

17. YÜZYIL AVRUPALI SEYYAHLARIN GÖZÜNDEN OSMANLI KADINI IN 17TH CENTURY, OTTOMAN WOMAN ON THE EYES OF EUROPEAN TRAVELERS

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ÖZET

Söylenebilir ki Avrupa tarih yazımı son otuz yılda tarihte kadın konusuna yer verirken, aynı şekilde Osmanlı tarih yazımında benzer hareketler 1970'lerde görüldü. Öte yandan bilindiği üzere birçok çalışmaya konu olmuş Osmanlı kadınları ve hakkında yazılanlar günümüze değin süregelen bir yorumlama çeşitliliği ve tartışmalar doğurmuştur. Aslında bu çalışma, konuya ilişkin oryantal bakış açısını, 17. yüzyıla inerek analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Genel olarak tüm seyyahların en çok değinmiş oldukları konuların başında evlilik, boşanma, kıyafet, sosyal alan ve Osmanlı saray kadını gelmektedir. Öncelikle kadının evlilik sorumluluklarından daha önce vurgulanan konu evlilik ritüelleri ve törenleridir. Örneğin bir Rum kızla evlenen Thevenot bu konuya ilişkin oldukça detaylı ve önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. En çok bahsi geçen bir diğer konu ise boşanma ve boşanma taleplerini makul kılacak durumlardır. Thevenot gibi diğer seyyahlar da Osmanlı kadınının evlilik ve boşanma olaylarını anlatırken dini ve örfi kuralların etkisinden bahsederek soru işaretlerine açıklık getirmektedirler Üçüncü mevzu ilgili seyyahlar tarafından direkt gözlemleriyle yahut birisinin anlatmasıyla tezahürlerinde canlanan Osmanlı kadınlarının iç ve dış kıyafetleridir. Bir diğer konu ise Osmanlı kadınının günlük yaşamı, aktiviteleri, eğlenceleri ve alışkanlıkları üzerinedir. Tüm bu konuların saray kadınları üzerindeki incelemeleri de konunun bütünlüğü açısından farklı pencereler sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kadın, Osmanlı, oryantalizm*

ABSTRACT

Europe historiography started to research the place of women in the history for the last thirty years. Also for Ottoman historiography, similar drift emerged in 1970s.² Written about Ottoman women emerges discussion for a long time. Especially European writers were interrogated in terms of their bona fides because of their writings related to Ottomans and their women's daily lives, and privacy areas. Actually the study aims to analyze ancestor of the arguments from the eyes of Orienteers. Actually, in the first part, marriage is mentioned with all rights and responsibilities of partners. Also especially women are analyzed against to the claims. However, before the duties, wedding ceremonies who have importance in Ottoman custom included to Jew, Rum, and citizens. Thevenot's observation who marry with a Rum girl, contributes in terms of significant and real information. Also marriage is evaluated in Religious and Custom laws while every detail is mentioned.

Keywords: *Woman, Ottoman, orientalism*

¹Bilgi Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Sosyoloji Bölümü.

²Ronald, Jennings. 1973. "Loan and Credit in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal Of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 18.

Marriage

In 16th and 17th centuries, marriage had proudly importance in the Ottoman society. Also, marriage was seen as civilized and judicial battle; that's why each partner could break because of the certain reasons.³ It cannot be mentioned that in Ottoman there were spinsters and unmarried men population. Also one important issue related to marriage is age. For travelers, marriage or deciding the marriage with others happens.

Result of the some religious and social apprehension. For instance, according to La Motraye, Turkish the young ones were married in early ages since they might try to follow youth adventures and distress their families because of the misdoubts.

Actually, all travelers agree with each other about limited relations before marriage contract. In other words, two people who do not have a legal relationship cannot meet. The meeting is not evaluated with pleasure on the society. It is probably that parents do not want to interact with any person for their children or it can be meant as flirt. Furthermore, it was seen as polygamy is not spread in Ottoman society in all travel books between 16th and 19th centuries.⁴ On the other hand, polygamy does not have a position as anomalous of values, ethics or laws of Ottoman, only is not accepted gladly. Also, especially in cities, if there is any social and economic inequality among the partners, polygamy might take a place thanks to attraction of property of men.

