to be taken out from a cell one morning - his childhood friend and brother-in-law who he exiled to Taif.¹⁴⁵

The prisoners, who were transported to Taif, were placed in a building, which was formerly used as a barracks, but later served as a government office. In his letter to his family, Midhat Pasha says that since the financial situation of his and Mahmud Pasha's were better than the other prisoners, they also met some of their needs, too.¹⁴⁶ The letters sent to or by the prisoners, who were not allowed to be visited by anyone, would reach to the prisoners after a very strict check, one copy of each letter would be taken, kept, and reported to Istanbul weekly. Local administrators, who wanted to get the approval of the Sultan and to keep good relations with him, would subject Mahmud Pasha and his friends to heavy treatments such as shackling their feet. Fortunately, these treatments did not last long, and besides these bad treatments, for the pregnant wife of one of the prisoners, Hayrullah Efendi, a house was rented, and she was placed and was allowed to give birth to their child there. Uzunçarşılı states that Tabib Salih Efendi from Trabzon delivered Mahmud Pasha's letters to Istanbul. Prisoners had even used pen names to communicate with friends and families, because they were constantly under close surveillance; the pen name of Mahmud Pasha was Sheikh Muhsin, while his wife Cemile Sultan was Cafer Bey. And since Cemile Sultan even had a pen name, we understand that she was in contact with his husband. But what was the frequency

¹⁴⁴ Yaşar Şahin Anıl, *Osmanlı Döneminde İki Dava*, İstanbul, Kasım 1995, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 138.

¹⁴⁵ Nahid Sırrı Örik, “Son Damatlar: Yakın Tarihten Meraklı Bir Mevzu”, *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası*, vol. 3, İstanbul İskit Yayınevi, 1952, p. 1212.

¹⁴⁶ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Taif Mahkumları*, p. 20.

of this correspondence and how long did it last? Were the mediators that delivered the letters always the same? How were their forms and contents? Unfortunately we could not find the copies, and these questions will remain unanswered for the time being. Damad Pasha, who was aware that the guards who were always vigilant against the danger of their escape would attempt to take their lives in any wrong actions, appointed his sister Saliha Yegane as his proxy for full authority on his privately-owned farms and his properties, and sent her a letter of attorney dated on November 10, 1883. As a matter of fact, when the Sultan received the intelligence that Midhat and Mahmut Pashas would escape, he ordered them to be killed. On May 7, at around 6.30 AM, Mahmud Pasha and Midhat Pasha were strangled to death. Although Mahmud Pasha struggled with those who came to kill him, he could not escape.¹⁴⁷ Even though they were killed the same night and were buried in the cemetery of Ibn Abbas Masjid, it was said that their deaths were caused by illness. Reports were issued, which said that on April 25, 1300 (May 7, 1884) Midhat Pasha died with the effect of anthrax and a boil on his groin, and on May 1, 1300 (May 13, 1884) Mahmud Pasha died of stomach flu and typhoid fever.

Although 144 years have passed (1876) since the death of Sultan Abdulaziz, the cause of his death remains as an ominous matter; however, these deaths after his death can also be cited as ominous issues. It is one of the issues, which waiting to be illuminated, and maybe will never get the chance to be illuminated because of the history's "misfortune of forgetfulness".

¹⁴⁷ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Taif Mahkumları*, p. 20- 57.

2.5. Cemile Sultan's Children: Emine Fethiye, Mahmud Celaleddin, İbrahim Sakıb, Ayşe Sıdıka, Fatma, Besim.

2.5.1. Emine Fethiye Sultan (1859-1887):

Emine Fethiye Sultan, the first child of Cemile Sultan and Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, was born in 1859 in Fındıklı Palace. The repairmen and furnishing expenses of the places, which were allocated for the wedding of Emine Fethiye Sultan, who were going to marry Hayri Bey in 1887, and the expenses of her dowry¹⁴⁸ were provided along with the expenses of Abdulaziz's daughters.¹⁴⁹ Although the name of Emine Fethiye Sultan is not mentioned directly in the document, it is highly probable that the preparations were also made for Emine Fethiye Sultan, as her wedding was close to these dates.

Cemile Sultan, who had a strong bond with her husband, was deeply shaken by the exile and the death of her husband. And thus, she tried to hold on to her love for her children in order to resume her life. However, when she lost her first daughter Emine Fethiye Sultan, her sadness increased so much more. Emine Fethiye Sultan, who married Hayri Bey, was diagnosed with tuberculosis, a common disease of the period. She passed away because of that disease on March

¹⁴⁸ *BOA*, Y.A.RES. 30/15 1302 L 14 2.

¹⁴⁹ On May 13, 1885, a sum was allocated for the dowry expenses of Sultan Abdulaziz's daughters Saliha and Nazmiye Sultans and the daughters of Cemile Sultan, and for the furnishing of the mansions to be allocated by the Sultan. *BOA*, Y.MTV. 17/88 1302 B 28 2; For the wedding and the expenses of Cemile Sultan's daughter 750 liras as the Sultan's gift *atiye-i seniyye*, 3000 liras for the dowry and the presents for the groom, 350 liras for the wedding meal expenses, 150 liras for unlooked-for expenses *zuhurat*, 450liras for repairmen expenses, and 1300 liras for furnishing expenses; a total sum of 6000 Ottoman Liras were allocated from the treasury. *BOA*, Y.MTV. 19/79 1303 R 20 2

22, 1887, while she was a bride only for two months.¹⁵⁰ She was buried in the *hazire* (burial area reserved for special people especially in mosques) of Fatih Mosque¹⁵¹ in the cemetery which is in the courtyard of the tomb of Fatih Sultan Mehmed.¹⁵²

2.5.2. Mehmed Mahmud Celaleddin Bey (1864- 1916) and İbrahim Sakıb Bey (1864- 1897):

On June 4, 1864, Cemile Sultan's two sons Mehmed Mahmud Celaleddin and İbrahim Sakıb were born in Fındıklı Palace. Celaleddin Bey had two wives named Şemsinur and Hayriye; and had three children named Mevhibe, Mehmed Ziyaeddin, and Münire.¹⁵³ Celaleddin Bey, who was interested in the education of his children, hired special teachers for his children for language, religion and music lessons.¹⁵⁴ Cemile Sultan's steward Mehmet Ali Efendi says that Celaleddin Bey, who had two wives as well as a 4-year-old daughter and a 4-month-old son, also tried to force a concubine from his chambers named Pesend to his bed. However, since Cemile Sultan did not approve this association, the name concubine Pesend was married to the brother of Arif Pasha, the Chief of State Council.¹⁵⁵

Celaleddin Bey, who was not dealing with politics and interested in hunting and animals, often organized hunting parties and got together with his Muslim and non-Muslim friends. Although he did not actively engage in politics, whose father was accused of being the murderer of the overthrown Sultan, wasn't very good with

¹⁵⁰ Jamil Adra, *ibid*, p. 31.

¹⁵¹ *BOA*, TS.MA. d 8342 0003 1304 C 25.

¹⁵² *BOA*, HH.İ 67/42 1304 Za 29 1; The document also states that on August 19, 1887, 5 months after the death of Emine Fethiye Sultan, a stony ground and fences were built around the grave.

¹⁵³ Jamil Adra, *ibid*, p.31; Sara Korle and Asaf Tugay noted that the name of the wife was Visalinur, not Şemsinur.

¹⁵⁴ Korle, *ibid*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵ Asaf Tugay, p.20-22; that event mentioned here: *BOA*, Y.EE. 15/208 1306 Za 13 2.

the current government. For this reason, even the pigeon loft, which caused the meetings held in the mansion with his friends in a colorful atmosphere, was destroyed by an order of the Sultan. Celaleddin Bey, who was very keen on hunting like his father was, had a pigeon loft made up with different kinds of pigeons in Kandilli. One day the pigeon loft was destroyed by the orders from Yıldız Palace; and the reason was the famous *journals* (report of an informer) of Abdulhamid. Celaleddin Bey, who lived in Kandilli Waterside Mansion with his brother İbrahim Sakıb Bey, continued to host his guests. According to Mevhibe Celaleddin Sultan, non-Muslim friends of his father accompanied him during Ramadan evenings also.¹⁵⁶ The steward Mehmet Ali Efendi wouldn't really speak well of the character of Celaleddin Bey and his primrose path. The steward says that he would get drunk on alcohol and would speak of avenging his father. In fact, Mehmet Ali Efendi reports that Celaleddin Bey made libation one night at one of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* boats and that he would attend masquerade balls from time to time.¹⁵⁷

Celaleddin Bey, who spent his time in hunting parties and masquerade balls, was prohibited from going to the Irva and Yazla farms on the Black Sea coast for hunting after his father's death; after the reconciliation date of his mother and uncle Sultan Abdulhamid, this ban was lifted and Celaleddin Bey was very pleased with this situation.¹⁵⁸ He received mecredi order (*nişan-ı mecredi*)¹⁵⁹ with 1st rank on February 28, 1900,¹⁶⁰ and *rütbe-i sınıf-ı evvel* on April.¹⁶¹ And then Celaleddin Bey

¹⁵⁶ Korle, *ibid*, p. 26-73.

¹⁵⁷ Asaf Tugay, *ibid*, p. 29-30.

¹⁵⁸ Korle, *ibid*, p. 80.

¹⁵⁹ As Eldem stated: "the Mecidi Order was created, satisfying all the requirements of a modern system of merit-based distinction, and, most of all, doing away with the costly tradition of diamond-set badges." See Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations*, Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Cente, İstanbul 2004, p. 124.

¹⁶⁰ BOA, İ.TAL 202/3 1317 L 27 1

¹⁶¹ BOA, İ.TAL 207/14 1317 Z 06 1

was inducted to membership of Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*).¹⁶² However, despite this indication, Celaleddin Bey barely visited *Meclis-i Vala*. In fact, Celaleddin Bey's resignation from the membership of Tanzimat chamber was accepted on September 6, 1908.¹⁶³ Celaleddin Bey passed away on July 6, 1916.¹⁶⁴

Cemile Sultan's other son Ibrahim Sakıb Bey had two wives named Vicdan and Dilbeste; had two daughters named Şehime (daughter of Vicdan) and Emine Güzide (daughter of Dilbeste).¹⁶⁵ Mevhibe Celaleddin also mentions in her memoirs that her uncle Sakıb Bey had two wives, Vicdan and Dilbeste, and that these two never got along, and that their fights would cause quite a stir in the whole palace.¹⁶⁶ According to what Asaf Tugay narrates from the steward Mehmet Ali Efendi, Dilbeste, who was a *Çeşnigir Ustası* in Sakıb Bey's chambers "sent Vicdan away from her 7-year-old daughter Şehime to Cemile Sultan in Kızıltoprak (Göztepe); the child would cry for her mother." Cemile Sultan, who was tired of all these scandals, was worried about the events would reach the Sultan's ear.¹⁶⁷

Despite his turbulent harem life, Mevhibe Celaleddin mentions how ill Sakıb Bey was and how he was spending his days crying out. Cemile Sultan, who wanted to accompany his son due to his illness, had herself prepared a chamber in Kandilli Palace and settled here for a while.¹⁶⁸ Cemile Sultan, who was tested with

¹⁶² *BOA*, İ. DH 1377/17 1318 Ca 07 1; *BOA*, ŞD 3194/38 1318 Ca 09 1

¹⁶³ *BOA*, BEO 3390/254229 1326 Ş 09 3

¹⁶⁴ *BOA*, HR. İD. 70/5 1916 07 29 3

¹⁶⁵ Jamil Adra, *ibid*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁶ Korle, *ibid*, p. 35.

