

# Sultan Mustafa II in Istanbul

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The reign of Sultan Mustafa II began and ended in Edirne. His close relation to Edirne even influenced his fate as Istanbul, the mighty capital of his empire, finally took up arms against him. Had he avoided and neglected his capital? Had he ever taken up residence there? If he did, what were his reasons? How did he present himself? What were his activities in the capital and how did he spend his time there? To what degree could the inhabitants take note of the presence of their sultan, their court and their government? How did they react? On the basis of contemporary sources, among them dated diplomatic letters and reports not yet biased by the knowledge of the Edirne Vak'ası and the end of his reign, this paper tries to describe and evaluate the sultan's two sojourns in Istanbul.

On February 7<sup>th</sup> 1695 Sultan Mustafa II came to the throne in Edirne succeeding to his uncle Ahmed II (1691-1695).<sup>1</sup> Only

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1 For his time and biography see: Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall], *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. vol. 6, Pest 1830, 599-678, vol. 7, Pest 1831, 1-86; Cengiz Orhonlu, „Mustafa II“, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (= İA) vol. 8, Istanbul 1960, 695-700; J. H. Kramers, „Mustafâ II“, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (= EI<sup>2</sup>), vol. 7, Leiden New York 1993, 707-708; Abdülkadir Özcan, „Mustafa

four and a half months later on June 20<sup>th</sup> he set out for Hungary at the head of his army. After ending his successful first campaign, he sent a *batt-ı hümayun* to Grand Vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha (1695-1697)<sup>2</sup> announcing his intention to winter in Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> Three reasons in favour of wintering there are given: wintering in Istanbul will be more useful for the people, preparing the next campaign in Istanbul will be easier and the repair of the places [recently] damaged by fire in Istanbul can also be taken up. The Viziers agreed.

On 18<sup>th</sup> November 1695 Sultan Mustafa entered the capital, riding amidst a magnificent parade. Ten respected persons and three Imperial officers who had been taken prisoner symbolized his victorious campaign.<sup>4</sup> He was received enthusiastically by the inhabitants of Istanbul. Deeply moved he saluted the people on both sides of the road. The Valide Sultan Gülnuş Emetullah who had arrived earlier, watched the procession from the Alay Köşkü. Sacrifices were made, cannons fired a salute. Old people agreed that they had never seen a more splendid victory celebration. Silâhdar Mehmed Ağa, the official historiographer of Sultan Mustafa's reign, writes that Istanbul had never before witnessed such a celebration and never before had the people shown such an interest. Everybody

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- II", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (= *TDVİA*), vol. 31, Istanbul 2006, 275-280; see also my forthcoming book on Mustafa II and his reign.
- 2 Cengiz Orhonlu, "Mehmed Paşa, Elmas (1662-1697)", *İA* vol. 7, İstanbul 1957, 583-585; A. H. de Groot, "Mehmed Pasha, Elmās (1071-1109/1662-97)", *EI* vol. 6, Leiden 1991, 993-994; Mücteba İlgürel, "Elmas Mehmed Paşa", *TDVİA* vol. 11, İstanbul 1995, 62-63.
- 3 Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretnâme* (ed. Topal). ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, vol. I, Istanbul 1962, 103. Mehmet Topal, Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa *Nusretnâme*. Tahlil ve Metin (1106-1133/1695-1721). (Unpublished Ph. D. Diss., İstanbul Marmara Üniversitesi 2001), 104. I am grateful to Abdullah Güllüoğlu for pointing that dissertation out to me and making it available to me.
- 4 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 113/ *Nusretnâme*, 112; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi* (1099-1116/1688-1704). Ed. by Abdülkadir Özcan, Ankara 2000, 117, facsimile 128a speaks of cannons and fifteen Imperial officers with chains around their necks.

prayed for the life of the sultan and the continuance of his sultanate and wished him countless victories.<sup>5</sup>

Arriving in the Yeni Saray, today's Topkapı Sarayı, he summoned the viziers and Şeyhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi<sup>6</sup> to the Audience Hall (*arzodası*) where he had them clad in sable lined brocade robes of honour before he retired to the Sofa Köşkü.<sup>7</sup> Next day he took a boat from the Yalı Köşkü<sup>8</sup> to Eyüb. There, after attending the Friday prayer in the mosque, he visited the mausoleum (*türbe*) of the Prophet's companion Ebu Eyyüb Ensari, where his ancestors used to perform the ceremony of girding on the sword after their succession to the throne. He now made up the traditional visit and distributed presents to the poor and the employees of the sanctuary, "making them full of joy".<sup>9</sup>

Every week Sultan Mustafa showed himself to the public as a pious ruler, riding with his retinue on horseback to one of the great sultanic mosques, the Süleymaniye, the Sultan Bayezid Camii, or the Aya Sofya Camii where he attended the Friday prayer.<sup>10</sup> After a Friday prayer in the mosque of Sultan Bayezid he moved on to

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5 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 115/*Nusretnâme*, 113; Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*. London 1734, 403; Archives des Affaires Etrangères (=AAE) Turquie vol. 28/II, 442a-b.

6 Orhan F. Köprülü, "Feyzullah Efendi", *İA* vol. 4, İstanbul 1945, 593-600; Sabra Follet Meservey, *Feyzullah Efendi: An Ottoman Şeyhülislam*. (Unpublished Ph. D. Diss., Princeton University, 1966). Mehmed Serhan Tayşi, "Feyzullah Efendi, Seyyid", *TDVİA* vol. 12, İstanbul 1995, 527-528.

