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WOMEN AND FAMILY IN ISTANBUL THROUGH THE EYES OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS AND AMBASSADORS IN THE 16 TH AND 17 TH CENTURIES

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To my mother and my father

FATİH ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ SINAV TUTANAĞI

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study

ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN AND FAMILY IN ISTANBUL THROUGH THE EYES OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS AND AMBASSADORS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Aslı ÇETİNTAŞ

The aim of this thesis is to discuss and illustrate the visibility of Ottoman women through the eyes of European travellers and ambassadors in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Istanbul. Its main concern is to discuss women's outdoor public and social space experiences from the eyes of the foreign observers as well as the comparison of their observations with the Turkish local sources of the same period. This study mainly focuses on the recognisable consequences on the accounts of male travellers before the rise of female authored sources. The narratives of the early modern travellers of Istanbul are examined in terms of the urban life context, the possible orientalist views are eliminated and it is discussed whether the Ottoman women had any impact in terms of using space or not.

Accordingly, it is argued that the perception of foreign cultures was shaped through guess work and prejudices. The events recited by the travellers served to highlight the differences in well accepted knowledge and perceptions in cities and sometimes become the subject of the traveller's imagination.

Due to the gender segregation in Ottoman Empire, travellers were inclined to see their countries as superior. The metaphors like veil and *yashmak* and the absence of women in the social spaces enhanced the orientalist discourses up to Lady Montagu's arrival.

Key Words: Ottoman, women, family, travellers, ambassadors, Istanbul, 16th century, 17th century.

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KISA ÖZET

16.-17. YÜZYILLARDA AVRUPALI SEYYAHLAR VE ELÇİLERİN GÖZÜNDEN İSTANBUL'DA KADIN VE AİLE

ASLI ÇETİNTAŞ

Bu tezin amacı 16. ve 17. yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Osmanlı kadınlarının Avrupalı seyyahların gözünden görünürlüğünü tartışmak ve örneklemektir. Kadınların dış kamusal ve sosyal mekân kullanımlarının bir yabancının gözüyle incelenmesi ve sonuçların yerli kaynaklarla karşılaştırılması bu çalışmanın dayanağını oluşturur.

Bu çalışma genel anlamıyla batılı kadın seyyahların ziyaretlerinden önceki izlenimler üzerine odaklanır. Çalışmada erken modern dönem seyahatnameler şehir deneyimi bağlamında incelenip, oryantalist bakışlardan arındırılarak Osmanlı kadınının mekân kullanımına etkisi üzerine yoğunlaşılmaktadır.

Seyyahların karşılaştıkları olaylar, bilgi ve deneyimleri şehir hayatına ışık tutmakta, bazen de hayal gücüne konu olmaktadır. Buna göre yabancı kültürlerin algılarının daha çok tahminler ve önyargılarla şekillenmekte olup olmadığı tartışılmaktadır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki cinsiyet ayırımcılığına istinaden bazı gezginler kendi ülkelerini üstün görmek eğilimindedirler. Peçe, Yaşmak ve kadınların sosyal alandaki eksikliği Lady Montagu'nun gelişine kadar Oryantalist söylemleri tetiklemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, kadın, aile, Seyyah, elçi, İstanbul, 16.Yüzyıl, 17. Yüzyıl.

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INTRODUCTION

Istanbul, being the transcontinental city that it is, has been the cradle of civilizations for centuries and has preserved its geopolitical significance accordingly. The encounter between the East and West, basically took place in the Mediterranean realm, ironically in both trade and martial settings, either through wars or through trade. The relations between the two cultures, sometimes hostile, sometimes business-related, caused Europeans to form ambivalent ideas about the Turks. This long-standing negative image of the Turks formed on the European consciousness was further strengthened after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which solidified the Turkish image as the enemy posing the most imminent danger to the West. Moreover, their subsequent conquests in the western territories increased Europe's anxiety concerning the Ottoman advance.[1] Until the 18th century the Europeans constantly felt themselves under the pressure of the Ottoman Empire and thus the threat of Islam. Ultimately, they discovered that defeating this threat was only possible by acquiring the Ottomans' knowledge and virtues and by examining its flaws, affairs and people.