¹⁶⁷ Asaf Tugay, *ibid*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁸ Korle, *ibid*, p. 35.

the deaths of her loved ones, added another one to her trial and lost his son Sakıb Bey on September 13, 1896 and he was buried in the *hazire* of Fatih Tomb.¹⁶⁹

2.5.3. Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan (1875- 1938):

Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan¹⁷⁰ was born on September 21, 1875 in Fındıklı Palace. She was with her mother for many years and accompanied her. Cemile Sultan, whose three children passed away due to illnesses, was now a worried and suspicious mother. Perhaps this was the reason for the suspicious news her steward Mehmet Ali Efendi would brought from the place: “Although Ayşe Hanım Sultan’s illness is mentioned, she has actually no illness. This rumor is false and a scheme for Ayşe Hanım Sultan to go to the island and walk freely with the instruction of *Çeşnigir Usta*. Her mother is at her wit’s end in consequence of her being deranged and weak-minded, and she gets anxious about her Ayşe being sick by listening to others who surround her.”

According to Asaf Tugay, although it was insisted that Ayşe Hanım Sultan should had marry the son of an Egyptian family, Sultan Abdulhamid’s decision on this matter was negative and quite interesting as he said “Egyptians are not to intermarry!”. However, when insisted that they should marry, one of the old courtiers stated that it was absurd to give a 15-year-old girl to a 45-year-old man.¹⁷¹ As a matter of fact, the unknown courtier was proved to be right and it is not known that whether it was because Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan’s heart was not in it, but the aforementioned marriage did not happen. Ayşe Sultan married Ali Pasha's son Ali Fuat (Örfi) Pasha in 1893. Mevhibe talks about the groom as: “My aunt Ayşe Hanım Sultan was to marry Fuat Pasha, the son of Ali Pasha, the sultan’s aide, who had been twice in Paris and at several governorships by the order of the Sultan.”

¹⁶⁹ BOA, HH.İ. 103/48 1314 R 05 1

¹⁷⁰ BOA, BEO 4072 305375 1330 Ş 29 2

¹⁷¹ Asaf Tugay, *ibid*, p. 23-24.

Memet Fuat, who spent his childhood around the Cemile Sultan Palace in Erenköy, gives valuable information about Ali Fuat Pasha in his memoir. Memet Fuat, the grandson of Ali Fuat Pasha's brother Mehmet Ali Pasha, says that Sultan Abdulhamid saw his grandfather Mehmet Ali Pasha and liked him, but because he was already married, he instead took his brother Fuat Pasha as a groom to the dynasty: “One day, the sultan saw my grandfather among his aides and said, ‘Who is this bright young man? Let's take him to one of the lady sultans’. They said that my grandfather was the son-in-law of the grand vizier Halil Rifat Pasha, but that he had a single brother who looked like him. And my uncle was shown to the Sultan like a debutant. He must had been appreciated, because he was married to Cemile Sultan.”¹⁷² Memet Fuat says that his great uncle, Ali Fuat Pasha, was married to Cemile Sultan and builds the entire text based on this information. However, it was the daughter of Cemile Sultan, Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan, who was married to Ali Fuat Pasha, not Cemile Sultan herself.¹⁷³

For the wedding of Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan, a waterside mansion was purchased in Paşalimanı and the preparations were made there. Avni Pasha waterside mansion in Paşalimanı, Üsküdar was purchased¹⁷⁴ and repaired¹⁷⁵ for Hanım Sultan, the daughter of Cemile Sultan, and the price was paid from the treasury.¹⁷⁶ Mevhibe Celaleddin talks with admiration about the waterside mansion, where bridal room was furnished with pure gold. The crown to be worn by Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan, her aunt, was prepared also in this waterside mansion by the palace jeweler Dikran Efendi and his team. The wedding of the young couple, whose marriage was

¹⁷² Memet Fuat, *ibid*, p. 92.

¹⁷³ Memet Fuat, *ibid*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ *BOA*, Y.A.HUS. 264/140 1310 S 19 1; *BOA*, İ.HUS. 3/116 1310 S 21 1; *BOA*, Y.MTV. 68/70 1310 Ra 17 1

¹⁷⁵ *BOA*, BEO 170/12720 1310 Ş 24 2

¹⁷⁶ *BOA*, Y.A.HUS. 266/29 1310 R 04 2

officiated in Yıldız Palace, took place in the waterside mansion in Paşalimanı among a crowd of dynasty members. Abdulhamid's daughters Naile, Naime and Zekiye Sultans were among those who came to the wedding. Again, according to Mevhibe, Cemile Sultan was in a state of mourning, and did not leave her room during the entire wedding.¹⁷⁷

Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan and her family, who were thought to have established a happy home, were among the people who were deported due to the post-1924 exile policy implemented for the Ottoman dynasty. Şehzade Ali Vasıb Efendi, one of the exiled members of the Ottoman family, mentioned Ayşe Hanım Sultan in his memoir while referring to the members of the dynasty they lived abroad with. He says that Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan resided with her husband Fuad Pasha and their two daughters Kerime and Naime. In fact, Kerime's husband Suad Bey and their children were also with them. They spent the last years of their lives in Nice, France.¹⁷⁸ It is a well-known fact that members of the dynasty had to dispose of their valuables due to the difficulties of their new 'ordinary' lives. But in the meantime, we do not know much about the stories of their getting defrauded. Ali Vasıb Efendi reflects on Ayşe Hanım Sultan being one of these courtier victims who was defrauded, and gives some details about her personality: "Ayşe Hanım sultan, the daughter of Cemile Sultan, was also a victim. Ayşe Hanım sultan, like many dynasty individuals did, came to Nice to settle and kept an apartment in Gambetta, Nice. There were her husband Fuad Pasha, her little daughter Naime, her aunt-in-law Vicdan, with Vanilya and Renginaz. They had gone to Romania in 1924 and went to Nice after that. Her older daughter Kerime and her husband Suad Bey and their children had stayed in Istanbul since they were not subjected to the law of leaving the country. Ayşe Hanım sultan was very fat, suffered from her knees and

¹⁷⁷ Korle, *ibid*, p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ Şehzade Ali Vasıb Efendi, *Bir Şehzadenin Hatıratı: Vatan Ve Menfada Gördüklerim Ve İştiklerim*, ed. Osman Selaheddin Osmanoğlu, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2004, p. 165.

could even be considered crippled. She could go to visits and trips only by taxi. We had also been strolling together in and around Nice. Her daughter Naime was beautiful and cute.”¹⁷⁹ Memet Fuat, on the other hand, narrates a sad incident that Vildan, the daughter of his uncle Suat Bengü and Kerime, experienced in the school of Enver Pasha (the teacher and linguist grandfather of Nazım Hikmet and Oktay Rifat) after these years of exile: “In one of the songs we sang in the 1930s, there was a line like this: ‘They strangled the enemies, expelled the sultans.’ One day, when they came to that part of the song, Vildan could not help herself and started to cry. She imagined Cemile Sultan (Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan) and Fuat Pasha, her grandparents. Teachers never let that song to be sung in her class to not to upset her.”¹⁸⁰ Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan, who died in 1938 while in exile in Nice, France, was buried in the Muslim Cemetery of Bobigny.¹⁸¹

2.5.4. Fatma Sultan (1879- 1890):

Fatma Sultan, another daughter of Cemile Sultan who was born in Fındıklı Palace in 1879, also suffered from tuberculosis. Since the disease was in the early stages, when the doctors suggested that they go to a warmer place where the weather was not so harsh than staying in the humid air of the Bosphorus, Cemile Sultan found the solution in leaving the Fındıklı Palace, and the palace moved to Göztepe with great speed.¹⁸² However, this change did not end the pain, maybe only prolonged it. During their residence in Göztepe, on February 24, 1890, Fatma Sultan passed away and she was buried next to the grave of Gülbahar Hanım Sultan, who was

¹⁷⁹ Şehzade Ali Vasıf Efendi, *ibid*, p. 178.

¹⁸⁰ Memet Fuat, *ibid*, p.130.

¹⁸¹ Jamil Adra, *ibid*, p. 33; Mevhibe Hanım noted that the death of her aunt as 1940 in her memoirs but, official record says that it is 1938.

¹⁸² Korle, *ibid*, p.17.

buried next to the tomb of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han.¹⁸³ Sultan, who did not want to return to Fındıklı Palace again, bought a manor from Erenköy and settled there.¹⁸⁴

2.5.5. Besim

Although Sara Ertuğrul Korle and Çağatay Uluçay mentioned that Cemile Sultan had another son named Besim Bey who died at the age of two,¹⁸⁵ I could not find such information in the archive documents and the genealogy lists.

2.6. Cemile Sultan's Correspondence

While our witnessing to the life in the palace and its environs are limited, the correspondences of the princesses with their social circles and their family members give us an insight to their manner and content of communication. I will try to examine the dialogues that Cemile Sultan established with her siblings and her surroundings through the limited documents I have.

2.6.1. Her Relationship and Correspondence with Abdülhamid II

As Cemile Sultan, Abdulhamid II, who lost his mother as a child, was also given to Perestu Kadın. The princess and the prince spent their childhood in this common chamber of destiny. Although the siblings, whose fathers were one, were given birth by different mothers, formed a more intimate and close relationship upon being given to the same mother. As a matter of fact, Abdülhamid married Nazikeda Kadın, an odalisque raised by Cemile Sultan.¹⁸⁶ Circassian-origin Nazikeda Kadın later became the head of women of Sultan Abdulhamid. On August 14, 1878,

¹⁸³ BOA, TS. MA. e 541 60 1307 B 04

¹⁸⁴ Korle, *ibid*, p. 28-29.

¹⁸⁵ Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 224; Korle, *ibid*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁶ Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 36.

Cemile Sultan wrote a greeting to his brother Abdulhamid, wishing a blessed month of Şaban and night of Berat. In the same file, dated January 3, 1908, there is in an undated document signed Cemile and which belongs to Cemile Sultan. Addressed to an agha, we learn from this text that she wrote a muharrem greeting and wished it to be conveyed to the Sultan if convenient. While with her statement, “As you know, he might not accept it.” she complains that she was promised a salary, but had not received it yet, we see how she repines about when she says “We are not as valuable as the Sultan Ladies. No harm. Allah is the greatest.”¹⁸⁷

However, we can say that the closeness between Cemile Sultan and Abdulhamid lasted only until Abdulhamid's ascend to the Ottoman throne. I mentioned that after his ascend, Sultan Abdulhamid blamed Cemile Sultan's husband on the matter of his uncle's state and thereupon he exiled Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha. This situation caused the two siblings two fall out and according to Sara Korle, Abdulhamid intervened in Cemile Sultan's marriage: “I can not call a traitor to the nation as my brother-in-law. And she cannot call him as a husband. She must forget about him.”¹⁸⁸ Even though Cemile Sultan refused to divorce, their marriage had been annulled because her husband died while in exile.