It is undoubted rule for marriage that while Muslim man can marry with a non-Muslim woman including to Muslim women, a Muslim woman might not be married with non-Muslim man. However, it can be possible in condition that non-Muslim man changes his religion and chose Islam. Actually, the reason of the religious rule is explained with a root that continues from father, so the children of the union must be continued as Muslim and serve the Islam. The clause is valid in form of marriage of Muslim man and a non-Muslim woman. Children must be grown by depending on Islamic rules and education. Parents set to marriage; as a matter of fact that young men move another place in order to get rid of undesirable weddings.⁵ Still, young girls were helpless more than men about the issue. In khadi regards, events which related to women who accept to be escaped are rarely run across. And also other rarely seen topic is that some women who are married when they still are of age yet since they come of age, want that the wedding is regarded as invalid.⁶ Besides, Surayıya Faroqhi mentions that polygamy is an exaggerated topic which is still-continuing in the society. It is undoubtable that marriage ceremonies have spread area in the topic which is observed by several famous travelers. For instance, Pietro Della Valle who is another important name presents worthy of note analyzes which are interested the tradition of marriage:

“Acceptation started at night. Every invited woman was coming with chest which is filling with various dresses. They were going out to change their dresses silently for each some minutes. Thus, mannequins were seeming like a catwalk show. I was seen a lot of thing in my life but I must confess that I had not seen women who put on excellent dresses and jewels. Also, dowery of bride is worthy of princess...”⁷ The custom is still lived today in Albanian traditions. Therefore, it can be said that cultures might present similarities between each other in result of the communication or interpretation of beauty and view.

³G. Üçel-Aybet, *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözünden Osmanlı Dünyası ve İnsanları(1530-1699)*, İstanbul, 2010, s.119.

⁴Ortaylı, İlber, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, İstanbul, 2009, s.101.

⁵S. Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, İstanbul, 2014, s.129.

⁶Age, s.130.

⁷Pietro Della Valle, *Pietro's Pilgrimage*, s. 40.

Other significant point on the travelers' researches is forms of the marriages. In other words, in 17th century, in Ottoman, one of the other marriage types is called kayban or kebir. This type union was different from other types in terms of intention. Cornelius de Bruyn, who is Dutchmen traveler and being in İzmir and Istanbul for the four months in 1678, gives remarkable information about the type of the union. The context of the union is based on mutual expedience. In the marriage, man had proof the type if man stay away from their own house for a long time. The marriage was chosen from especially by European diplomats with local Rum daughters of merchants.⁸ English voyager Sandys, who visited in 1610 to Aegean islands, presents some interesting details based on the issue. According to Sandys, in Aegean islands, Rum merchants give their daughters twofold material value clause to European merchants rather than Rum groom entrants. Therefore, it can be thinkable that the marriage had been brought more advantages and prestige more local hymen. If the bride has children or became pregnant, her conditional husband had to lay claims to the children. Except that procedure, Christian men had not interacted with Muslim women. Even though the men had a bash to communication with Muslim women, punishment of the attempt meant death for the men. As far as Gülgün Üçel Aybet's research is concerned that final type marriage is with the slaves. For the wedlock, it can be said that properly equality is mentioned because men or women could be married with their own slaves who were endowed freedom by their owners. Otherwise, the conjugality was seen more divine from other types.

Other serious matter about the union is inheritance. In regard to Aybet's study, if husband die before his wife, the woman possesses to take back her dower. In contrast to the situation, if woman die before her husband, her trousseau pertains to her children if their father acknowledges. Some husbands have handed down all their properties and lands to only wives instead of sons. For the demand, it is significant that his wife has to have ability of regulation of the property. Other fundamental detail is that private landholders' daughter's inheritance rights. The group's right was limited in contrast to others. For instance, the same period in Bosnia law book, since the daughter become the successor of the property, while her father was alive, the daughter must be engaged in agriculture of her father. Other important interested point is that normally, house belongs to the leader of family, father. And after his death, the house is separated among his daughters, sons and widowed wife. However, while it is seen that husband and wife have ownership of their home, sometimes, only woman has the possession of the house. Besides, Aybet's study concerns that in 17th century, in court regards of Kayseri and Egypt, some remarkable examples were seen that, in family, women have inheritance right as much as men and the rights were practiced. Pursuant to interested documents, in the society, inheritance rights of women in marriage were put under protection of Ottoman law and Islamic law.