Over time, the Ottoman Empire hosted many European travellers and indirectly aided the creation of substantial journals which constituted archives depicting the travellers' memories and experiences. These observants were not limited to travellers, but also included diplomats and slaves illustrating that their memoires also helped to develop journal literature. These journals made an indispensable contribution to the formation of the historical data in the field.

[1] Filiz Barın, "Othello: Turks as "the Other" in the Early Modern Period." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 43, no. 2 (2010): 37-58.

A. Purpose of study

This study can be considered as an endeavour to produce a survey of the lives of early modern Istanbulite Ottoman women and their family life through the eyes of European travellers. The travellers described in great detail what they observed and heard during their stay in Ottoman lands. People, places, events, customs, landscape, all were scrutinized and recorded at length. Many of these European accounts can be accepted as eye witnesses to Ottoman life in the past. In this study, all materials and sources, including journals, letters, memoires and ambassador reports, are reviewed under the common denominator of traveller records since they are the product of the author's travels to the Ottoman capital. The decisive factor in making the choice regarding travellers is the context of their documents, how much they reveal about the social life in Istanbul and how objective they can be considered to be in terms of their accounts.

This study, limits its research to Istanbul, because it was the most commonly visited location by foreigners. In addition to this, there are other reasons for this geographical limitation in the study. First, Istanbul has a cosmopolitan structure, constituting a miniature of early modern Ottoman Society. As the capital city of the empire, almost all of the travellers and ambassadors visited Istanbul. It was the centre of diplomacy, commercial transactions and ethnic communities. The focus is the early modern period, namely the 16th and 17th centuries. Ottoman society of that period, emphasizes public and common male characters and private and domestic female characters. Since the subject is women and family life this study would not be complete without the accounts of Lady Montague and D'ohsson. Thus, a limited amount of travellers will also be included from the 18th century in order to collate information of a more accurate nature and to verify the outlook gleaned from the sources with an insider perspective.

These travellers visited the Ottoman Empire for different purposes such as pilgrimage, missionary work, commerce and sometimes just for recreational purposes the primary factor that shaped the knowledge, opinions and ideas of travellers about the East was their own personal status and attributes. In addition, it could be observed that the respective fields of interest of travellers as well as their sponsors and nationalities also helped to shape their opinions.[2]

[2] Ömer Düzbakar, "The Image of the Turkish Women in Orientalists Travelbooks from Others Point of View," *Kaygı* 10 (2008): 148.

The major theme of many travel books is the concept of the 'other'. The comprehension of foreign cultures is shaped through preconceived ideas and prejudices. The erotic image of Eastern women tucked away behind the curtain and hidden within four walls, is an example of this bias. The Ottoman woman has particularly fascinated the Western audience for centuries. Issues like seclusion and harem, led many Europeans to endure the difficulties of travel and journeying to the Ottoman Empire in order to gain first-hand information on the Ottoman way of life. According to Pierce "Harem undoubtedly is the most prevalent symbol in Western myths constructed around the theme of Muslim sensuality"[3]. Pierce argues that the 16th and 17th centuries are one of the most productive periods for the production of texts and images examining this theme. Women were the symbols of civilization, modernity, tradition, religion, progress and backwardness. The way women lived their lives, the way they looked, the way they dressed, and the way they thought are considered to be indicators of a society.