2.6.2. The Correspondence with Her Sister: Refia Sultan

As we understand from her letters, since Cemile Sultan's sister Refia Sultan was older than her, there was a relationship between them which was shaped by courtesy and respect. According to Ali Akyıldız, Cemile Sultan mentioned her embarrassment in her letter to her sister Refia Sultan about her own rush when she was in her house, and she was able to ask in a very timid manner where her sister Refia Sultan got the candlesticks Cemile Sultan saw in her house: “My dear sister, God knows, I dare to ask this because I know you well. I fancied the yellow

¹⁸⁷ BOA, Y.EE. 85 73 1325 Z 29 6; 0.

¹⁸⁸ Korle, *ibid*, p. 14.

candlesticks standing on the anteroom very much. God knows ma'am, I am not writing this to be contrary. I wonder if I can learn where they were purchased from. Were they ordered from Paris? I beseech you to affirm it. In any case, God bless you my sister.” In another letter, she expressed her embarrassment as she wrote her reply to her sister a little late: ‘However, since I was not at home, I didn't reply your letter, so it was quite a fault. I plea for my fault to be excused. God knows, my sister, I was not at home.’¹⁸⁹ At the end of her letter, she expresses her happiness for the greetings sent to her by the *kalfa* of Refia Sultan, and that helps us to understand that the *kalfas* of those who were superior in their age and status were highly respected in the etiquette.

2.6.3. The correspondences with an eminent person: Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, Ms. Eliza

When needed, Cemile Sultan could reach the people around her - aghas and pashas - by means of letters.¹⁹⁰ She was able to express both her requests and her demands through these letters. We can learn through these letters that she tries to explain her husband's innocence in order to alleviate the grief and sadness she had because of his exile. She says that Pasha had no crime or involvement in the death of Sultan Abdulaziz, and she asks for mercy because Pasha is already sickly and their children were in a miserable state.¹⁹¹ In her letters to Abdulaziz's mother Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, she frequently mentions that Pasha had no fault, and that her family and her husband were devoted servants to the Sultan and that Pasha had never been involved in such an event. She even tries to convince Valide Sultan that he was not involved in this incident by swearing an oath so that she may not see her husband ever again: “Pasha was not involved and not even aware of the details of this matter. Alas! My

¹⁸⁹ Ali Akyıldız, *ibid*, p. 131-132.

¹⁹⁰ BOA, Y.EE. 85 73 1325 Z 29 6

¹⁹¹ BOA, Y.EE. 16/55 1327 R 06 2

fate was bad and I'm sitting here crying my heart out day and night.”¹⁹² Cemile Sultan could express her helplessness and sadness in her letters in detail.

Letters were also an important tool to convey congratulations for eids. They were congratulating each other on eids with a lady, probably British, named Eliza.¹⁹³ This lady might had been the English language tutor, which was rumored that she hired for her daughter Ayşe Sıdıka Sultan.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² BOA, TS. MA. E 1094/41 1295B 24 8

¹⁹³ BOA, Y.EE. 55/138 1327 R 06 1; file 0-1

¹⁹⁴ Asaf Tugay, *ibid*, p. 32.

3. HALIÇ DERSAADET VAPURLARI UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CEMİLE SULTAN

İlhan Tekeli says that there had been three milestones in the transportation history of Istanbul: the first of these was the start of regular urban steamer operations from the mid-1850s onwards, the second was the establishment of rail transport systems such as trams, tunnels and commuter trains in the 1870s, and the third was, in 1914, the introduction of a large electric tramway system.¹⁹⁵ I will examine the establishment of *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları*, which operated as an urban steamer company, the concession given to Cemile Sultan and the process of the management and transformation into a company.

3.1. Transportation and the Use of Maritime Lines in İstanbul

Istanbul, due to its location at the junction of the Asian and European continents and being a city surrounded by the sea, has been a city developing and growing along the coast.¹⁹⁶ In the late 19th century, urban transport in Istanbul was mostly provided by pedestrians and boats. The fact that passenger vehicles -like a phaeton- were only in use of the sultan until 1825¹⁹⁷, urged the people to use gondolas (*pereme*), boats and barges.¹⁹⁸ Undoubtedly, the cheapness of these passenger and cargo boats had increased the preference rates. In the words of Mehmet Mazak, these boats can be called as public buses of today.¹⁹⁹ Depending on the social status

¹⁹⁵ İlhan Tekeli, *İstanbul ve Ankara İçin Kent İçi Ulaşım Tarihi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2009, p. 23

¹⁹⁶ Vahdettin Engin, Ahmet Uçar and Osman Doğan, *Osmanlı'da Ulaşım: Kara, Deniz, Demiryolu*, İstanbul, 2012, p. 153.

¹⁹⁷ Tekeli, *ibid*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁸ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım: Üzerine Araştırmalar*, ed. Salih Özbaran, İzmir 1984, p. 83.

¹⁹⁹ Mehmet Mazak, *Eski İstanbul'da Deniz Ulaşımı: Kayıklar*, İdo Yayınları 2008, İstanbul, p. 36.

of the people, the number of paddles used in boats would vary.²⁰⁰ The Sultan's daughters and wives would board the boats with five double paddles. The boats called swallow (*kırlangıç*) which the palace women boarded were light, and fast.²⁰¹ However, the fine and delicate structures of the boats used by the people of Istanbul could be dangerous in windy weather, especially in winter. On the days when the sea was choppy, they could topple over and there could even be some drowning incidents.²⁰² Such dangerous situations and the desire to follow the changes in the West led the ruling class to new developments.

The Ottoman Empire closely followed the developments in Europe since the Tanzimat period and followed innovations in many fields including army, education, clothing and printed media. As a result of the industrial revolution that emerged in Europe since the second half of the 18th century, steam was used in the industry as a driving force. It led to the invention of locomotive and steam ships, and the social life got easier. Thus, sailing ships were replaced with faster, more robust and more powerful ships. Ottoman administrators also tried to closely follow the changes in the field of transportation all over the world.²⁰³

In 1837, two steamers, one Russian and one British, started to carry passengers and cargo along the Bosphorus.²⁰⁴ The Ottoman administration, which was bothered by the intense interest of the Istanbul people in these steamers, built

²⁰⁰ According to the regulations issued on this subject, grand vizier and shaykh al-Islam and other high-ranking civil servants could use ten double rowing boats (*çifte kürekli kayık*); Anatolia, Rumeli kad'i asker, Istanbul, Uskudar, Galata qadis and other civil servants with eight double oars; The governor of a *sancak* and the other lower ranks could use three double rowing boats, see Hayati Tezel and M. Eren Çalıkoglu, *Boğaziçi ve Saltanat Kayıkları*, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul 1983, p. 14.

²⁰¹ Tezel and Çalıkoglu, *ibid*, p. 15.

²⁰² Orhonlu, *ibid*, p. 95.

²⁰³ Engin, Uçar and Doğan, *ibid*, p. 106, 8.

²⁰⁴ Eser Tutel, *Gemiler, Süvariler, İskeleler*, İletişim 1998, İstanbul, p. 73.

a steamer called *Hümapervaz* in its own shipyard in 1844 and started to operate along the Bosphorus.²⁰⁵ *Şirket-i Osmaniye* was established with the participation of *Hazine-i Hassa* for the healthier implementation of maritime transport by companies. This organization was later called *Mecidiye Şirketi*, and after that as *Fevaid-i Osmaniye Şirketi* (1843-1870). The innovations in the field of transportation were followed by the *Şirket-i Hayriye Vapurları*, which was established in 1851 and still serves between the two sides of Istanbul.²⁰⁶ The activity area of the *Şirket-i Hayriye Vapurları*, which was going to be used for the first time by the upper level of the bureaucracy together with the people of Istanbul, was limited to the Bosphorus. Therefore, the lack of steamers began to be felt in time in Haliç (Golden Horn). We can say that this deficiency was made up by the establishment of *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları* in 1856.

3.2. Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları under the Auspices of Cemile Sultan

As the capital of the Ottoman Empire and as a city on historical trade routes, Istanbul has made Haliç an important port and an important naval base.²⁰⁷ From the middle of the 19th century onwards, while the steamers were operating in Istanbul waters - Boğaziçi, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Adalar -, by the end of the century there were also steamers operated along Haliç. Akyıldız says that the first concession request for operating steamers on Haliç came from a person named Yusuf Agha.

²⁰⁵ Eser Tutel, *Seyr-i Sefain: Öncesi ve Sonrası*, İletişim 1997, İstanbul, p. 35.

²⁰⁶ *Türk Deniz Ticareti ve Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Tarihçesi I*, ed. Bayram Camcı, Cezmi Zafer, Şükrü Yaman, Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 1994, p. 141; Tülay Duran, *Türk Denizciliği ve Deniz Ticareti Kaynakları*, Vapur Donatanları ve Acenteleri Derneği, İstanbul 2002, p. 636-637.

²⁰⁷ Ayhan Doğan, "Haliç", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol 3, p. 504.

However, in accordance with the decree of 1856, the recipient of the 20-year concession for this transportation was Sultan Mahmud's son-in-law, Cemile Sultan's father-in-law, Tophane Chief Rodoslu Ahmed Fethi Pasha.²⁰⁸ And as of September 5, 1856, 20 years concession was granted to Fethi Pasha for the transportation of passengers in the Golden Horn on the route starting from Hasköy pier to Kağıthane in order to solve the transportation problem of the people of Istanbul.²⁰⁹ A small steamer began to transport passengers between the Galata Bridge and the piers in Haliç. After Fethi Pasha passed away in 1857, the concession of the steamer passed on his son Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha.

Since Mahmud Pasha was unable to hold the management of the steamers, *Haliç Vapurları* was transferred to the administration of Demirci Artin Usta from Tersane-i Amire. In 1862, Artin Usta returned the administration to the son-in-law again. The inexperience in administration and the failed management caused Fethi Paşazade Mahmud Pasha to leave the administration to the taxmen again. The boaters and bargees reacted to the situation as the space of movement narrowed and the demand for them decreased due to the fact that the steamers were operating in Haliç. The reactions were not limited to those of the boatmen; while the steamers were approaching and leaving the pier, there would be a commotion during the boarding and landing of the passengers, which led to their reactions.²¹⁰

As Mahmud Pasha's concession period expired, an entrepreneur named Serkiz Abraham sought this concession. He requested that the concession be taken

²⁰⁸ Ali Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, İstanbul 2007, p. 21.