7 For this köşk see Sedat H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1974, 261-265, 265-267 (English).

8 See: Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 1, İstanbul 1969, 173-206, 206-207 (English); Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Mass. London 1991, 231-240; Volkan Ertürk, "Yenisaray'ın Derya'ya Açılan Kapısı: Yalı Köşkü", *Turkish Studies* 8/7, 2013, 185-199. I am grateful to Abdullah Güllüoğlu for making this and some other texts available to me.

9 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 115/*Nusretnâme*, 113; Cantemir, *The History*, 403; the visit was reported to Louis XIV by the French ambassador Castagnere, Pera 19. Novembre 1695, AAE Turquie 28, fol. 442a.

10 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 115, 134, 143/*Nusretnâme*, 113, 135, 141.





Illustration 1:  
“Mustafa II’s Arrival  
in Istanbul”. From:  
François Aubry  
de La Motraye,  
*Voyages de Sieur de la  
Motraye en Europe,  
Asie et Afrique*,  
vol. 1, La Haye  
1727, after page  
243 (Bayerische  
Staatsbibliothek  
München, Res/2  
It.sing. 34-1)

the neighbouring Eski Saray where he watched a game of jereed. Once he had the Aya Sofya Camii and its neighbourhood cleared of everybody in order to allow his mother the Valide Sultan Gülnüş Emetullah Sultan<sup>11</sup> and his harem<sup>12</sup> to visit the mosque and the türbes in its garden. One day before, he had given leave to the gardeners of the *hassbahçe*, so that the *harem* had had an opportunity to go there and enjoy it.<sup>13</sup> From the guesthouse (*misafirhane*) of the Chief Black Eunuch (*darüssaade ağası*) he followed the festive procession celebrating the departure of the annual gift to Mekka (*surre alayı*).<sup>14</sup>

Sultan Mustafa soon after his arrival had visited the tomb of his father Mehmed IV in his grandmother Hadice Turhan Valide Sultan's<sup>15</sup> türbe next to the Yeni Cami, and had prayed for his father's soul.<sup>16</sup> When his cousin, Sultan Ahmed's daughter Asiye Sultan died, her corpse was solemnly conducted from the Eski Sarayı to the Süleymaniye by viziers, ulemas and officials of the divan.<sup>17</sup> Together with the Valide Sultan he celebrated his sister Fatma Sultan's<sup>18</sup> wedding with the Beylerbeyi of Silistria Çerkez İbrahim Pascha<sup>19</sup> in the saray of the groom near the Eski Saray until late in the night.<sup>20</sup>

Time and again the Sultan was invited to banquets in different parts of the town by the Grand Vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha or the

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11 M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*. Ankara 1980, 65-67; for recent biographies see: Mustafa Güler, *Gülnüş Valide Sultan'ın Hayatı ve Hayratı I*. İstanbul 2006 and Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnüş Emetullah Sultan*. İstanbul 2014.

12 Hans Georg Majer, "The Harem of Mustafa II (1695-1703)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 12, 1992, 431-444.

13 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 134/*Nusretnâme*, 136.

14 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 135-136/*Nusretnâme*, 137 .

15 Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 56-59.

16 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 115/*Nusretnâme*, 113.

17 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 116/*Nusretnâme*, 114.

18 Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 69.

19 Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 1, İstanbul 1308/1890-91, 112.

20 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 134/*Nusretnâme*, 135.

Grand Admiral Mezzomorto Hüseyin Pasha,<sup>21</sup> but these visits had also a military aspect. When Grand Vizier Elmas Mehmed Pascha invited him to have a meal in the Imperial Arsenal of Ordnance and Artillery (*tophane*), the casting of several cannons was demonstrated to him. He was very pleased, and presents were given to the Grand Vizier and all the employees.<sup>22</sup> When Grand Admiral Mezzomorto Hüseyin Pasha arrived with his fleet after the end of the successful naval war season he was at once received and honoured by the Sultan. Later the Admiral invited him to a meal in the Arsenal (*tersane*), and on that occasion received the order to build a big galleon and to cast 100 naval cannons.<sup>23</sup> Sultan Mustafa kept an eye on the armament of the fleet and when he moved to the *Tersane Köşkü* he noticed the newly built stocks but also the six slipways falling into ruin. He at once ordered the Grand Vizier as well as the Defterdar to restore two of them and the Kapudan as well as the Tersane Kethüdası one of them each. In this way, according to Silâhdar, the arsenal was completely restored.<sup>24</sup> On 16 March 1696 he watched the launching of a galley (*çekdiri*) from a window of the *Tersane Divanhanesi* while a salute was fired.<sup>25</sup> Some days later the Grand Admiral invited him to a meal on his galleon in order to celebrate the launching of another new galleon. Thereafter two flotillas bound for Azov und Otschakow (*Özü*) put to sea. At the same time, it was decided to build another four galleons.<sup>26</sup>

Sultan Mustafa also showed himself eager to improve the shooting practice of his troops, so one day he watched the marines (*levend*) from the newly built köşk of the Grand Admiral in

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21 Cengiz Orhonlu, "Mezemorta Hüseyin Paşa", *İA* vol. 8, Istanbul 1960, 205-208; by the same author: Husayn Pasha, known as Mezzomorto, *EI<sup>2</sup>* vol. 3, Leiden London 1979, 629-630; Idris Bostan, "Mezemorta Hüseyin Paşa", *TDVİA* vol. 29, Ankara 2004, 524-526.

22 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 133/*Nusretnâme*, 135.

23 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 131-132/*Nusretnâme*, 133-134.

24 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 136/*Nusretnâme*, 133.

25 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 141-142/*Nusretnâme*, 139.