Women in Islamic lands have often been a subject of substantial controversy. Since the material written about women in early Ottoman records is limited, the living conditions of females do not seem to be very apparent to us. Therefore, in order to gain more information regarding Ottoman family life it is necessary to examine foreign sources. Female social parameters and images, are more apparent when reading in between the lines of the accounts of European travellers as this constitutes a different point of view. Social prejudices are generally perpetuated through the perception of foreign cultures. The purpose of this present work is to gain a better understanding of the daily and private lives of Ottoman women and family in Istanbul during the course of the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries as narrated in the the accounts of Western travellers and ambassadors. In light of these records our purpose is to analyse Ottoman women and to ascertain whether they were depicted as helpless or inferior members of society or as legally free agents. In addition to this, the image portrayed by Ottoman women will be examined. Further questions will aim to answer the following; what kind of socialites did women operate in? Did the orientalist tales have any kind of a factual basis?

[3] Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

According to European travellers, Ottoman woman were like a riddle concealed behind cages in their homes and behind the veil in the streets. Most of these travellers instead of solving the riddle tried to depict these ladies through the use of their imagination. Those travellers who had the means of seeing some women in person, had observations closer to reality[4]. Topics such as hiding from the community in the harem, which still captures much attention, led many Europeans to endure the difficulties of travel and journeying to the Ottoman Empire in order to get first-hand information on such matters. Both men and women wrote about their impressions of Ottoman life, but the presence of women was particularly strong during the 19th century. This study will approach a records based approach from the beginning of sixteenth century until the end of seventeenth century, before the number of female travellers began to rise subsequently visiting the harem and thus ending the invisibility of Ottoman women.

In the Ottoman Empire, the smallest nucleus of the daily life was the family. " The Ottoman household hierarchy was modelled on the durable image of the male householder and can therefore be said to have been of a patriarchal nature. As the reigning sultan mirrors authority, the male heads of the household drew strength and authority from the example of the sovereign." [5] If the example of the Topkapı Palace is examined, it is evident that Ottoman houses were also divided into two main sections, the outer section called *selamlık* and the inner section called *harem*. The Ottoman harems were very social and gregarious places with well-established rules and regulations. Here all women and young children of the family lived together. This often included the mother in law, particularly if she was widowed, and sometimes other elderly women, the wife, her young children and numerous female slaves. Although a household harem was the place that attracted the most curiosity for a foreigner to learn about, it was also the most difficult one to enter. Since the Ottomans did not tend to write about their family lives as in accordance with Islamic tradition, we get most of the information from European sources. That is if they were lucky enough to pay a visit to the harem. Therefore, in order to undertake a convincing analysis embassy records for imperial women and traveller accounts for ordinary women, non-Muslim women and female slaves should also be examined.

[4] Burçak Evren, and Dilek Girgin Can, *Yabancı Gezginler ve Osmanlı Kadını*, (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1996), 10.
[5] Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18.

B. Travel Records as a Source for Ottoman Social History

Travel journals penned by travellers visiting Istanbul for a variety of reasons can be cited among sources that illuminate the history of Istanbul. The events recited by travellers served to highlight the differences in well accepted discourse and perceptions in cities and narrative was sometimes subject to the traveller's imagination. It is important to bear in mind whilst discussing such sources as travel books that they can adopt prejudiced or Orientalist viewpoints. Therefore it also necessary to complement such sources with an evaluation of political, cultural, economic and social structures in related studies. The characteristics of travellers and their reasons for travelling and their routes have naturally determined the context of their observations. The purpose of travel of these travellers arriving at Istanbul with different itineraries are quite different and varied. Ambassadors, merchants, slaves and scientists as well as those who simply wished to travel reached the city by sea or by land.