²⁰⁹ Murat Koraltürk, *Buharlı Vapurlardan Deniz Otobüslerine İstanbul'da Deniz Ulaşımı*, Varlık Yayınları, İstanbul 2010, p. 66. Fethi Paşa, along with Sultan Abdülmecid and Bezmialem Valide Sultan, was among the first shareholders during the establishment process of *Şirket-i Hayriye*. See *Türk Deniz Ticareti ve Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Tarihçesi I*, ed. Bayram Camcı, Cezmi Zafer, Şükrü Yaman, Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 1994, p. 162.

²¹⁰ Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, p. 26.

From the son-in-law and given to him for a period of ten years starting from 1872. He even promised to give the government 300 liras each month for the steamer, pier and shipyards. At the same time, this demand was not accepted and the concession of the steamers continued to remain with Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha.

On February 13, 1880, Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha transferred the operation of the steamers to Ottoman national Corci Panayotaki (Panayotaki Korci) for six years. Corci purchased four steamers from London, the cost of which was paid by Mahmud Pasha and the rental of the steamers. The first of these steamers had an accident due to the inexperience of the captain and was written-off. The others continued to operate. The establishment, which was founded by Corci and names *Derun-i Köprü Vapurları İdaresi*, had other problems. The business complained that passengers who had problems with the steamer officers on the pier boarded the steamer free of charge. Increasing the responsibilities of security officials and ensuring safe passage at the piers was requested.

However, we understand that no measures had been taken, since the complaints continued in the same way for a long time.²¹¹ While this was the case, Fethi Paşazade Mahmud Pasha being tried with the charge of murdering the overthrown Sultan Abdülaziz in 1881 resulted in tendering of the concession of *Eyüp Körfezi Vapurları* to his wife Cemile Sultan.²¹² Sultan Abdulhamid II ordered with his decree of concession, dated November 16, 1881 (23 Zilhicce 1298), that the concession of *Eyüp Vapurları* and the majority of its income were to be given to Cemile Sultan and her children for a period of ten years.²¹³ Thus, the concession

²¹¹ Akyıldız, *ibid*, p. 23-27. about the steamers which bought; Y.PRK. BŞK. 7/70 1300 B 16 4

²¹² BOA, MB.İ. 84/31 1298 Z 08 1

²¹³ BOA, Y.A. HUS 168/124 1298 Z 20 2, Even the charges between piers are stated in this decree: it was ordained that from (Galata) Bridge and Yemiş pier till Ayakapısı and for the ones who will go from one pier to the other 20 money should be charged for each passenger. And for the other districts till Eyüp, 40 money for each passenger and 10 money for soldiers and students would be

of the steamers transferred to the administration of Cemile Sultan. Probably, with this concession change, Corci's contract was also terminated. However, according to Akyıldız, the agreement between Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha and Corci Panayotaki and the debts of ships purchased from England remained a problem.

Cemile Sultan, who conveyed a letter of thanks to the Sultan for the concession granted to her, also referred to the dispute between herself and Corci, because Corci issued a high bill to the Sultan upon the grant of the concession to Cemile Sultan. He claimed that he was due to receive 9,720 liras, and submitted two proposals to Sultan to cover this debt: First, he wanted 400 liras to be paid to him every month until the concession period ended; and the second, he wanted to be paid 450 liras each month as a condition of giving up his agreement with Pasha. Whichever way you look at it, these were wasteful offers, and it bothered Cemile Sultan. And she found the solution in writing to her brother the Sultan. She requested the steamers to be taken from Corci through Navy Ministry (*Bahriye Nezareti*) and to be handed over to her proxy and steward Mehmed Ali Efendi, and that her accounts to be audited to ascertain her debts wholesomely so that she could be saved from Corci, and that the administration of the steamers to be given to Ziya Bey, the Director of the Special Provincial Administration (*İdare-i Mahsusa*). Upon the order of the Sultan, a commission was convened to examine the situation and Agop Efendi, the Minister of Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa Nazırı*), asked for the situation to be forwarded to the Ministry of Justice (*Adliye Nezareti*). As a consequence of the negotiations, the situation was concluded in favor of Cemile Sultan, so this time she penned a letter conveying her thanks to Agop Efendi. In another letter from Agop Efendi, we learn that Corci and his guarantor Leonidas Zarifi gave up on their high demands and agreed to pay the rent to Cemile Sultan. The loan that Cemile Sultan got from Zarifi, which she couldn't pay, was cleared,

charged. For further documents on the extension for the concession of Köprüiçi steamer granted to Cemile Sultan for another ten years, see *BOA*, MB.İ. 85/6 1298 Z 22 2: *BOA*, İ.DH.1295 2/101965 1298 Z 21: *BOA*, MB. İ. 84/160 1298 Z 21 1.

and her salary was saved from impoundment. The Steamer Administration (*Vapur İşletmesi*) was given to the Navy Ministry and started to be managed on behalf of Cemile Sultan with a directorate established in the Ministry. Until 1893, the steamer administration under the management of John Efendi worked quite successfully and profitably.²¹⁴ In the meantime, Kazim Bey from London, the grandson of the late Ahmed Fethi Pasha, demanded shares on the steamers; however, as the concession period expired, this request was rejected in 1894 and the matter was dropped.²¹⁵

John Efendi, the manager of the business that run a steamer in Haliç, as well as a kind of tenant, paid up to 600 liras per month to the inheritors of Cemile Sultan, until 1908, and the rest belonged to the company. Tutel says that the income of *Haliç Vapurları* was given to the Sultan's daughters as pocket money during those years.²¹⁶ Murat Koraltürk states that the steamers brought six hundred liras to Cemile Sultan each year, but as we have seen from the documents, this money was not annual but monthly income. *Haliç Dersaadet Vapuları* provided six hundred Ottoman liras monthly to Cemile Sultan.²¹⁷ As Tülay Duran quoted from the Naval Forces Historical Naval Archives (*Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı Tarihi Deniz Arşivi*), we can see that 600 liras of the *Haliç Vapurları* revenues were sent to Cemile Sultan's stock.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, p. 29-32. about the debt of Cemile Sultan to Zarifi see, *BOA*, Y.PRK. HH. 9/57 1299 B 24 1; *BOA*, Y.PRK.HH. 12/57 1301 Ra 14 1

²¹⁵ *BOA*, Y.PRK. BŞK. 38/50 1312 Ca 20 1; *BOA*, Y.EE. 160/49 1312 Ca 21 1.

²¹⁶ Eser Tutel, *Seyr-i Sefain: Öncesi ve Sonrası*, İletişim 1997, İstanbul İletişim, p. 70. Information provided by Eser Tutel is valuable; however, he refers to *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları* as *Haliç-i Dersaadet Şirket*. I never saw this name of the steamer company in the documents. Akyıldız also mentions that *Haliç Vapurları* was never mentioned by this name, see Akyıldız, *ibid*, introduction.

²¹⁷ *BOA*, HH. THR. 2072/116 1304 R 19 1; *BOA*, Y. MTV. 306/118 1326 M 17 3.

²¹⁸ Tülay Duran, *Türk Denizciliği ve Deniz Ticareti Kaynakları*, Vapur Donatanları ve Acenteleri Derneği, İstanbul 2002, p. 688-691.

When we become aware of these revenues, Cemile Sultan's legal struggle with Corci became more meaningful. It is not unusual for a woman, who had lost her husband due to political reasons and had five children, to act with financial concerns. However, it is another merit to be aware of the business management and to control the situation after the legal struggle won. In this sense, Cemile Sultan failed at her part. After September 12, 1893, income and expenditure balances of the administration shifted and the situation changed for the worse. A commission convened and reported on the steamers. The conclusion from the report was that the ships were in grave condition. Of the nine steamers, one of which was made of wood and the remaining eight were made of sheet metal, the newest was 28 years old and the oldest was 45 years old. The wooden steamer was almost decayed, and many of the others were rusted. None of those steamers could be counted as intact. This situation also explains the reason for the bad conduct of the enterprise.

The steamers needed to be repaired and replaced. The air of the 'libertarian and fair' environment of Meşrutiyet II was reflected in the situation of *Haliç Vapurları*. Under the influence of this environment, the workers stated that the steamers were in a terrible condition and that the traveling people endangered their lives every day, and that the reason for this was the son of Cemile Sultan, Celaleddin, who set up a wheel of waste and corruption. According to their allegations, it was another case that the steamers were managed unlicensed and without concession since 1891, and it was overlooked because of the bribes. They requested necessary actions to be taken. With the communication agencies of the period being active, the complaints were also reflected in the press. And as a result, the situation was added to the agenda of the government.²¹⁹ That's why, we see that the concession of *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları* belonging to Cemile Sultan, whose concession period had expired and not renewed, had been decided by *Şura-yı Devlet* to be given to some other individuals, and that the *tezkiye* of *Şehremaneti* about the

²¹⁹ Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, p. 31-33.

concession to be given to the Escrow (*Emanet*) had been sent.²²⁰ Accordingly, an advertisement was put on the newspapers. It was decided to award the concession to the bidder of the best offer. Nevertheless, the bidding of the *Haliç Dersaadet Vapur İşletmesi*, which was concluded on November 10, 1909, was again left to Cemile Sultan, who made the most appropriate offer. The concession of *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları* was given to Cemile Sultan for another forty years.²²¹ Mahmud Celaleddin, the son and proxy of Cemile Sultan, and Minister of Commerce and Public Works, Hallacyan Efendi as the proxy of the government, signed an agreement on November 28, 1909, which contained the concession of operating steamers in Haliç. Cemile Sultan handed over all of her rights coming from the concession granted to her and all the documents to the company, which was organized anonymously on May 7, 1910.²²² With the signed agreement, the incorporation process of the enterprise accelerated, because the contract aimed to transform the business into a joint stock company under certain conditions.²²³ While these developments continued, Celaleddin Bey wanted to sell some of the steamers. However, since the concession of the steamers was also concerned *Hazine-i Hassa*, *Şehremaneti* and the Navy Ministry (*Bahriye Nezareti*), it was decided that this issue should be discussed between ministries (*nezaretler*) and then finalized.²²⁴

²²⁰ BOA, DH. MKT. 2700/ 21 1326 Z 09 1; MV. 129/50 1327 C 19 1

²²¹ BOA, İ. İMT. 8/6 1327 Za 16 7

²²² Tülay Duran, *ibid*, p. 638-639.

²²³ The concessionaire is obliged to establish an Ottoman joint stock company within four months. This company will build piers, and buy new steamers. In the meantime, the other steamers will continue to work without any delay. Within 15 days, a deposit will be made to the Ottoman Bank, half of this money will be used to build waiting lounges and piers, and the remaining half will be returned after the purchase of new steamers. A fee was also required for the officers who would inspect the company. See Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, p. 46-47.