26 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 141-142/*Nusretnâme*, 139-140.

the arsenal (*tersane*).<sup>27</sup> He also ordered a shooting contest among the baltacı and bostancı taking part in the coming campaign. It took place at the Çayır Köşkü and silver trays (*gümüş tepsiler*) were the targets, gold coins were the prize. Thereafter he ordered the bostancı and janissaries to organize shooting contests alternatively day by day, with the silver targets as prize.<sup>28</sup>

Most of his activities were directed at the strengthening of his army and this did not escape the attention of the military, the people, and the diplomats present. The examples given, highlight Sultan Mustafa's active part in the intensive military preparations for the next campaign, mentioned by contemporaries.<sup>29</sup> In state affairs he depended mainly on the Grand Visier, the Şeyhülislam and the Grand Admiral. Their multiple activities were an important aspect of the Sultan's presence in the capital. On the one hand he himself controlled, interfered and ordered, on the other hand there was his unlimited trust in his former teacher, the Mufti or Şeyhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi. In a letter the French Ambassador Castagnères sent to King Louis XIV on 18 February 1696 he already pinpointed the Mufti as the weak point of the Ottoman government: "*Le Mufty cependant n'a jamais paru en plus grand credit qu'a present, mais le plus haut periode de la prosperite marque quelques fois le moment d'une disgrace prochaine. En effet il se mele de toutes les affaires de la Cour et de la distrubition des employs: Il a beaucoup entreprise sur l'autorite du G[rand] Visir: c'est un desordre dans l'estat qui pourroit donner lieu a des grandes plaintes. S'il doit arriver quelque revolution elle eclatera bientot car les Turcs sont vifs dans les resolutions qu'ils prennent en matiere de government.*"<sup>30</sup>

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27 Silâhdar, *Nusretname* I, 134/*Nusretname*, 135;

28 Silâhdar, *Nusretname* I, 135/*Nusretname*, 136; see also Castagnères to Louis XIV, Pera 18. Fevrier 1696, AAE Turquie 30, fol. 16a; Fabre to Croissy 18 fevrier 1696, AAE, Turquie 29, fol. 87b-88a; Cantemir, *The History*, 403.

29 Castagnères to Louis XIV, Pera 26. Decembre 1695, AAE Turquie vol. 28, fol. 444b; Fabre to Croissy, Pera, 20. January 1696. AAE Turquie vol. 29, fol. 80a-b; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 117; Cantemir, *The History*, 403.

30 AAE Turquie vol. 30, fol. 23a.



On 21. December 1695 the envoy of Dubrovnik/Ragusa Vladislavo Secondo di Bucchia who delivered the yearly tribute had an audience.<sup>31</sup> Antioch, the new voyvoda of Moldavia was also escorted to an audience after he had received the insignia of his office in the Divan.<sup>32</sup> The sultan appointed high-ranking functionaries and dismissed others from office, receiving some in audience and decorating them with robes of honour. *Mühimme Defteri* 108 reflects how intensively the Divan worked in order to assemble numerous and well-armed troops for the next campaign and to fight against disorder in the provinces.<sup>33</sup> As this was the Sultan's foremost interest he resolutely pushed these endeavours. In consequence of which he had also to deal with penal law cases. When, for example, he was informed that Genç Mehmed Paşa, the Beylerbeyi of Karaman, had extremely oppressed the people, he had his head cut off and exhibited publicly.<sup>34</sup> He also ordered the bostancıbaşı to prosecute the murderer of a former kadi who had been killed in a cell of the medrese of the Valide Camii in Üsküdar. The bostancıbaşı succeeded in arresting the culprits, who were either executed or condemned to the galleys.<sup>35</sup>

On 3 March 1696 the viziers and ulema were present as the horsetails were put up in front of the Babüssaade in a solemn ceremony.<sup>36</sup> Later in March the palace servants (*saraylı*) began the move from the Tersane Bahçesi,<sup>37</sup> where they had been almost since

31 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 131/*Nusretnâme*, 133.

32 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 132/*Nusretnâme*, 134.

33 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi İstanbul (=BOA) *A.DVN.MHM.d*, vol. 108.

34 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 136/*Nusretnâme*, 137; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 576; Raşid, *Tarih*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1282/1865, 357; BOA, *A.DVN.MHM.d*, vol. 108, 100.

35 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 135/*Nusretnâme*, 136.

36 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 141/*Nusretnâme*, 138.

37 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 142/*Nusretnâme*, 140. For this garden and the palace see: Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 1, 251-283, 283-284 (English); Volkan Ertürk, "XVIII. ve XVIII. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Sultanlarının bir eğlenme ve dinlenme mekânı olarak Tersane Bahçesi", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi* yıl 6 sayı 15, 2013, 91-125, for the buildings of the saray see p. 97, for Mustafa II's stay see pp. 107-109.

their arrival,<sup>38</sup> to the Topkapı Sarayı. Some days later the Yeniçeri Ağası paraded with his troops, the sultan watching their parade from the Alay Köşkü.<sup>39</sup> On 7 April the Sultan invited the viziers, ulema and şeyhs present in Istanbul, to the Sofa Köşkü in order to proceed together to the mantle of the Prophet (*birka-ı şerif*) and say their prayers.<sup>40</sup> Next day the Sultan and the troops left the city through the Edirne Kapı. Their departure was almost as brilliant and impressive as their entry had been. The Valide Sultan watched the parade from the Alay Köşkü and then moved on to the Davudpaşa Sarayı.<sup>41</sup> In Davudpaşa, the traditional assembly point of the army, the Sultan stayed in the imperial tent (*otağ-ı hümayun*) until he set off for Edirne on 20 April 1696 in order to march against the Emperor in Vienna.<sup>42</sup>