Divorcement

All pilgrims in 17th century touch upon divorce like marriage while woman life is mentioned. According to their ideas and observation divorcement is a right for Ottoman women; however, they criticize being more restricted of the right for women than men's. Thevenot who informs about marriage types in Ottoman society based on religious and traditional values called legally, kebin type and odalisque or belong to a cariya, continues with divorcement issue:

“Turkish men have the right of divorce their wives when they wanted time. For the transaction, it is enough that men go to kadı and say “Aley talak be talati” in a word “I leave from you”. If the men divorce their wives unjustly, they have to pay widower hood money to the wives. On the other hand, if the men are right about

⁸G. Üçel-Aybet, “The Legal and Social Positions of Women in the Ottoman Society in 16th and 17th Centuries,” *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica*, Viyana, 1999, s. 363.

decision of the leaving, they do not have to pay the money. Widower women just might marry after four mounts then the event. The reason of this is that in the four mounts women can understand their pregnancy, and if she is pregnant, know father of the baby, so lineage does not melt and the man have to wait birth of the baby. The father also has to feed the children. Moreover, if the man decides to re-marriage with the woman, or if the divorce happened with demand of the woman, re-marriage does not happen. For actualization of the event, the woman has to marry with another man. And so, old husband might demand the union after the end of new marriage.” For legal matrimony, the process is improved as the Islamic rules. As for the rest, women who married with kebin method do not have the typical procedures. In condition of the leaving, kadı does not have an active role, the man lies literal to the woman at choice. And if he does not want her, he dismisses the women by paying promised money to him and feeds the children that the woman breeds. Finally, in cariya way, men buy women as they want. Also, they might perform transactions to the women after man’s own heart. And they belong to women at choice in this manner. However, the traveler does not inform about leaving from cariya. It is possible that the process is similar to kebin but, end of the union, man does not pay any money, when Thevenot’s observation goes like this.

Women rights are protected by Ottoman law via courts. Similar events are related to divorce and women are mentioned in Evliya Çelebi’s famous travel book. For the sake of example, a story in the book mentioned that one man who loses his virility uses a medicine which increased androgen, and the man receives extreme sexual appetite and wants to sex with his wife again and again, almost ten times at one night. And then, the woman arrives the court and brings an action against her husband’s behavior by saying “I cannot stand”. However, the story has irony because of the conclusion. The court decides that the husband-wife can have intercourse with each other twenty times in one day. In a sense, victimization of woman is increased by reduplicating. On the other hand, the conclusion can be analyzed by taking into consideration of hyperbaton of Çelebi, the story also demonstrates that in the period, women can appeal to court and make a claim of injustice situation even if a private issue comes into question. To add more, Thevenot also approaches the topic from another point of view. For instance, he indicates that while husbands have right of divorce to their wives, women have the right only if their husbands do not fulfill their responsibilities to the wives such as procuring money of bread, rice, coffee, and Turkish bath twice a week. It follows from those that Ottoman women provide and guarantee their rights via court and being in the Ottoman courts shows that woman is evaluated as a citizen like man in front of kadı. Furthermore judicial opinions are used without breaking Islamic rules and Ottoman laws.

Appearance of Ottoman Women

In ottoman, appearance reflects tradition and differentiation in the society and also gives messages about ethnic and religious belongingness for wearer. Rig culture of women has more details than men. Meanwhile, every detail has a graceful meaning. Generally, travelers mentioned that the shirt is important part of the rigs. The shirts have pongee and superfine, liny fabric also narrowed cutting. Çakşır that is kind of the shalwar is also other significant piece of the whole, and the shalwars are made of expensive fabrics. Otherwise, kaftan and dresses are generally made of gold and silver inlaid brocade. Moreover, behind of the kaftans is looped thanks to hefty pearl or diamond button. And the rig covers up all shoulders and has a deep cutting view in breast proportion.