²²⁴ BOA, BEO 3842/288109 1329 M 04 2

3.3. Establishment of the Company of Haliç Steamers (Haliç Vapurları Şirketi)

Cemile Sultan transferred all her rights arising from the concession to *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi*, which was established as a joint stock company. Unless its name was used as the *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* in the bylaws, on the documents it was mentioned with names such as *Haliç Vapurları Şirket-i Osmaniyyesi*, *Halic-i Dersaadet Vapurları Anonim Şirketi*, *Haliç Şirketi*, *Halic-i Dersaadet Vapurları Şirketi*. The first administrative assembly of the company was chaired by Prince Celaleddin Bey, the son of Cemile Sultan, and convened with Devlet Bey, Kozmapaşazade Kozma Bey, Narliyan Misak Efendi, Kostantin Lambeki Efendi, Eleksan Eleksanyan, Nikola Tilyodi.²²⁵

The administrative building of the *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* was located in Ayvansaray, while the operation site was between Karaköy/Galata Bridge and Kağıthane Bridge. The company's steamers were called by numbers, not by names. The steamer enterprises, which included *Haliç Vapur Şirketi - Şirket-i Hayriye*, *İdare-i Mahsusa* - were active until the World War One. The war environment, which caused many problems and interrupted even the most basic needs, prevented the regular operation of the steamers and some of the ships belonging to the enterprises were allocated to the army for the purpose of carrying soldiers. Some of the ships of *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* were also used for this purpose; but there were also those destroyed by the enemy ships.²²⁶ In 1916, *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* fell into financial difficulties, particularly due to the problems in the allocation of coal.²²⁷ Under the influence of the war, the natural loss of income with the decline in the number of passengers caused businesses to have troubled times during the 1920s and 1930s.²²⁸ When a dispute broke out between the company and the

²²⁵ Akyıldız, *Haliç'te Seyrüsefer: Haliç Vapurları Şirketi ve Faaliyetleri*, p. 52.

²²⁶ Koraltürk, *ibid*, p. 21-22.

²²⁷ BOA, DH. İUM 67/2 06 1335 M 01 2

²²⁸ Murat Koraltürk, *Haliç'te Ulaşım ve Haliç Vapurları Şirketi (1909-1941)*, İstanbul 2005, p. 13.

municipality in 1935, the municipality confiscated all of its property in November 1936. It was somehow managed for six years. The company was acquired by the government in 1941. It was transferred to the General Directorate of State Maritime Affairs (*Devlet Deniz Yolları Umum Müdürlüğü*) on July 16, 1941.²²⁹ All movable and immovable assets of *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* were transferred to the State Maritime Affairs. Thus, the legal existence of *Haliç Vapurları Şirketi* had ended.²³⁰

3.4. The State's Ambition to Monopolize the Capital Accumulation

We see that Cemile Sultan, who owns the concession of the steamers working in Haliç, did not actively use her concession and represented herself through her deputies. These proxies were sometimes her son, and other times her steward who handled her personal affairs.²³¹ However, even though she did not play an active role, we see that the concession was constantly maintained within the dynasty. What motivations played a role in the rejection of the above-mentioned Serkiz Abraham's attractive offer and the continuation of the concession within the dynasty? With these commercial concessions in the age of changing reform, did the dynasty want to rebrand itself? According to Salzman, in Tocqueville's France example, as the central government gradually took over the powers of the local authorities and gradually monopolized the administration of the whole country, the new institutions that they allowed to live or established themselves tended to control the centralist movement.²³² And the Ottoman Empire always had the largest share in other capital investments, as it had in agricultural lands. For instance, as almost all of the mining facilities belonged to the state, the state had also made investments in fields, which would require capital, such as covered bazaar (*bedesten*), market place, paint shop

²²⁹ Eser Tutel, *Gemiler, Süvariler, İskeleler*, p. 106.

²³⁰ Murat Koraltürk, *ibid*, p. 36.

²³¹ About the proxy of Cemile Sultan, see BOA, DH.İD. 75 1/12 1329 M 08 2; BOA, A.] DVN. MKL. 49/11 1327 Z 06 5

²³² Ariel Salzman, *Osmanlı Ancien Regime'i*, trans. Ayşe Özdemir, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2011, p. 41.

and print works (*basmahane*), and had retained the property or tried to keep it under a kind of public ownership status through foundations.²³³ We understand that the Ottoman State attaches importance to these privileges by starting with the Tanzimat and adopting a centralist policy and direct use of the state power in accordance with the Western understanding of the state.²³⁴ We do not know if Tocqueville's thesis is acceptable for the Ottoman administration, but the dynasty might not want to lose its authority and even want to increase its authority in social and economic life by trying to preserve the concessions and production in a similar way.

²³³ Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, Ötüken, İstanbul, 2000, p. 87-88.

²³⁴ Şerif Mardin, 'Adem-i Merkeziyet', *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, p. 364-367.

4. RESIDENCES WHERE CEMİLE SULTAN LIVED AND SOME SLICES OF HER LIFE

The residences, where the Ottoman dynasty family lived, consisted of palaces, waterside mansions, pavilions and manors. Contrary to classical period buildings, we can see that from the early modern period, luxury and comfort had come to the forefront in dynasty housing types. The prominent landscaping arrangements in the garden decorations, furniture preferences, flooring and the examples of accessories used in interior decorations are the most prominent evidence of this situation.

The dynasty waterside mansions, seaside palaces, which we encounter more frequently from the 18th century onwards, were very large in terms of the number of rooms and the area they occupied. In addition to the residence building, they had manors, gardens, fountains, sometimes private baths (*hamam*), in short, all kinds of luxury and comfort. Dumas says that it is no wonder that the waterside mansions, which were considered to be a typical 'aristocratic' residence of the Ottoman elite, were surrounded by other waterside mansions.²³⁵ Remembering that the access to the Bosphorus and the coastal areas before the 19th century was limited and difficult, it would be understandable that the elite people in these areas were neighbors. It is possible to describe these residences as a world and living space constructed by elite and dynasty women, isolated from public life. Therefore, the necessary luxury and comfort should had been provided.

Women of the dynasty were trying to bring all kinds of luxury and comfort they would need in their daily lives to their palaces. There should be special baths for the Sultan's daughters who could not go to the neighborhood baths. For example, winter gardens had to be built as they spent most of their time in their personal spaces.

²³⁵ Juliette Dumas, "Hücreden Saraya: 15-18. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı konutları", *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 193, January 2010, p. 18-25.

And the 19th century, when Cemile Sultan lived, the palace environment and protocol began to resemble European palaces.²³⁶ In this part, I will try to examine the residences in which Cemile Sultan lived during certain periods of her life since her birth.

4.1. Old Beylerbeyi Palace:

Cemile Sultan was born in August 17, 1843, in the Old Beylerbeyi Palace, the palace where his father Sultan Abdulmecid lived at the time. It is rumored that the district, which was called “Crucifix (İstavroz)” because of the cross which was erected in the church built. It was later on called as “Beylerbeyi” because of the waterside mansion, which was built by the Rumeli Beylerbeyi Mehmet Pasha during the reign of the Ottoman sultan Murad III.²³⁷ When we came to the 18th century, many lands in Beylerbeyi were sold to the public, but Cemile Sultan's grandfather Sultan Mahmud II, who was said to attach great importance to the development of the city, gained these sold lands back by adding them to the state treasury and built many new buildings here.²³⁸ Old Beylerbeyi Palace, where Cemile Sultan was born, was also one of these buildings. The construction of the palace, which was built with wood and two floors, was completed between the years 1826-1832.

The main palace structure consisting of Mabeyn, Zülvecheyn and Harem chambers has been constructed with a complementary structure with pavilions such

²³⁶ İlber Ortaylı, “19. Yüzyıl Saray Hayatında Değişim”, *Milli Saraylar: Tarih, Kültür, Sanat, Mimarlık*, vol XI, P. 20-21.

²³⁷ Necla Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul: 18. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 19. yüzyıl*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1992.

²³⁸ Coşkun Yılmaz, *II. Mahmud: Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecinde İstanbul*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, Seçil Ofset, İstanbul 2010, p. 416-417.

as Serdab Pavilion, Yellow Pavilion, Şevkabad, Küçük Yalı, Büyük Yalı and bendegan chambers, baths, kitchens and stables. The palace was officially opened in 1832 with the participation of the Ottoman Sultan with local and foreign guests.²³⁹ Foreign guests Helmuth von Moltke and Miss Julia Pardoe have extensive observations about the palace. However, Arslan states that there is only one engraving of the palace and that there is not enough information about the architectural style and decoration.²⁴⁰

The observations quoted by Moltke in his memoirs about the palace where Cemile Sultan was born are as follows: ‘I entered the garden through a door at the back of Beylerbeyi Palace. The garden extends to the summit of a hill in the back with many sets. The high green walls determined its border. The windows of the palace on the sea front are all latticed. Not only the harem windows, but also the portion of the house reserved for men (*selamlık*) section was latticed. Those on the harem side were higher and denser. When we entered the palace, we went through many halls where there was no furniture different from the ones in our houses. Only the floors were paved with Lebanese hardwood.’

We know that this palace, which was used as a summer resort in spring and summer months, was also where the princess and prince got their education. Prince Abdulmecid completed his *hatim* (reading the whole of the Quran) in this palace in 1833. At the end of the ceremony, where ulama was present, gifts were presented to the guests in jeweled boxes. Many Western states’ guests were also entertained in this palace. In the summer of 1851, a grave incident happened in the palace and a fire broke out in the palace while Abdulmecid and his mother was inside. Although the fire was prevented, this event was regarded as bad luck and the people of the palace were immediately transferred to Çırağan Palace, and the Old Beylerbeyi Palace was demolished. Seven sheeps for Abdülmecid and five sheeps

²³⁹ İlon Baytar and Cengiz Göncü, *Beylerbeyi Sarayı*, TBMM Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, p. 16-18.

²⁴⁰ Necla Arslan, *ibid*, p. 254-264.

for his mother were sacrificed. We know that Cemile Sultan, who was eight years old at the time, was under the guardianship of her foster-mother Perestu Kadın; however, unfortunately we do not have any information about her situation during the fire.

In place of this yellow wooden coastal palace, which Mahmud II got Girkor Amira Balyan to build on the shores of Beylerbeyi, Sultan Abdülaziz got Serkis Balyan, from the Balyan family again, to build the present day Beylerbeyi Palace paved with marble and *kufeki* stones in 1865.²⁴¹

4.2. Fındıklı Waterside (Çifte Saraylar)

After spending most of her childhood in Old Beylerbeyi Palace, Cemile Sultan lived as a young sultan in Çırağan Palace until the age of fifteen. About six months after her wedding in 1858, she moved to the waterside mansion, which her father Sultan Abdulmecid had built as a wedding gift for her and her sister Münire Sultan.²⁴² The waterside mansions in the district of Fındıklı, on the street of Meclis-i Mebusan, were called as Çifte Saraylar (Double Palaces) because of their similar structure and them being belong to the two sisters. Building of the waterside mansion, which its construction began in 1856, was completed in 1859. Its chief architect was Garabet Balyan. The palace belonged to Cemile Sultan is the one close to Molla Çelebi Mosque. The one close to the Nusretiye Mosque belonged to Münire Sultan.²⁴³

On January 19, 1910, when the Çırağan Palace was burned down, Meclis-i Mebusan and Meclis-i Ayan continued their work in this palace between the years

²⁴¹ Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, *İstanbul Sarayları*, TBMM Milli Saraylar, İstanbul 2014, p. 83.