Thus ended Sultan Mustafa II's first stay in Istanbul, which had lasted for more than five months (14. 11.1695-20.4.1696), beginning and ending at the Davudpaşa Sarayı outside the walls. He had appeared in public as a young, handsome and powerful ruler at many occasions and different places. His presence was noted by the people as well as by the soldiers. He had pushed the armament and provisioning of the troops, had granted honours and presents to many people, and had publicly shown his piety. The atmosphere was favourable, further success could be expected. These expectations had been strengthened, when a valuable sword was found in the treasury. A Syriac or Hebrew inscription on a small copper plate accompanying it told that it was the sword that God had ordered the prophet David to forge. Later the prophet Jesus had owned it,

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38 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 136/*Nusretnâme*, 137; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 117.

39 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 143/*Nusretnâme*, 140-141.

40 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 143/*Nusretnâme*, 141 .

41 Cantemir, *The History*, 404; Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 144/*Nusretnâme*, 141-142.

For the palace and its garden see: Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 1, 209-236, 236-237 (English); Semavi Eyice, "Davud Paşa Sarayı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, Istanbul 1994, 8-9 and Tülay Artan, "Davutpaşa Bahçesi", *loc. cit.*, 10-11.

42 Fabre to the Marquis de Croissy, Pera 20. Mars 1696, AAE Turquie 29, fol. 89a-b, Fabre to Croissy, Pera 20 Avril 1696, AAE Turquie 29, fol. 99a-b.

before it came into the treasury of the kings of Egypt, where Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, had found it and had added the translation of the text into Arabic. The owner of this sword would always triumph over his enemies. The actual owner was the young Padişah, who now girded it, so everybody rejoiced.<sup>43</sup>

The historian Dimitrie Cantemir who was living in Istanbul at that time commented on the sultan's first stay in the capital: "Thus *Constantinople*, which under the preceding sultans regarded nothing but pleasure, and seemed in the midst of war to be dissolved in luxury, under *Mustapha's* administration resounds nothing but arms, and not only presages, but even promises itself future conquests from what were already gained".<sup>44</sup>

After the second successful campaign (1696) it was decided to winter in Edirne, not again in Istanbul, no reasons are given.<sup>45</sup> When the third campaign ended with the disaster of Zenta in 1697, no one even thought of wintering in Istanbul. It is highly probable that the Ottoman leadership did not want to expose the Sultan to the incalculability of a sojourn in the capital, as the end of his father's reign in 1687 was still remembered. The Sultan's participation in the campaign of 1698 was discussed among the Ottoman leaders, but the Divan agreed unanimously that it was not necessary as peace talks had begun.<sup>46</sup> Important clashes were not to be expected anymore.

In January 1699 the peace was concluded at Karlowitz. After sixteen long and exhausting years of war, finally there was peace. For the ratification of the treaties Ottoman ambassadors had to be sent to the capitals of the former enemies and the foreign ambassadors had to be received on Ottoman soil.

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43 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 133/*Nusretnâme*, 134-135. A colleague from the United States told me during the symposium that this sword was still extant in the collections of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi and she had seen it there.

44 Cantemir, *The History*, 403.

45 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 209/*Nusretnâme*, 215; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 125.

46 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 347/*Nusretnâme*, 375-376; Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku: ASMM Prep. 17. 37, 1784a/89, p. 10.

Whether the Sultan would come to Istanbul in order to receive the foreign ambassadors was not quite clear, as there was a rumour that the Mufti and the Valide Sultan were opposing.<sup>47</sup> They might have feared trouble. But as the approaching French ambassador Marquis de Ferriol remarked, it was highly improbable that the Sultan would not come to his capital for the ratification of the peace-treaties.<sup>48</sup> In fact the leading statesmen and the sultan had “for the security and tranquillity of the people” agreed on the sultan’s stay in the capital.<sup>49</sup> Mustafa II left Edirne on 28 August and entered Istanbul solemnly on 11 September 1699. The French traveller François Aubry de La Motraye (1674-1743) was present and gives a very detailed account of the parade.<sup>50</sup>

First he describes the convoy of the Valide Sultan and the harem from Davudpaşa Sarayı to the seaside. The women travelled in several carriages covered with differently coloured and beautifully embroidered cloth, each drawn by four richly decorated horses being surrounded by black eunuchs on horseback who held back curious spectators who came too close. Covered boats then took them to the Yeni Saray. His description of the Sultan’s procession (*alay*) consists of eighty-five parts. Eighteen squads of Sipahis and fifteen squads of Janissaries marched at the head, about 300 camels and dromedaries carrying luggage, and a number of water carriers (*sakka*) marked the end. Between them there were officers carrying flags and the horsetails, the treasury and the royal tents were carried by 300 camels, there were hundreds of topcus, cebecis, barutçıs and their officers, there were bostancıs, aşçıs, helvacıs, baltacıs, kapıcıs, hamamcıs, hocas, imams, berbers, çavuşes, 2000 zaims and timarlı sipahis, some paşas, the kethüda of the Grand Vizier, the nişancı,

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47 Luca Barca, Pera 25. June 1699. Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku: ASMM Prep. 17. 37. 1784a/105, p. 1.495.

48 Emile Varenbergh, “Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol, ambassadeur de Louis XIV à Constantinople” *Annales de l’Académie d’Archéologie de Belgique* 26, Anvers 1870, 519.

49 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* I, 22/*Nusretnâme*, 435.