⁹J. Thevenot, *Thevenot Seyahatnamesi*, 2014, İstanbul, s.104,

In the part, shirts are seen sprucely and provide to be covered of breasts. On the other hand, another remarkable detail in the appearance is waist region. The region is enriched with jeweled or gold, silver inlaid leather belt. As an out rig, the women were wearing black, purple or red hijab and this rig had a fabric which was made of camel feather, velvet; and its sleeves were long and narrow as wrists. Actually, the appearance was adapted to winter airs. For winter, ermine and sable were stitched as lining of the rigs. Therefore, same view and convenience of seasons were provided on no account. For an example, Hollander traveler Cornelius de Bruyn who is located in Istanbul, December, 1678 tells about fug primed kaftan of the Ottoman women in the streets, and he relayed his observation by commenting, according to his regards, with the rigs show the women to good advantages, their pieces are about 300 or 400 gold. As Bruyn, Evliya Çelebi mentions the kaftans for the city women and adds that the women wear a tip to head via cheesecloth named Selamiye diba.¹⁰



Other important detail for the European travelers is that the women cover up head and face, and wear an ethereal veil which provides to remain open only eyes on the face. It is undoubtable that the act originates religious rules. Moreover, it must be repeated that attires in Ottoman present some meaning for wearer. And French pilgrim Thevenot's regard shows that in Istanbul, women who belong to family of Prophet are known with tiny green cloth in their veil. Related to the topic, Thevenot presents interesting observation. According to him, sometimes, when there is nobody around, the women want to be seen to men who they like by removing their veils on the face, but as a result of their acts, they chance to be birched and lost their honor.¹¹ It is possible to say that birching is because of zina in Islam in case of becoming four witnesses. Beside Turkish women, among Ottoman women, Jewish, Rom, and Christian ones present a various view for the travelers. To begin with Rum women, their clothes style shows similarity with Turkish women. According to studies, differences among cities play an important role for the women's cloth preference depend on economically. For instance, while in Istanbul, women who have middle class economy in society, wear more basic fabric appearance such as violet gown and heading, in Pera, Genovese Rum women are distinguished with rich and black fabric from İstanbul ones.

Thirdly, beside Jew women wear like a Turkish woman, hair shapes and their ornaments are difference from Turkish.

According to the quotation, it can be said that costume quality and details give message about the economical hierarchy as; the palace, ordinary, city and peasant women; but the common point is that ottoman women import their dress and garnish. For the sake of example, if a woman has economical comfort, she wears jewel inlaid frontlet, if she has not the comfort, she chooses only gold and silver inlaid frontlet, or she is a poor seriously, she use inlaid hankey. Jean du Mont adds that even though wife of shoe repairer is not seen without frontlet. And it is other important detail about the topic, choice of the costume designates geographical

¹⁰Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul*,2013 s.309

¹¹Thevenot, *Thevenot Seyehatnamesi*,2014, İstanbul, s.106.

features. For instance, in İzmir, women wear white hijab resulted from the climate because other colors such as purple or black suffer heat of sun more than other colors. Another significant information is interested with make-up of the women. As Europe, Ottoman women give important position to make-up for their style. Famous huge eyes of them, become more apparent thanks to kohl (is named in Turkish as sürme). Also, they paint their brows after eyebrow plucking. Moreover, according to studies, they used red dye which provides from mix of red and cream tatar for their lips and cheeks, and Sandy praises Turkish women's beauty, pureness and kindness. Actually, with the names, Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi gives some observation about women in Kasımpaşa, and says that the women are very beautiful and reason of the condition is related to city's air and water. According to European travelers such as Sandys, Jean du Mont, Jean Thevenot and also Evliya Çelebi are important names mentioned Ottoman women and their general comments harbor admiration and interest.

Ottoman Women In Social Domain

This part that concerns areas of the women for enjoyments in their daily lives shows that picnic areas or mesire areas in Turkish literature, Turkish bath, festivals, dinner walk, rest in pavilions and their gardens for palace members, women meetings take important place in their joy or act understanding. Moreover, thanks to the areas, the European travelers find to describe as from their beauty to relation with men except their husbands or fathers. Actually, professions almost are related to women who have no value status in the society in terms of economic. For instance, while roman women earn money as pendulum in palace or other fests, weddings, other women provide their bread as unauthorized hunting by visiting palace women. Addition to the occupations, opening a bazaar for only women buyer in Bursa and İstanbul considers that there is a women group as entrepreneur in the society and Empire gets the opportunity in order to exhibit their hold works and put on the market. Similar bazaar is seen as Avret Bazaar in İstanbul on observation of Evliya Çelebi . On the other hand, in Ottoman tax records in 17th century show that there are important women names that have house and land even so the wealth stays from their dead husbands. It is understood that the women could live without need of the men, and they could manage their lives. In departments of education, although the travelers do not argue any information, secondary research as Suraiya Faroqhi and Cemal Kafadar talk about Piri Hanım and Asiye Hatun and their resolution to religious education in the period. Additionally, it is interesting information in her study is that there are many anonymous women writers in 17th century. It can be said that, in the period, Ottoman women have the goods as being writer.