Beginning with a survey of modern literature, the most important study on travel journals was written by Stefanos Yerasimos.[6] In his book, Yerasimos analysed the accounts of travellers to the Ottoman Empire between the 14th-16th centuries. His study includes details, such as the travellers' socio-political status, their brief biographies, original and translated names of their works, publication dates of their journals, the dates they had been in Ottoman lands, the routes they followed and the geographical names of the places they visited.[7] Of the 449 travel journals that Yerasimos recorded, 88 were Venetians, 80 were German, 34 were British, 18 were Portuguese, 16 were Swedish, 15 were Dalmatian, 9 Florentines and 3 Genoese. Yerasimos stated that 643 travels had taken place during between the 14th-15th centuries. 191 of these travels were for diplomatic purposes, 147 religious, 31 commercial, 11 scientific and the rest were for military and various other reasons.[8] The focus on the travel journals as a primary source in historical researches, witnessed an increase that ran in parallel to Turkish translations of the diaries. These detailed studies about travellers and their journals are extensive enough to help new researchers find another piece of the unknown. The socio-political status of the traveller and the purpose of travel is

[6] Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe-XVIe siècles*), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1991.
[7] Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs*, 9.
[8] Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs*,12.

determinative. Another important factor is the duration of the visit and the personal motivation of the traveller himself.

Travel books no doubt are of great historical value. Yet this should not preclude the questioning some of the observations they pass to the reader. Travel journals as primary sources in historical research contain both fictitious and falsified information and at the same time, factual, objective and authentic information. Therefore what is contained in them may not always be completely representative of the truth. "Such a likelihood as well as the political and social landscape of the period in which travel books were written and the level of education or cultural accumulation of the traveller should all be taken into consideration in judging the scientific value of these works."[9] Historians while analysing the travel accounts carry out classifications in order to make a correct analysis. In her book "Approaching Ottoman History", Suraiya Faroqhi analyses the visitors of the Ottoman Empire according to their missions under different pretexts, slaves, diplomats, pilgrims, merchants and missionaries.[10] Therefore in order to obtain accurate information, researchers are obliged to compare the journals with each other as a scientific evaluation method. Results should then be compared with contemporary sources. For instance, the information obtained by comparing the journals of Tavernier with his contemporary traveller Evliya Celebi would be indispensable. [11] For a journal to be authentic the information it contains should either be similar to the information in other journals or should be present and verifiable in Ottoman documents.

In her book, Gülgün Üçel Aybet, analyses the Ottoman social structure primarily based on European travel accounts. The author makes a board categorization of these sources depending on their objectivity or subjectivity. According to Aybet, the works of unbiased and objective travellers are of value but however she argues that the works of biased and prejudiced travellers are less valuable because of the bias present in their accounts[12] Busbecq and Dernschwam for example travelled all the way from Germany to Amasya together. They both penned their own memoires and objectivity to a great

[9] Düzbakar, Turkish Women, 148.
[10] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 215.
[11] Under the subtitle of classification of sources, Üçel-Aybet claims she proved some data from traveller journals by comparing them with Ottoman official documents. Gülgün Üçel-Aybet, *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözünden Osmanlı Dünyası ve İnsanları 1530-1599,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 24.
[12] Üçel-Aybet, *Seyyahların Gözünden,* 25-26.

extent is apparent in their journals. These narratives could clearly constitute a source for Ottoman history. However, if Thomas Dallam is taken as an example, he was not an educated man. He stayed in Istanbul for three months. His motivation for travelling to Istanbul was to assemble the organ in Topkapı Palace Queen Elizabeth had bequeathed to Sultan Mehmet III as a gift. His journal was written in a literary style. According to Aybet, the validity of Dallam's account could not be proved and as such does not constitute a valuable source for historians.[13] Dallam seems to have predominately used imagination as even though he was accepted into the palace, his notes are contradictory when compared to those of other travellers of the period.