50 François Aubry de La Motraye, *Voyages de Sieur de la Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, vol. 1, La Haye 1727, 243-253.

the yeniçeri ağası, the Istanbul efendisi, the vesirs, mütevellis, mol-las, the kazaskers, the music corps of the Grand Vizier and of the Sultan, the guard of the Grand Vizier, cohadars and pages, between them the Grand Visier and the Mufti, tülbentcis, the imrahors, beylerbeyis, Hasan Pasha, the brother in law of the sultan, an emir with the flag of the Prophet, the Kuran on a splendidly decorated camel accompanied by şeyhs, the nakibüleşraf, peyks, the Sultan with solaks, acemi oğlans and içoğlans followed by the silahdar ağa and the ibrikdar ağa and an eunuch throwing coins, the kızlar ağası, 40 richly decorated horses, more cebecis, the doğancı başı and the zağarcı başı with their men, a large group of hunters with dogs, 60 mutes, 50 dwarfs, five carriages with the princes, near the end more janissaries, 1000 topcus with their cannons, 1000 sipahis, 1000 cebecis, etc. etc. A great number of these men were mounted on costly bridled valuable horses, carried their weapons, wore their splendid ceremonial turbans and garb.

This magnificent procession (Illustration 1) marched through Istanbul and demonstrated unequivocally that the sultan, the court, the government and parts of the army had again taken up residence in the capital. For some people, however, the procession might have uncovered what the capital had been missing before. After his arrival Sultan Mustafa went directly to the Sofa Köşkü, his favourite dwelling in the Topkapı Sarayı, had a meal there and later took a boat from the Yalı Köşkü to the Tersane Bahçesi, where part of his belongings had already arrived.

His mother had watched his festive arrival, had her meal in her daughter Hadice Sultan's Yalı and also went to the Tersane Bahçesi by boat.<sup>51</sup> To her, head of the harem and centre of the family, Mustafa II had a very close relationship and she was able to play an important role in his time. Quite often she left the harem, paying visits to the Grand Visier or her relatives in their palaces all over the town.<sup>52</sup> The Ottoman family became more numerous while the Sultan stayed in Istanbul: three daughters and a son were born

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51 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 23-25/*Nusretnâme*, 436-438; Hammer, GOR vol. 7, 10-12.

52 Majer, "The Harem", 441.

there. Cannons were fired to celebrate the birth of the son publicly,<sup>53</sup> the girl's births, however, just got an entry in Silâhdar's history.<sup>54</sup> But when Princess Fatma and later Prince Hüseyin died, both were brought to the Yalı Köşkü by boat. There the prayers (*cenaze namazı*) took place, attended by viziers, ulema and functionaries of the divan, before they were taken to Turhan Valide Sultan's türbe next to the Valide Camii.<sup>55</sup>

During his second stay in the capital the Sultan for most of the time did again not reside in the Topkapı Sarayı, but in other sarays and gardens. His harem at first was housed in the Tersane Sarayı called also Aynalıkavak Sarayı (11.9.1699-30.10.1699), then in the Davudpaşa Sarayı (30.10.1699-13.11.1700) and finally in the Çatalca Sarayı<sup>56</sup> (13.11.1700-12.3.1701). Çatalca Sarayı was a vast and pleasant palace surrounded by a strong wall, where he himself had preferred to stay since the end of November 1699, far away from town but close to hunting grounds. He commuted nevertheless frequently between these palaces, the Üsküdar Sarayı (Kavak Sarayı),<sup>57</sup> the Yapağıcı Çiftliği and some other gardens.<sup>58</sup> From the Çatalca Sarayı he returned every week to Istanbul for the Friday prayer, the Tuesday divan<sup>59</sup> and of course for the celebration of religious feasts. The Sultan's plan to celebrate the circumcision of Prince Ibrahim

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53 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 33/*Nusretnâme*, 447.

54 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 27, 32, 36/*Nusretnâme*, 440, 446, 450.

55 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 33, 38/*Nusretnâme*, 447, 453.

56 Evliya Çelebi who had been there for a week together with Melek Ahmed Pasha describes this now almost unknown palace enthusiastically: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, vol. 3, Istanbul 1999, 273-274. A tezkere (BOA, Ali Emiri: Mustafa II 3050/IIII) documents repairs for the sultan's stay in the palace.

57 Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, "Das Kavak Sarayı – Ein verlorenes Baudenkmal Istanbuls". in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38, 1988, 363-376; Tülay Artan and Christoph K. Neumann, "Kavak Sarayı", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, İstanbul 1994, 494-495.

58 For the royal gardens see: Murat Yıldız, "Padişahların Dinlenme ve Eğlenme Mekânları: İstanbul Bahçeleri", *Osmanlı İstanbulu II*, ed. Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, Emrah Safa Gürkan, İstanbul 2014, 637-673.

59 Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 546.

the son of Sultan Ahmed II together with a number of boys from noble families in the Üsküdar Sarayı in summer 1700 was given up because of the high cost and the lack of money.<sup>60</sup>

Within the area of the Topkapı Sarayı Sultan Mustafa used to stay above all in the Sofa Köşkü. The Alay Köşkü enabled him to watch military processions, but also the funeral procession of his sister Ümmi Sultan. The funeral prayer for his sister Fatma Sultan, who had died some days earlier took place in the Yalı Köşkü at the seaside<sup>61</sup>. Usually he met there with the Grand Admiral and other high officers of the navy. It was, however, quite unusual that the Russian ambassador after receiving permission to leave for his country had an audience with the sultan in the Yalı Köşkü, which had been rapidly embellished for the occasion.<sup>62</sup>