Except of the examples, in the related travelers do not mention about education of Ottoman women in details. On the other hand, it does not mean that ottoman women are not educated. In local studies, there is information about Ottoman education system included of women. The system starts with Sıbyan schools and continues accordingly attitudes of family and professions of the women. Palace education becomes topic to famous studies around the world until today. It is absolute that Ottoman women's position of the society and reinforcing the position are also related to the women's family and their attitudes.

Ottoman Palace Women

It is undoubtable that Ottoman women space can analyze not only under the mentioned topics. It can be also evaluated in terms of various specific arguments, and the condition has been open for discuss by through. Palace women are the top topic on the list that is most spoken issues about the Ottoman. Actually, while some interested people tell Ottoman women who spend their all-time by enjoying, drinking, flirting or present themselves as sexual items to palace men, others show the women as an ideal and model typical character on the society. It is certain that the approaches determine the comments with their feelings to Ottoman. If it is determined that on the related research, European travelers have a significant contribution. Also it can be said that the contribution is more regardless than Turkish researchers at least for 17th century. While Evliya Çelebi is remembered for the period, Europe does not only one name, it can be listed such as Tournefort, Thevenot, Robert Withers, Claes de Ralamb. Especially, Robert Withers who is a government officer came to İstanbul with ambassador of English in 1610, gives remarkable place for women in palace indirectly. He indicates that he writes the reports depending on what he hears from attendants in the palace and his sights. He begins the part of the research by saying that only one sir and others are captive. If the title is clarified, he associates sultan with state. And in terms of the idea, sultan is state and also has others who are under his sovereignty. The system is based on the idea that sultan's acts always have good intention what he did. By depending on the trust, people who are named as 'kul' might give up their lives if it is necessary or sultan wants. Therefore, for place like that, to mention from wide rights and freeness have serious difficulty. On the other hand, it does not mean that sultan is not investigated by any people or any authority. Religious and customary law or in other words, sharia and örfi rules might play an important role in order to control sultan's decisions. And the authority can interfere dominance of sultan for every space and even sultan might lose his life if his decision has contrarian to sharia or customary rule. Despite all of them, state and sultan address to be man and patriarchy like other imperial managements.

Furthermore, Withers evaluate the women by separating two parts as old and new palace. Members of new palace is titled as virgins who set for Sultan, Sultan (Queen), other sultans who interact with Sultan directly, and daughters, sisters and aunts of his, late sultan's wives and children, Jew women who make mediation between sultans who are view of his and named Haseki¹², and external world of palace. To beginning, virgin women are mentioned on the research that the women are shot down because of their beauty, came from foreigner lands or stolen. Also after the women are educated in terms of etiquette, playing an instrument, singing song, dancing in Enderun, they are presented to Sultan as a gift. Moreover, they become Muslim and Kethüda or housekeeper interest with them, groups in terms of their temperaments. Not to be a fooling among the virgins in nights, after all ten virgins, one old woman sleep and the room is lightened during the night. It is evaluated as a security in Harem. Their areas present opportunity

¹²Haseki means that although she is among favorites of sultan, also gives baby for him, first women of the sultan is deserving of woman sir (Kadın Efendi). And Sultan might emerge sexual intercourse or other interactions if Sultan accepts the condition.

and need for them such as baths or hamams, various rooms in order to sewing, and keeping wares, boxes which have importance. Else group in the area pour oneself into going to school, learning grammar of Turkish if they want, sewing and playing an instrument. For enjoyment, they generally walk in garden of palace. Actually, the group spends their time with women teachers by always learning, and progressing. When sultan demands a new woman, he says to Kahya Kadın, and she chooses best virgin among them and set her to Sultan. Having a baby, especially son, result of the intercourse means upper position on palace for the woman. In other words, the woman takes up an appointment from ordinary girl in Harem to Sultan. And the assignment wins a formality with organized celebrations and feasts. If she is first favorite of Sultan, with the birth, might become Queen and it is means extensive revenue, respectability and luxury for him. Moreover, English reporter points that other women of Sultan, Hasekis also are not in need of money, place, and food. For each other, special rooms are adjusted. In addition the advantages, their relations bear by performing. According to Withers records, while the women act with each other politely, meanwhile, they feel malignancy against other Hasekis; because they are afraid of becoming more habib by Sultan for others, that is to say as jealousy. Among the women, advance to opportunity and respectability is possible with death of Sultan's first son, successor. In other words, if the successor dies, rapidly, second Haseki's first son substitute as a successor. Therefore, the Haseki becomes new Sultan or Queen. Meanwhile, mother of died successor loses her advantages of the position and its yields such as revenue, privileges, respect and like those. It can be said that she lows to Haseki position from Sultan.