²⁴² There is a document dated 17 November 1858 stating that 30,000 piastre (*kuruş*) was taken from the Treasury for the furnishing expenses of the manor, which was prepared for Cemile Sultan as winter residence, and the total cost was 28,000 piastre, see *BOA*, HH.İ. 29/33 1275 R 10 7.

²⁴³ Oğuz Ceylan, ‘‘Çifte Saraylar’’, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. II, İstanbul 1994, p. 512-513.

1913-1920. According to Mevhibe Celaledin, Cemile Sultan was initially not pleased with this situation. Mevhibe Celaledin and her father Celaledin used to board the boat from Üsküdar to travel from Asian Side to the European Side and would arrive at the Fındıklı pier. Similarly, one day, while going to the pier, when they approached the dock of the palace, they met a group of workers working there. One of the workers mentioned that the palace was being renovated for the use of Meclis-i Mebusan by the order of Sultan Reşad. Celaledin Bey learned the situation by surprise, reported the situation to his mother Cemile Sultan, who was living in Erenköy. Cemile Sultan was angry that such a decision could be made without her knowledge and that her personal property could be used without her permission. She called her chief (*baş ağa*) and sent him to Beşiktaş to get information from the Sultan. When her chief got back to Erenköy he conveyed Sultan Reşat's message to her as "My father gave the palace, now I am taking it back." In response Cemile Sultan said "If my people need it, let it be my gift to them."²⁴⁴

On January 30, 1910, the waterside mansion of Cemile Sultan was repaired and the necessary allocation with the delegation organization was provided from the treasury for the construction of ayan and mebusan chambers.²⁴⁵ According to the information in *Defter-i Hakani* (kind of Turkish land registry and cadastre information system) of, we learn that the waterside mansion, which was decided to be the National Assembly Office (*Milli Meclis Dairesi*) after about a month, was going to be purchased for five thousand liras and the necessary expenses was going to be covered again by the state.²⁴⁶ Eventually, the palace, with or without the consent of Cemile Sultan, was taken out of her usage and management since 1910. After Cemile Sultan's death, Nazime Sultan and her husband Dervişzade Ahmet Pasha settled in the palace.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Korle, *ibid*, p. 130.

²⁴⁵ BOA, MV. 136/26 1328 M 18 1

²⁴⁶ BOA, BEO 3707 277960 1328 S 11 3

²⁴⁷ Sezer, Yalçın, and Özyalçın, *ibid*, p. 237.

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, the palace was transferred to the Academy of Fine Arts in 1926, which was called *Sanayi-i Nefise*. When the building was burned on April 1, 1948, valuable books, lecture materials and paintings in its library were also destroyed. The palace was rebuilt in accordance with the project prepared by the Master Architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem, and on April 23, 1953, the Academy of Fine Arts opened for education there.²⁴⁸ In the plans before the repair, both palaces appear to be parallel to the sea. In the central area where the axes of symmetry intersect, a large and parallel rectangular hall (*sofa*) draws attention. The middle anteroom opens to the side anteroom with two poles each. The rooms are arranged on sea and land fronts, and they feature geometric ceiling decorations.²⁴⁹ Triangular pediments, floor moldings and wide eaves were added to the windows. Imperial style is dominant in the decoration and architectural structure.²⁵⁰ While they were two separate waterside mansions when they were first built, today it is noticeable that there is another building in the middle which connects the two. According to Bornovalı, the lines of the architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem are easily noticed in this texture. In the 1930s these buildings were completely burnt down, and they were built again in the spirit of the period by avoiding from complete imitation of the original ones. Today the building is used as Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Sennur Sezer, *Öyküleriyle İstanbul anıtları II: Saray'dan Liman'a*, Adnan Özyalçın, Evrensel Basım Yayın, İstanbul 2014, p. 236, 237; From the Istanbul Fire Department Archive, We can confirm the fire that took place on April 1, 1948 at Fındıklı Meclis-i Mebusan Street Fine Arts Academy, see <http://itfaiye.ibb.gov.tr/tr/istanbul-yanginlari.html>

²⁴⁹ Ceylan, *ibid*, p. 512.

²⁵⁰ Sezer and Özyalçın, *ibid*, p. 237.

²⁵¹ Sedat Bornovalı, *Boğaziçi'nin Tarih Atlası*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2018.

4.3. Kandilli Waterside

Kandilli, previously known as Bosfor Nicopolisi, Echaia, Molterino and Perirrous in the pre-Ottoman period, attracted the attention of Ottoman Sultans, too, with its climate and its beauty with its location in the Bosphorus. While it is rumored that Kandilli took its name from the oil lamps (*kandiller*) burned in the neighborhood,²⁵² it is also rumored that the Turks called this district "Blood tongued (*Kan dilli*)" because of the choking of the wife of the Byzantine ruler.²⁵³

Since the 16th century, the Ottoman Sultans had shown interest to Kandilli as a recreation and entertainment area. Especially fountain, bath, shop and boathouse built by Mahmud I in the neighborhood were significant developments in the name of urbanism. Then Mahmud II also decorated the neighborhood by having a fountain and a stepping stone built on the pier square.²⁵⁴ Kandilli was opened for habitation in the 18th century and rapidly became an important settlement of the Bosphorus. It is known that various ethnic groups and prominent figures of the Ottoman Empire lived in this neighborhood.²⁵⁵ Located between the Küçüksu stream and Vaniköy, the district has waterside mansions on the seaside and neighborhoods on the inner parts.²⁵⁶

The mansion, which was built by Mısırlı Mustafa Fazıl Pasha in 1859, was purchased by Sultan Abdülhamid II for his sister Cemile Sultan in 1874 with its belongings. According to Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu quoted by Celalettin Atasoy: "Entrance of the Mısırlı Mustafa Fazıl Pasha Waterside Mansion's *selamlık*

²⁵² Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Boğaziçi", *DİA*, vol 6, p. 259

²⁵³ G. V. İncicyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfıyeleri*, ed. Orhan Duru, Eren Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, p. 165.

²⁵⁴ Celalettin Atasoy, *Kandilli'de Tarih*, Yenilik Basımevi, İstanbul 1982, p. 15.

²⁵⁵ Esra Balcı and K. Kutgün Eyüpgiller, "Boğaziçi Köylerinde Tarihsel Dokunun Değişimi: Kandilli Örneği", *Üsküdar Sempozyumu II; 12-13 March 2004*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Ahmet Emre Bilgili, Kemal Kahraman, Celil Güngör, Seyfettin Ünlü, İstanbul 2004.

²⁵⁶ Gökbilgin, *ibid*, p. 259.

garden was from the mansion's pier and there was a four-post six-step ladder to climb up to the mansion. When entering through a large gate there was a marble stony place and from there one could enter into two large halls on right and left. There was a hall across, and on either side of that hall there was a magnificent parquet staircase, which began as a single, pinned on four marble pillars and was doubled after a landing. As climbing the stairs, the walls were porphyry. There was a large anteroom and from that anteroom one could enter two halls on right and left. Each hall downstairs was furnished with different color Hereke fabrics at the time of Celaleddin Bey. The hall on the left side downstairs was deep fez color, the other was green, the other one on the side was yellow, and the halls upstairs were blue, pink and white. Corridors had an important role in the partitioning of the building. The bedrooms and the living rooms were above these corridors. The upstairs bath had two large marble basins facing each other. There was much water coming from the mountain in the waterside mansion. It is clear from the old photographs that the *selamlık* chambers, which was located on the north side of the pier square and where the harem aghas lived, was a two-storey building and was 45-50 meters from the actual waterside mansion building. The building was burned down in the Gas Fire of 1916, and the land was purchased by the municipality.''²⁵⁷ Since Celaleddin Bey was very keen on hunting and painting, all sides of the mansion were decorated with Hereke fabrics and the walls were furnished with paintings.²⁵⁸

Alongside with the period's domestic and foreign elite such as Kıbrıslı Mehmed Paşa Waterside Mansion, Abud Efendi Waterside Mansion, Edib Efendi Waterside Mansion, Clifton Waterside Mansion, Count Ostorrog Waterside Mansion, of course it is not a coincidence that the Palace of Adile Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Mahmud II, is the neighbor of the Cemile Sultan Palace. This was the effect of the developed transportation during the late 19th and early 20th

²⁵⁷ C. Atasoy, *ibid*, p. 41.

²⁵⁸ Cahit Kayra-Erol Üyepazarcı, *Kandilli, Vaniköy, Çengelköy; Mekanlar ve Zamanlar*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1993, p. 57.

centuries, and the Western centered desire of living in comfort dominating the Bosphorus silhouette. We can say that in time, these houses were preferred places for gathering and socializing. For example, Count Ostrorog Seaside Mansion, located next to the Cemile Sultan Waterside Mansion, was at the center of French and Ottoman friendship in the early 20th century. When the Stationnaire de l'Ambassade de France ship was anchored in the Bosphorus, parties were thrown in honor of young captains, their chiefs and visitors from France. There were even famous personalities and statesmen getting together. For instance, acquaintance of Pierre Loti and Sultan Abdulaziz's son Abdülmecid II was based on these occasions.²⁵⁹

The place, where the hills of Kandilli and Cemile Sultan Grove are located, is 80m high from the shore and has one of the most spectacular and beautiful viewpoints of the Bosphorus.²⁶⁰ Cemile Sultan, who lived a comfortable life in Kandilli Waterside Mansion since 1874, left the palace which was given to him by his brother Abdülhamid II as a gift to his son Celaleddin Bey, after her husband Mahmud Pasha was killed in exile in Taif in 1881, and then she moved to a manor in Göztepe. After a short stay here, she moved to her manor in Erenköy and spent the last days of her life there.

Meanwhile, the effects of the Second Balkan War in 1913 were severe and devastating. Although the Ottoman Empire tried to repair the damage that occurred after the war, it was not enough. The prominent families of Kandilli also made special efforts to heal the wounded brought from the Balkans to Istanbul. People such as Kıbrıslı, Ferik İsmail Paşa, Abud Efendi, Fatin Hoca, Count Ostrorog came together and sent a delegation to Celaleddin Bey, and asked for his permission to

²⁵⁹ Nurhan Atasoy, *Kont Ostrorog'dan Rahmi M. Koç'a: Boğaziçi'nde Bir Yalının Hikâyesi*, Aygaz Yayınları, İstanbul 2004, p. 218.

²⁶⁰ ‘‘Kandilli’’, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. IV, İstanbul 1994

use the *selamlık* part of the Cemile Sultan Waterside Mansion as a hospital.²⁶¹ After receiving an affirmative answer from Celaleddin Bey, as Sara Korle also mentions, under the leadership of Doctor Rıza Abud, the *selamlık* of the Palace was used as a *nekahathane* (a place to use for recovery after an illness). The wounded were dressed and helped to send letters to their families.²⁶² In the 20th century, we can see with the specific example of Cemile Sultan Palace that the mansions, which were used as a socialization area, were also used for charity purposes.