Of course Sultan Mustafa went regularly to the Friday prayer in one of the sultanic mosques. It was the best opportunity for the people and for foreigners to see him and his brilliant entourage passing by on horseback. Three days after his arrival, when he went to Aya Sofya Camii, de la Motraye was able to observe him and his retinue from behind the janissaries, who were on watch along the way.<sup>63</sup>

The arrival of the ambassadors was the main reason for Mustafa II's stay in the capital, and the ambassador's presence created an atmosphere that gave the Istanbulus a feeling of really living in the capital of an Empire. The splendid entries of the ambassadors and also the departures with their numerous retinues were spectacles repeated on a smaller scale when they rode to their first audiences with the sultan in the Topkapı Sarayı and later when they had their final audiences. The Polish ambassador staged a magnificent entry with the most numerous retinue so that even the Sultan watched it

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60 Ferriol to Louis XIV, Pera 7 June 1700, AAE Turquie vol. 33, 144v and 202v (letter of 12 July 1700). Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 598, 629.

61 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 43-44/*Nusretnâme*, 459; on both the princesses see: Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 69-70.

62 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 37-38/*Nusretnâme*, 452-453.

63 For the description see: La Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol. I, 256-257.

secretly from the Bekri Mustafa Paşa Çiftliği outside Silivrikapı.<sup>64</sup> While the audiences of the Polish ambassador, the Russian ambassador, the Venetian ambassador, and the Imperial ambassador went off well in the traditional way, the first audience of the new French ambassador Marquis de Ferriol was stopped and never again granted, as he was not willing to put down his sword, and the Ottomans were not ready to tolerate such a behaviour.<sup>65</sup>

As during his first stay in Istanbul, the Sultan was invited frequently, mostly by Grand Vizier Amcazade Hüseyin Pascha and Grand Admiral Mezzomorto Hüseyin Pasha. Although after one of the banquets given by the Grand Admiral he was present at the launching of the new flag ship,<sup>66</sup> these invitations in general were no longer connected with a military engagement. Now they were above all intended to serve the sultan's pleasure and to deepen personal relations. After Sultan Mustafa had recovered from an attack of fever at the end of March 1700 and had celebrated Bayram, Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha for instance gave him a dinner in his Yalı on the Bosphorus<sup>67</sup> and presented him with a valuable belt decorated with diamonds.<sup>68</sup> The Sultan himself did not host anybody, it was unusual. But he invited viziers and successful generals and governors to audiences in the Topkapı Sarayı and granted them praise, positions and robes of honour.

Sultan Mustafa went to the Tuesday-meetings of the Divan-ı hümayun in the Topkapı Sarayı. He often came riding on horseback from other sarays starting at sunrise in order to be there in time

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64 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 32/*Nusretnâme*, 446. Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol.I, 277-278: more than 600 persons; Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 590-591.

65 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 28-29/*Nusretnâme*, 442-443; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 685-686; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 143-144; *Uşşâkîzâde Târîhi* vol. I, 411-412; Râşid, *Tarih* vol. II, 489-490; Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol.I, 269-273; for Ferriol's account see: Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 550-557.

66 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 30/*Nusretnâme*, 444.

67 See: Tülay Artan, "Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I, Istanbul 1993, 239-240: its *selâmlık divanhanesi* is still standing.

68 Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 583,585.



and he stayed until he had done his work.<sup>69</sup> This early ride was even noticed by the French ambassador and by French ships. They fired a salute when he passed and the sultan was so pleased that he asked to repeat it whenever he passed again.<sup>70</sup> Numerous entries on decrees in his own hand (*batt-ı hümayun*) mentioned in *mühimme defteri 111*, often concerning Egypt or Mesopotamia, reflect to some degree his part in dealing with political and administrative matters of his empire during his stay in Istanbul.<sup>71</sup> Meetings with the Grand Vizier and the Şeyhülislam, in case of need even by night,<sup>72</sup> but also meetings with the Grand Admiral and others kept him informed and involved, as it was up to him to make the final decision.

The inhabitants of Istanbul could not detect much of the House of Osman's traditional building-frenzy in him. He had ceilings in Yedi Kule and Topkapı Sarayı repaired,<sup>73</sup> and also cupolas and ceilings in the Prophet's tomb in Medina.<sup>74</sup> As often in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century not the Sultan, but his mother, the Valide Sultan built a mosque.<sup>75</sup> It was erected in Galata on the site of a burnt down Venetian church. The kadi of Galata Seyyid Mehmed Dede Efendi, the brother of the Mufti's mother-in-law, had proposed to the Mufti Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi to build a mosque there, and he had submitted the idea to the Sultan.<sup>76</sup> When the mosque

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69 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 28, 39, 44/*Nusretnâme*, 441-442, 454, 459.

70 Varenbergh, "Correspondance", 546.

71 BOA, *A.DVN.MHM.d*, III.

72 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Dispacci degli ambasciatori a Costantinopoli al Senato, filza 164 fol. 355a: Soranzo to the Doge, 10 August 1700.

73 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 25/*Nusretnâme*, 438.

74 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 31/*Nusretnâme*, 445.

75 Ayvansarayî Hafız Hüseyin, *Hadikat ül-cevami*. vol. 2, Istanbul 1281/1864-65, 34; Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Camileri*, vol. 2, Ankara 1987, 26; Güler, *Gülnûş Valide Sultan'ın Hayatı ve Hayratı I*, 33; İpşirli Argıt, *Rabia Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*, 175-181; for the most detailed and thorough study of the mosque see: Muzaffer Özgüleş, *Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan'ın İmar Faaliyetleri* (Unpublished Ph. D. Diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2013), s. 195-258. Thanks again to Abdullah Güllüoğlu for his bibliographical assistance.