Other important issue as interested with the title contrast marriage as before 17th century and the period. For instance, before the period, Sultan who marries to Padishah was married with magnificent ceremony, on the other hand, in 17th century, the custom is blocked and woman accepts to marry to Sultan without any ceremony and kebin or wage for bride if they divorce. Actually, beside the new system, a real witness report is set named Hücçet and in the report, apart from agreements of the marriage, income that is provided by Padishah to Sultan, is written how many he wants. Also the condition is applied for Sultans. Withers on the part, mentions interesting detail belong to the period. The detail is that Padishah's wedding is not wanted last terms because new Sultan means to become new partner who is the next Padishah in terms of economy and administration. Sultan in palace has respectful position and a lot of men under the command of him. Kızlarağası and eunuch are only one of them. On the other hand, palace women are not only limited Haseki and Sultan, sisters, daughters, and aunts of Padishah are other important and effective characters of the palace. Actually, until they are married by Padishah, live in the same luxury, deluxe order. Moreover, the life's comfort is guaranteed also after they married. According to the research, when the women leave from the palace, a chest which is full of valuable dresses, jewels, and money are given with Padishah's command. And also, other significant valuable appliances are procured for the women for leading a comfortable life. Other important issue which is related to marriage is that when favorites of Padishah among the mentioned women marry, Padishah presents cariyes, captives and eunuchs as a wedding gift to the women. And also their houses are designed, paid their men's income by Padishah. Addition to the generosity of him, if they are married with bureaucratese man such as pasha, and his economic position is not enough for luxury life, Padishah provides a valuable house for them. The weddings for all of them emerge to the accompaniment of certain rules. For instance,

¹³Robert Withers identifies the chest as *çeyiz* and also indicates that *çeyiz* means *drohama* in English society.

husbands of the women gives a bride wealth obligation to their wives.¹⁴ Actually the bill concerns with hundred thousand coin, valuable dresses, jewels, and also other ornament items.

After the wedding, the women can visit the palace if the Padishah lets the visitation. Except of the condition, the women cannot meet to any men, can only women and the meeting generally happens when they come to palace. If the issue seems as lack of freeness, the sultans who are wives of pashas, see sir treatments by their husband, and do not hold off from command, affront to the men. Additionally, their position is understood from dagger which is carry on sash and has jewel ornaments, the dagger also presents the women's privileges and hegemony based on palace. However, in the marriage, decision of separated living belongs to Padishah allowance. Divorcements generally resulted in death of the pashas resulted from Padishah's command, and therefore, they have obedient attitudes and treatments against of the wives. It can be said that Padishah has a ruler role in the marriage as a kadı.

As for the rest, if they are not favorites of Padishah, continue to live other virgins. Also, their dream that becomes chosen by Padishah does not happen, are sent to Old Palace. In the new order, lady of the palace manages the marriage issues as Padishah. With her allowance, they can marry and take away dower which concerns their cumulative money thanks to their incomes and gifted items by Hasekis. On the other hand, in aids, servants take gift these two fabrics for dress, twenty pique canvas for underclothes and silk fabric also for dress from Padishah. Not only servants, Sultans and Hasekis accept as gifts such as jewel, valuable fabrics. Actually, for pashas, giving a gift to their wives provides to dignity on eyes of Padishah. While Withers touch on the children and wives of dead Padishah, some clues are observed. For example, if the Padishah dies, Hasekis and Sultans lose their positions and privileges in term of the Padishah. And while they are sent to Old Palace, daughters and sons of the dead Padishah, continue to live in the palace. Then they grew up in the same order and treatments. As an example, when daughters are married, Padishah obtains detailed information about the groom's economical, and dignity condition, also have to aware of mihir reserves. Therefore, the groom is seen among of the respectful and successful pashas.