In 1916, fire, one of the main problems of Istanbul, caused difficult moments for Kandilli district. On June 12, 1916, during the World War One, in a fire called 'Gas Fire' 31 waterside mansions and houses were burnt down. Gas cans between Paşabahçe and İncirliköy were ignited for unknown reasons and drifted to the Kandilli shores. The *selamlık* section of the Cemile Sultan Palace near the pier was also affected by the flames and burnt down completely.²⁶³ The palace, which its harem section also demolished in 1916, disappeared completely during the reign of Abdulhamid II.²⁶⁴

After the invasion of Istanbul in 1918, a Greek ship-owner bought the plot of the coastal palace and the manor on top of the grove. When the occupation forces were removed from Istanbul, the owner of the land disappeared as well. In 1944, filmmaker Cemil Filmer bought and restored a large part of the plot of the coastal palace and the grove and the manor. The manor was burnt down on the night of Republic Day on October 29, 1952 due to a fire in the electrical contact.²⁶⁵ Only the grove remains from the waterside mansion and manors. Cemile Sultan Grove,

²⁶¹ C. Atasoy, *ibid*, p. 83.

²⁶² Korle, *ibid*, p. 197-199; ML.EEM. 963/24 1328

²⁶³ C. Atasoy, *ibid*, p. 41-42. We can confirm this information from the Istanbul Fire Department Archive. <http://itfaiye.ibb.gov.tr/tr/istanbul-yanginlari.html>

²⁶⁴ Orhan Erdenen, *Boğaziçi Kendini Anlatıyor*, Kitab İstanbul, İstanbul 2007, p. 436, 471.

²⁶⁵ C. Atasoy, *ibid*, p. 83.

which is a privately-owned grove area in Üsküdar with an area of 11.40 hectares,²⁶⁶ is now owned by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and the Union of Stock Exchanges (*İstanbul Ticaret Odası ve Borsalar Birliği*) and is closed to the public. It can only be used for special occasions and invitations.

4.4. Erenköy Manor

Kadıköy, which was the summer residence of the rich Greeks until the 18th century, had become an elite area where high civil servants and rich families had settled since the end of the 19th century. Erenköy district, which is located within the borders of Kadıköy, had been a place of interest for the Ottoman elite with its garden manors, villas and large vineyards.²⁶⁷ Cemile Sultan's Manor, located on Bengi Street today, was the preferred place of Cemile Sultan for a comfortable and peaceful life. We can follow from the documents that Cemile Sultan stayed in her manor in Erenköy from time to time as a summer resort.²⁶⁸ After their fall out with her brother Abdulhamid, they lived a long period of resentment. However, after a while, the brother and sister reconciled, and Cemile Sultan began to pay visits to the Yıldız Palace.

According to the memoir of Lutfi Simavi Bey, who served as chief palace chamberlain (*saray baş mabeyncisi*) during the reign of Sultan Mehmed V and Sultan Vahdeddin, on October 9, 1909, Sultan Mehmed Reşad went to visit his sister Cemile Sultan, who was living in Erenköy, and his other sister Seniha Sultan, living in Pendik. These two princesses, whose husbands died while in exile, had lived quiet lives away from everyone in their manors. As an old tradition, when the Sultan visited his relatives, it was customary for them to lay prayer rugs, shawls, and carpets where the sovereign would pass. Although this custom was followed

²⁶⁶ Erdenen, *ibid*, p. 95.

²⁶⁷ Ayşe Hür, "Erenköy", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. III, İstanbul 1994, p. 178.

²⁶⁸ BOA, Y.PRK.ZB 6/112 1308 R 28 1

when he visited Seniha Sultan; Simavi Bey says that there were no preparations in the manor of Cemile Sultan, whom he heard from the Sultan himself several times that was much wealthier than Seniha Sultan. We see that this situation was considered strange. However, we mentioned earlier that her relationship with her brother Mehmed Reşad was not very good because of the palace in Fındıklı. So, this might had been the reason why her sultan brother was not welcomed in accordance with proper etiquette when he visited her.²⁶⁹

Memet Fuat also mentions the manor in Erenköy as Cemile Sultan Palace in his autobiography: ‘‘It was in a very large garden on the street behind Erenköy Station. A large part of this garden was empty. A large garden gate with guard rooms on the sides, tree-lined roads, a three-storey palace placed at the bottom of the walls... Above a stuffy basement that is not buried in the ground, two floors with very high ceilings, connected by magnificent stairs... The palace was made out of stone... There were two matching main enterances, one on the front, the other in the back. From the curved marble staircase with iron railings, you would come to a glass-screened landing and enter directly to the first floor above the basement. Of these two main entrances, one would have thought that they had entered the same place... What I liked the most at the Cemile Sultan Palace was the windows. At the top was an arched, unopened section. Below it were three windows that were driven upwards. You can either pull the bottom upwards, or push the top downwards. And not evden with difficulty, just a gentle touch of finger was enough.’’²⁷⁰

As Cemile Sultan had bequeathed on October 31, 1904, the manor was left to her daughter Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım Sultan including the outhouses after her death.²⁷¹ Cemile Sultan states that she owes money to her daughter Ayşe Sultan,

²⁶⁹ Lütü Simavi, *ibid*, p. 65.

²⁷⁰ Fuat, *ibid*, p. 89-93.

²⁷¹ BOA, Y.PRK. DFE. 1/82 1322 Ş 21 1

because she took her monthly salary from the age of six to nine. Therefore, she stated that she left her manor in Erenköy to her daughter as dowry. She stated that she left the all the belongings of the manor with all of its furniture and silverware to her daughter. Unfortunately, there is no sign left from the manor on Bengi Street in Erenköy, and today there are multi-storey high-rise apartment buildings in its place.

5. THE END OF CEMİLE SULTAN'S LIFE:

Cemile Sultan, whose life lasted 72 years, witnessed the period of five Ottoman Sultans including Sultan Abdülmecid, Abdulaziz, Murad V, Abdulhamid II and Mehmed Reşad V. Following the death of his father in 1861, her uncle Abdulaziz reigned for fifteen years. After a short sultanate period of 93 days by her brother Sultan Murad, whose health condition was not well, Abdulhamid II, who was also the brother of Cemile Sultan, came to the Ottoman throne.

After the turbulent period of Abdulhamid, Mehmed Reşad V came to the throne. We talked about how Abdülhamid exiled Cemile Sultan's husband in 1881, and the resentment between the two. After this long period, she and her brother reconciled and Cemile Sultan started to pay visits to Yıldız Palace. And just around that time, when she returned to her manor in Erenköy again from Yıldız, she became ill and began to live bedridden.²⁷² In fact, her son Celaledin Bey was appointed as a member of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) in this process. According to Uluçay, one day when she came to her manor in Erenköy returning from this visit, she became ill and bedridden, and could not regain her health ever again. This disease lasted a long time, Cemile Sultan could not recover and lived in her sick bed until her death.

She died on February 26, 1915 at her manor in Erenköy. Due to the death of Cemile Sultan, condolence telegrams were sent to Babıali from the Beirut and Syrian provinces, which wished a long life to the Sultan and condolences for his sister.²⁷³ For the first-class funeral ceremony for the Sultan's daughter, she was transported from her manor by train (*şimendifer*) to Haydarpaşa and from there to Unkapanı via boat. The funeral prayer was performed at the Fatih Mosque. The

²⁷² Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 224.

²⁷³ BOA, İ. DÜİT 5/119 1333 R 20 3

tomb of her father Sultan Abdulmecid is located at the end of Sultan Selim Complex, Fatih District, Yavuz Sultan Selim Neighborhood, Sultan Selim Street. There is a will of Cemile Sultan and a decree from the Ottoman Sultan for her to be buried in the *hazire* of her father's tomb.²⁷⁴ Therefore, Cemile Sultan was buried next to her father in the *hazire* of Yavuz Sultan Selime Mosque. Settled on the fifth hill of Istanbul, the Sultan Selim complex, which exists gorgeously in the Istanbul skyline, was built by Suleiman the Magnificent in memory of his father Yavuz Sultan Selim. The tomb with an octagonal corner and a single dome in classical dimensions in the *hazire* towards the kiblah belongs to Yavuz Sultan Selim. The mother of pearl inlaid gate is said to be one of the most beautiful examples of the period. There are two other tombs next to Sultan Selim's. Among them, the one with the octagonal plan belongs to the princes and daughters of Kanuni, the children who died at a young age. The other six-cornered tomb belongs to Sultan Abdulmecid, who died in 1861, and his sons.²⁷⁵ Cemile Sultan's grave is not in the tomb, but in the *hazire* of the mosque. Her grave is surrounded by iron bars in rectangular form. There is a sign on it with the inscription which says, "Here Lies Cemile Sultan, the Daughter of His Royal Highness Abdülmeçid Han. May She Rest in Peace."

5.1. On Cemile Sultan's Belongings and Identity

Cemile Sultan had seals of her own. One of the seals of the Princess Cemile engraved in taliq script on an amethyst 'Cemile 1275'. Silver seal engraved with the name and date 'Cemile Sultan 1300'.²⁷⁶ 3.6x 2.2 cm in dimensions and made

²⁷⁴ BOA, İ. DUİT 5/118 1333 R 11 1; BOA, İ. DUİT 5/120 1333 R 23 2

²⁷⁵ Ömer Osmanoglu, *İstanbul'un İncileri: Sur İçi Camileri*, İstanbul 2013, p. 343-345.

²⁷⁶ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Mühürler Seksiyonu Rehberi*, Şehir Matbaası, İstanbul 1959, p. 24.

out of gold, the grip of the seal is formed by merging of leafy branches.²⁷⁷ The stone in the gold nest was joined to the grip with six outwardly protruding parts, giving the appearance of a Mevlevi coin.²⁷⁸ After her death, these seals, which belonged to her personally, were preserved in the Treasury (*Hazine-i Humayun*) by the order of the Sultan.²⁷⁹

There is also a gift specially prepared by Cemile Sultan to be sent to Madinah to the grave of the Prophet Muhammad. This piece, which belonged to Cemile Sultan, is completely golden. The top of it is partly enameled in light green. The body and the cover are decorated with diamond branches and flowers. On the round pedestals with *talik* calligraphy, it was written “A humble present to Prophet Muhammed from his servant Cemile Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Abdulmecid Han (*Abdülmecid Han kerimelerinden Cemile cariyelerinin utbe-i Hazret-i risalet penahilerine âcizane takdimesidir sene 1303*) (1885)”²⁸⁰ Incensory (*buhurdan*) and rose water flask (*gülabdân*) on gold was sent to Madinah; however, during the First World War, it was sent back to the Treasury for protection by the Hedjaz Guard, Fahrettin Pasha.²⁸¹ Thus, it is now preserved in the palace treasure section of Topkapı Palace.