76 More details concerning the affair are given in a letter of Luca Barca, Costantinopoli 15 Luglio 1696, Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku: ASMM Prep. 17. 37. 1784a/80, p. 7-8.

was completed<sup>77</sup> the Valide Sultan invited her son for the inauguration.<sup>78</sup> After a year, however, the minaret was struck by lightning<sup>79</sup> and had to be pulled down and rebuilt. On the same day a fire broke out in the sultanic kitchen (*hasmutfak*) of the Topkapı Sarayı, next morning another one near the Galata Sarayı. The Sultan rushed over on horseback “fast as lightning” and supervised the work of the Viziers and Ocak Ağaları until the fire was extinguished. Sieur de la Motraye was an eyewitness of the scene as he himself had been surprised in bed by the fire, in a house nearby.<sup>80</sup> Silâhdar had noticed the malicious joy of some people but then he comments saying: the pleasure of those who had been pleased about the destroyed minaret and the fire in the saray thus stuck in their throats.<sup>81</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> November 1700 the Sultan, the Valide Sultan, the harem and the court (*enderun halkı*) moved to the Çatalca Sarayı. „As if he were a guest (*misafirmişçesine*)” he came from there to the Topkapı Sarayı in order to salute the *Surre Alayı* from the Yalı Köşkü and to have a meeting with the Şeyhülislam and the Grand Vizier. Thereafter he returned to Çatalca. After returning to Çatalca from a trip to Çorlu, he announced that he would stay there the whole month of Ramadan.<sup>82</sup> Next day the mantle of the Prophet (*hırka-ı şerif*) was brought by a special carriage all the way from the Topkapı Sarayı to the Çatalca Sarayı for the traditional prayer. Intending to celebrate the *kadir gecesi*, the Sultan returned to the Topkapı Sarayı with a small retinue. Some days later *şeker bayramı* began with the exchange of greetings in the Topkapı Sarayı. For his prayer Sultan Mustafa went to the Aya Sofya Camii, visited the İftârköşkü<sup>83</sup> and

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77 According to Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 66 note 5 information about the money spent for this building, about the number of the vakıf shops and about the food prepared in its imaret can be found in E. No. 145 of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi.

78 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 26-27/*Nusretnâme*, 440: 26. September 1699.

79 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 39/*Nusretnâme*, 454; Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol. I, 278-279.

80 Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol. I, 279-280.

81 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 39/*Nusretnâme*, 454.455.

82 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 45/*Nusretnâme*, 460.

83 Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. I, 329-334, 334 (English).

the harem, went to prayer in the Valide Camii and from there to the Yalı Köşkü where cannons were fired as a salute and where he watched wrestling matches. Next morning (13 March 1701) Sultan Mustafa told the Grand Visier unexpectedly but not completely surprisingly that he had decided to return to Edirne at once, accompanied by the harem, the pages and the Kaymakam Pasha. He ordered the Grand Vizier to complete his affairs without delay and to follow him to Edirne with the flag and the mantle of the Prophet, the Şeyhülislam, the Kazaskers, certain military units and members of the central administration (*erbab-ı divan*).<sup>84</sup> He went back to Çatalca and set out for Edirne on 31 March 1701, and never again returned to Istanbul.

A ferman addressed to the kadi and the bostancıbaşı of Edirne explains the return saying: after the peace agreement with the Christian kings it is most important to protect the frontier fortresses and the border and that task can be achieved more effectively from Edirne.<sup>85</sup> This was obviously a “political” explanation. The historian Silâhdar, however, although belonging to the Sultan’s retinue, remarks that there was no reason at all for this move to Edirne. Actually it would have been the right time to do away with the consequences of war. He thinks that Şeyhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi’s influence was responsible for the return to Edirne. In order to support his sons and his clients and to keep the other ulema far from the sultan he, according to Silâhdar, had warned Sultan Mustafa of the dangers of Istanbul and had praised the advantages of Edirne „with sweet words“, describing it as a quiet place, favourable to the officials, rich in hunting grounds, adding that up to the present day there had never been a rebellion.<sup>86</sup> The Şeyhülislam’s counsel wasn’t completely selfless. The year before the ulema of the capital had been deeply annoyed when they had learned that the Mufti’s twenty-five years old son had been promoted to the high position of Kazasker of Anatolia, as the Ragusan diplomatic agent Luca Barca reported to his government. He added that at present more than ever was

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84 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 47/*Nusretnâme*, 463.

85 BOA, *A.DVN.MHM.d*, III, 515 Nr. 1785.

86 Silâhdar, *Nusretnâme* II, 47/*Nusretnâme*, 463.

spoken publicly against the Mufti, and that he had more authority than ever.<sup>87</sup> Later this son had even been promoted to the office of head of the descendants of the Prophet (*nakibüleşraf*) thanks to the influence his father exercised on the sultan. The Mufti alone had opposed the Sultan's and the Visier's plan to move to Istanbul "because he without doubt foresees an upheaval against himself by all the ulema of Istanbul whom he had mistreated", as the French ambassador wrote to his king.<sup>88</sup> Two cadis who had spoken ill of him saying they hoped he would soon come to the capital where he would meet the punishment due to him for all his misdeeds, were exiled.<sup>89</sup> Before he left for Istanbul Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi is even said to have ordered the most eminent ulema to leave the capital and to stay in their country houses, because of his fear.<sup>90</sup>