Actually, when examining to Ottoman sultans, their unions with state dignitaries appear like going right. For the sake of example, Evliya Çelebi was enunciative of Melek Ahmet Pasha's mourning because of his wife's death. He tells that the Pasha has intense sorrow after his wife who dies while bearing a child. Then, Köprülü Mehmet Pasha who is one of the important names of the period offers to marry with another woman to Melek Ahmet Pasha. However, the Pasha answered the proposal by saying as he prefers death rather than marriage with another woman. The observation of Evliya Çelebi who is famous Ottoman traveler in the 17th century gives some especial messages about palace wedding's getting of course.

For the palace women, it can be said that social acts generally happens in palace. Outside of the palace, they leave from palace with Padishah and enjoy, having a rest and feast in various pavilions and their big and shipshape gardens. Secondly, in some related records mention that some enjoyments or festivals which public join, are watched by the palace women in a high sofa and in back of tulle curtain. Thirdly, meeting among bureaucratic women carry a critic role for present their position because they must act to deserve their status in palace. In the research, related notes take a place. Especially, Madam Lady Montagu provides remarkable observations about experiences of the women. According to him, less status is reason for more relaxed in the areas. On the other hand, hamam has significant cultural, traditional role on the palace. Actually, depend on the wealthy and nobility, every room has a bath based on the status of owner. For

¹⁴The bills is named as *Mihr-i muaccel* and *Mihr-i müeccel* on the research.

instance, in research of Gülgün Üçel Aybet, Thevenot, Nicolas de Nicolay, Suraiyya Faroqhi speak to the topic under general social areas for Ottoman women expect of palace women. One point separates the women from the rest, is that their baths, hamams build in their pavilions or palace. And they have wide servant and comfort than others. However, like ordinary women, palace women's social areas have serious privacy. According to Thevenot, except of husband and some eunuch, anybody cannot enter there. Also, for hamams, the privacy is preserve by taking repressive measures. Other significant detail is told by Jean du Mont, he speaks that in 1691, in important names' palace and mansions do the honors for dancing practices. According to him, in the areas, men dance teacher give lesson for men and woman dancers teach to women in different part. Women who learn dancing dance in women meetings, their friends weddings. Additionally, motions of the dance are not observed easy because of their dress style.

It might be understood that social stratification in the palaces is organized depend on various relations. Marriage is one of the certain relations for every woman. For instance, a woman who come to palace as cariye or captive, but she might deemed worthy of marry with a pasha even to be Sultan like Hurrem Sultan. Suraiyya Faroqhi analyzes the issue by taking advantages of various related reports. For example, while Guitierre Pantoja who is a Spanish noble and performs a duty as page in Ottoman, leave from palace, he is married with a cariye named Alime and a Russian, force of circumstances. In terms of Pantoja's status, the marriage can evaluate a chance for the cariye.

Final part of the reports interested to palace women tells punishments issues of the women. For virgins, if they do not obey the rules, firstly are punished by head of female servants (kalfa) by beating seriously. When it is understood that the women continue the wrongdoings, they are sent to Old Palace with command of Padishah, and they are alienated, lose every opportunity. Secondly, witchcraft and other similar crimes become reason for more serious punishments. The women throw overboard with their corded feeds and hands by being put in sack at night. Therefore, if they want to be wealthy and valuable, have to be obedient, trusted, attended and honest for Ottoman laws. Even Ottoman palace women issue has most privacy than others, thanks to Robert Withers and Albertus Bobovius, deep sights emerge. Also with other pilgrim's contributions, under the same titles, Ottoman palace women and their customs, tradition, rule related marriage, divorcement, and punishment in situation of the rules violation and their rest and joy understandings such as dancing, joining women meeting, festivals, plays, pavilions, walks, bathes are enlightened in the study. In result of the analyses, it can be said that every Ottoman woman does not lose herself in daily house works, if the woman has economic opportunity, she might become entrepreneur also in men's works successfully especially during 16th , 17th , and 18th centuries.

¹⁵G. Üçel-Aybet, *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözünden Osmanlı Dünyası ve İnsanları(1530-1699)*, İstanbul, 2010, s.169.

¹⁶S. Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, İstanbul, 2014, s.126.

¹⁷S. Faroqhi, 2014,s.151.

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