Among the items of Cemile Sultan's personal belongings is a Hamidiye Hedjaz railroad medal.²⁸² Since the Ottoman Empire was not in a very good condition economically, the beginning of the 20th century, when Sultan

²⁷⁷ Bahadır Taşkın and Sevgi Ağca, *Padişahın Evi Harem, Topkapı Sarayı Harem-i Hümayun*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2012, p.170.

²⁷⁸ Günsel Renda, *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın: Anadolu'da Kadının 9000 Yılı*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, İstanbul 1993, p. 287.

²⁷⁹ BOA, TS.MA. e 1064/27 1333 Ca 25 2

²⁸⁰ Emine Bilirgen, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan Osmanlı'da Altın Tutkusu”, *P Dergisi*, vol. 20, İstanbul 2001.

²⁸¹ <https://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/tr/content/imparatorluk-hazinesi>

²⁸² BOA, İ.TAL. 271/59 1319 L 05 1; we see that her daughter Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım Sultan had a medal for their support to the railway, see BOA, İ.TAL. 271/63 1319 L 09.

Abdulhamid II gave orders to build a railway in Mecca, he wanted his Muslim subjects to volunteer and finance. He called on all Muslims inside or outside the Empire to donate for the construction of the railway. In this sacred project, no foreign capital was wanted to be involved, so Muslims were called for solidarity. In fact, in order for the donation campaign to begin and continue effectively, the sultan himself made a significant donation of 50,000 liras to the railway. Certificates had been issued in various languages in order to encourage those who support the campaign financially. In addition, a card with a map of the railway to be distributed and a brochure had been printed. In addition to these, Hedjaz Railroad medals were prepared and presented specially for the ones who donated large amounts.²⁸³ As Eldem said that: “the project combined a strong religious and ideological component with the strategic and economic interests of the Empire. What could bring more prestige to the Caliph of Islam than a railroad extending to the Holy cities of Mecca and Madinah and that would carry thousands of pilgrims effortlessly every year?”²⁸⁴ From this point of view, we understand that the Hedjaz Railroad medal belonging to Cemile Sultan was given to her because of her support for this *sacred line*.

We can say that Cemile Sultan was a sensitive person in religious matters, when we look at the gifts and donations she gave. Considering that her name being on the items that she gifted and again, having her name on the medal, it is possible to say that she desired to stand out with her identity in her charity works.

²⁸³ Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, p. 82-84.

²⁸⁴ Eldem, *ibid*, p. 320.

CONCLUSION

Upon the birth of Cemile Sultan in the Old Beylerbeyi Palace in 1843, jeweled and ornamented special items were prepared in the palace. Due to the birth of the princess, congratulatory messages were conveyed to her father Sultan Abdülmecid, special celebrations were held in the capital and in the vicinity, and poets of the time wrote verses that heralded the birth of the princess. These preparations for a member of the dynasty once again prove the importance of the Ottoman Empire's dedication to the etiquette.

Cemile Sultan, who lost her mother Düzdil Kadın at the age of two, was given to the care of Perestu Kadın, one of her father's wives, and remained under the care of foster-mother until she reached the age of marriage. Cemile Sultan's education life in the palace began at the age of five, and continued with religious studies and liberal arts. In addition to traditional education, we know that the piano, which makes you feel the European aspect of the 19th century Ottoman palace, was an instrument loved and played by the princesses. And Cemile Sultan was known with her pianist side around the palace.

In the Ottoman Empire, marriages were made between the dynasties since the establishment years. However, this practice was abandoned in the 19th century. Still, the political motivations continued in marriages. It was no coincidence that the father-in-law of Cemile, who was married to Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha, was the Tophane Chief Rodoslu Ahmed Fethi Pasha. Fethi Pasha, who was married to the daughter of Mahmud II, had the title of *damad-ı şehriyari*. This title was also granted to his son in 1858. The title of *damad-ı şehriyari*, which was a status that came with marriage, would also bring an honorary detail within itself.

Cemile Sultan and Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha's wedding ceremony took place in tents set up around Nişantaşı, and the details of the wedding are explained in the work *Peyam-ı Sur* by Nafi, the last example of the *surname* tradition. Although the famous historians of the era criticized the waste and gaudiness of the wedding, the culture of luxury entertainment, which reached its peak and adopted in the 19th century, continued until the collapse of the Empire without ever being affected by these criticisms.

After Celaleddin Pasha's exile, Cemile Sultan, who had the concession of the *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları*, made a great effort for the administration of the concession and had legal struggle when necessary. The princess, who represented herself through her deputies – her son or her steward – did not take an active role in the management of the ferry business, but the concession was constantly maintained within the dynasty. Although the management of the *Haliç Dersaadet Vapurları* changed hands from time to time from the establishment of the Company in 1856 and till the dissolution of it in 1941, Cemile Sultan continued to be the concessionaire. Although the egalitarian and libertarian environment of the constitutional monarchy was thought to affect the attempt and desire of the State to keep its capital accumulation through the members of the dynasty, it was not as predicted. Cemile Sultan was again the winner of the tender. Then, voluntarily and through her deputies, she transformed the business into a joint stock company. In addition to agricultural land investments, the Ottoman Empire, which had always had the largest share in capital investments, had always maintained ownership.

For the Princess, who lost her mother and father at an early age, her marriage at the age of fifteen did not bring happiness in the long run either. She also lost her children due to various diseases and lived a lonely life around the palace and her family. Her marriage with Celaleddin Pasha was disrupted by Pasha's exile, and ended after his death while in exile. Cemile Sultan, who lost her husband and four of her five children in her life time, had very sorrowful and mournful moments.

According to the information I obtained from the memories of the period²⁸⁵ as the manifestation of her experiences, after she preferred a reclusive life in Erenköy Manor, she mostly preferred dark clothes, and refrained from weddings and special ceremonies.

In the 19th century, which was a changing and transforming period, we can witness the changes in the housing through the palaces and places where Cemile Sultan lived. While the shores of the Bosphorus were used to be used as summer palaces of the dynasty, we can say that these coastal palaces were used as permanent settlements after the 19th century. The coastal palaces, which were built as living spaces, were also used as socializing and gathering areas.

The fact that this biographical work coincided with the 105th anniversary of Cemile Sultan's death is also special and meaningful to me. I wanted there to be compiled information about this unfortunate woman, who has not been sufficiently researched till now and there is not even a encyclopedia article on her. I hope this work, which is undoubtedly not definitive and perfect, has fulfilled its part as a thesis.

²⁸⁵ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *ibid* and Korle, *ibid*.

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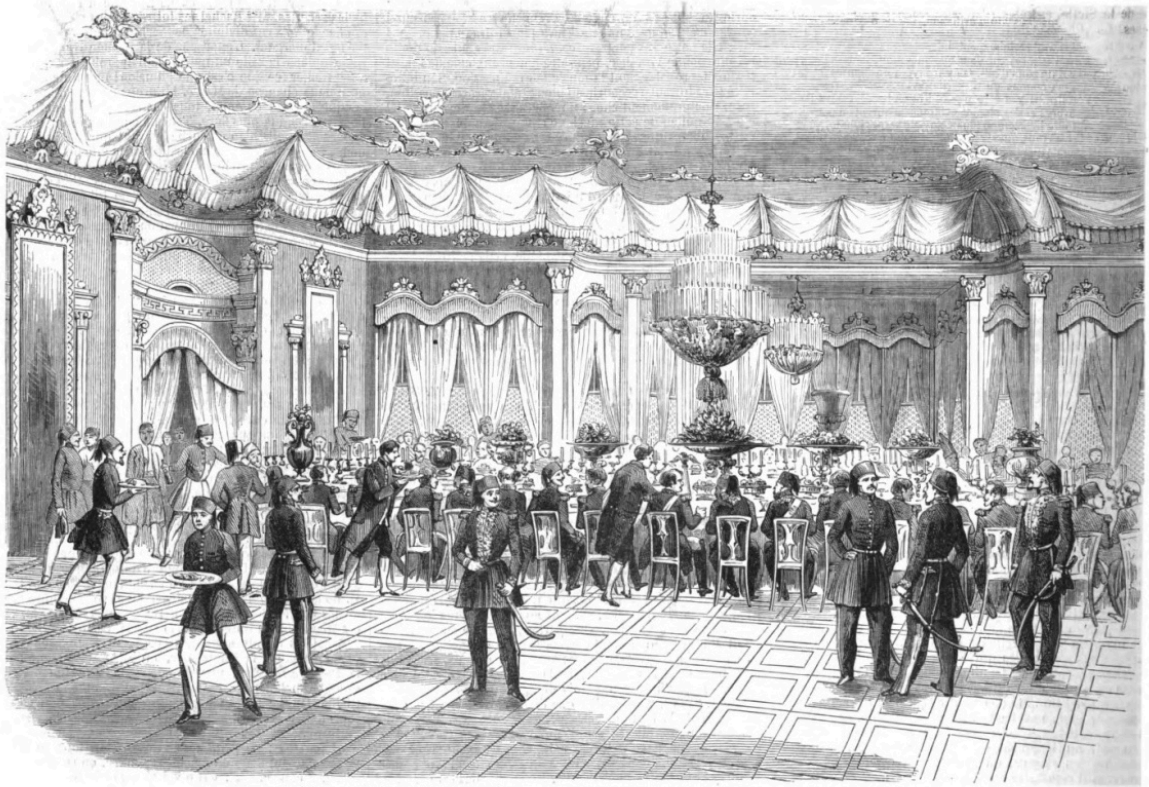
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APPENDICES

A.1. Gravure of Old Beylerbeyi Palace ²⁸⁷



Diner offert, le 8 mai 1854, par le Sultan au prince Napoléon, dans la salle du palais de Beylerbey. — D'après M. Brindési.

²⁸⁷ L'illustration, Journal Universel. vol.23, Jan-June 1854.

A.2. First floor anteroom of Double Palaces²⁸⁸



²⁸⁸ İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, No: 90536

A.3. Double Palaces Dining Hall²⁸⁹



²⁸⁹ İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No: 90536

A. 4. Harem Guest Room of Double Palaces²⁹⁰



²⁹⁰ İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, No: 90536

A.5. Guest Room of Double Palaces²⁹¹



²⁹¹ İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, No: 90536

A.6. Sultan's Room of Double Palaces²⁹²



²⁹² İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, No: 90536

A.7. Incensory and rose water flask²⁹³



²⁹³ (<https://www.tuvar.com/osmanli-da-altin-tutkusu>)

A.8. The Hamidiye Hedjaz Railroad Medal²⁹⁴



²⁹⁴ Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations*, Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center, İstanbul 2004, p. 328.

A.9. Seal of Cemile Sultan²⁹⁵



²⁹⁵ Bahadır Taşkın and Sevgi Ağca, *Padişahın Evi Harem, Topkapı Sarayı Harem-i Hümayun*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2012, p. 170.

A. 10. Cemile Sultan' Grave (Authors own photo)