The author of an anonymous chronicle now in Berlin gives his account in a single sentence: after having spent twenty-one months in gardens and palaces as well as hunting in the regions of Çatalca, Silivri, and Yapağıcı and after having completed the peace agreement with the ambassadors, Mustafa II moved hunting towards Edirne, the heads of the state and army following him with the flag of the Prophet.<sup>91</sup> In fact the last months of his stay, which he had spent mainly in the Çatalca Sarayı, had been mostly dedicated to the pleasures of the hunt, he had become more and more addicted to.<sup>92</sup>

The Prince of Moldavia and historian Dimitrie Cantemir, a contemporary who knew the Sultan in person, interprets the departure from Istanbul in a different context. „*Having dispatched these affairs, he commits the whole administration of the Empire to the*

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87 Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku ASSM 17, 1784a/91, p. 7: "*adesso più che mai si parla pubblicamente contro il Mufti; et lui più che mai in autorità*". Seyyid Feyzullah's premature nomination was also reported to the Imperial ambassador Count Oettingen, see: HHSTA Wien, Turcica 165, fol. 29b.

88 Castagnere to Louis XIV, Adrianople 12 Mars 1699, AAE Turquie vol. 32, 193b-194a.

89 Loc. cit., 247b.

90 Castagnere to Louis XIV, Pera 16 Août 1699, AAE Turquie vol. 32, 264b.

91 *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 145.

92 Varenbergh, „Correspondance“, 578.

*Vizir, Husein Pasha, and to relax his mind, removes with his court to Karyshtiran, where he endeavours to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces. [...] [T]he people [...] blushed not to say, in their assemblies, that the sultan was disposed to imitate his father in all things. For as his father, in the first years of his reign, applied himself to the administration of affairs, and neglected nothing which he thought would enlarge the bounds of the Empire; so Mustapha, in the first five years of his reign, had applied himself wholly to the state, and discharged all the duties of a father of his country, and in this respect imitated the virtues of the other; but that now he was resolved to imitate those vices of which his father, in his advanced age, and after extending the Empire, was guilty, namely the love of hunting and dogs, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the Othman Empire. For he had not recovered anything from the enemy, ..., except in preventing the enemy from penetrating farther into the heart of the Empire. [...] To avoid these reproaches, the Sultan takes a method, often used with success by his predecessors, namely, to retire to Adrianople.”<sup>93</sup>*

La Motraye, who also was present commented: „*Vers la fin de l’Août [!], le Grand Seigneur, soit pour se delasser des audiences qui’l avoit donnée; soit pour un effet de la passion que l’avoit pour la chasse; soit, comme les Turques le prétendent; par le conseil du Muphty Fesulla Effendi qui le gouvernoit, se retira a Andrinople; au grand mécontentement des Constantinopolitains, comme je dirais á la suite*”.<sup>94</sup>

These authors consider the reason for the Sultan’s withdrawal to Edirne being aware of the end of the story, the Edirne Vak’ası in 1703. They point to the hunt which absorbed more and more of his time and to the influence of the Şeyhülislam. Both arguments are among the main reasons used later to explain the Edirne Vak’ası. If one, however, looks at the factual evidence and the reports of the ambassadors, who were not aware of the end, we notice that Istanbul was not yet really opposing the sultan for these or other reasons. There is still no social or economic dynamite visible.

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<sup>93</sup> Cantemir, *The History*, 428.

<sup>94</sup> Motraye, *Le voyage*, vol. I, 281.

Sultan Mustafa had been six years and almost a month on his throne when he returned from Istanbul to Edirne. One year and three months he had spent on campaign. Two years and nine months he had spent in Edirne, and almost two years he had been in Istanbul. So the Sultan and the Court had only been in Edirne nine months longer than in Istanbul. Nobody knew that he would stay in Edirne for all the years to come. Sultan Mustafa had spent his time in Istanbul in almost the same way as his predecessors or contemporary European princes would have spent it: with his duties to the religion, his House, the government and royal representation, but also with amusement, invitations and the hunt. His passion for the hunt had become dominant by the end of his stay but many members of the House of Osman had been capable rulers and at the same time great hunters. As he admired Süleyman the Magnificent and had chosen him as a model, he most probably had studied the *Süleymanname*, preserved in the treasury (*hazine*) of the Topkapı Sarayı.<sup>95</sup> From the miniatures of that book he might have learned that apart from warfare, diplomacy and fighting against rebels Sultan Süleyman had passed his time with entertainment and especially with the hunt. Why shouldn't he follow that shining example?

Surely he had not succeeded in recapturing Ottoman territory, but he had ended the long and costly war without additional losses and had concluded a reasonable peace. However, the most difficult task of adjusting his empire to peace still lay ahead. Of course not everyone was content with the situation. The Sultan had lost the aura of a victor, but Istanbul had not yet cause to feel neglected and disadvantaged. Couldn't the Sultan return to the capital at any time, as his father had done?

Sultan Mustafa had enjoyed part of his relatively free youth in Istanbul at his father's side. Istanbul on the other hand was the place where his father had been dethroned not many years ago after a lost battle (1687). When Mustafa II had come for his first visit as a sultan he had been welcomed enthusiastically. But when he came to Istanbul again almost two years after his defeat at Zenta

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<sup>95</sup> Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname. The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*, Washington and New York 1986.

(1697) he might still have feared a change of the attitude of the people and the army, although there were no really serious signs of discontent with his person and reign. Şeyhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi, however, whom he had given so much power, already faced a growing opposition. Not wholly unselfishly the Şeyhülislam finally succeeded in convincing him to choose the quiet and secure Edirne. So it was above all the situation developing during the following two years of his reign in Edirne that influenced and agitated Istanbul and at the end resulted in the Edirne Vak'ası. But that is another story.