İlber Ortaylı, on the other hand, suggests an alternative categorization of travel accounts written on the Ottoman Empire. For Ortaylı, there are striking differences between those written before and after the Enlightenment. Although he mentions that he is personally against all kinds of historical periodization, the benefits of such an approach can sometimes outweigh the drawbacks. For the author it could be argued that it is better to study such accounts in a timeline. Therefore, Ortaylı undertakes classification according to time of the travel and he argues that the 15th and 16th century travel journals are the most valuable ones. During the above centuries, travellers' accounts embodied equality and curiosity with less prejudice apparent. In later periods however, the Europeans adopted a stronger and more stringent approach toself-identification and defined themselves as part of more progressive and modernizing world. The travellers of these periods anthropologically looked at the Eastern world with a different eye. According to Ortaylı, travel books as sources should be studied pre and post Enlightenment period in order to gain a better understanding of how the sources shed light on Ottoman society. [14]

Gürsoy Şahin too, underlines the significance of analysing the journals paying particular attention to the period they were produced. Şahin argues that it is possible to classify the journals according to three periods, the medieval, enlightenment and post-enlightenment era. The 14th and 15th century's medieval visits of travellers were not planned to be direct visits and they came to Ottoman domains by means of a break before continuing elsewhere. During the pre-enlightenment period in the 16th and 17th

[13] Üçel-Aybet, *Seyyahların Gözünden*, 26.
[14] İlber Ortaylı, "Türkler Hakkında Yazılmış Seyahatnameler," in *I. Uluslararası Seyahatnamelerde Türk ve Batı İmajı Sempozyumu Belgeleri,* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987), 115-128.

centuries, the perception of the East is not as hostile and biased as it was in the medieval period. With the start of Humanism and Renaissance rigid views were replaced by curiosity and the travel journals started to be more of an informative and enlightening nature, instead of just being ordinary stories. However, the journals written after the Enlightenment era, for instance in the 19th and 20th centuries, can be considered to be prejudiced and biased.[15]

Tülay Reyhanlı on the other hand, focuses on the accounts of British travellers and compares them with the similar examples from the written and illustrated Ottoman and western sources. Reyhanlı mentions two primary factors for analysing the records. The authenticity of the journal (not copied from other sources, based on the authors own observations) and the personality of the author. (Observation and linguistic talent and relations with the court). She classifies the travellers using these two factors and emphasizes the importance of the works of authentic travellers.[16]

Semavi Eyice has special interest on travellers and the travel accounts. He has done various researches on manuscripts of the Western painters and travellers. Eyice benefits the travel journals in describing the name of the districts, monuments and formal structure of the locations in the early and early modern periodisation.

Metin And writes about the social life in Istanbul in his book whose sources consist of the written and illustrated journals of the 16th century travellers. And states that the Turkish sources rarely give information about the social and daily lives of ordinary people. Even though some journals are full of fictitious and falsified information, there are also others that were written assiduously by observant travellers. Since they all write about similar subjects it is possible to verify the accuracy of the accounts.[17]

The early modern historians make various classifications in order to analyse the records from all aspects. Most of the classifications emphasize the prejudices of Europeans in the modern period.[18] The records are evaluated bearing in mind the period in which they were written in. The less biased an account is, the more valuable

[15] Gürsoy Şahin, *İngiliz Seyahatnamelerinde Osmanlı Toplumu ve Türk İmajı,* (İstanbul: Gökkubbe Yayınları, 2007), 28-30.
[16] Tülay Reyhanlı, *İngiliz Gezginlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Hayat,* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1983), 91.
[17] Metin And, *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 19-21.
[18] Sema Çiğdemoğlu's (September 1986: 46- 54) article in which she analyses some of the medieval age French travellers may be evaluated within this framework. Another important study is Berna Moran's A Bibliography of English publications about Turk's (1964) also have to be mentioned here.

a source it can be considered to be. On the topic of Ottoman women and family life, the best information can be gleaned from accounts of 16th century observant travellers who stayed in the Ottoman lands for more than a year. Among these, Busbecq, Dernschwam, Schweigger, Lubenau and Gerlach provide indisputably the best narratives for the purposes of this study. Niholas De Nicolay with his pictures of people from different social classes and Canaye with his special interest in society also provides an insight into16th century social life. Since the focus of 17th century travels lies more on politics, trade and diplomacy, social life is not warranted much attention in the travel accounts. They adopt the role of providing supplementary, not primary, information to previous century journals regarding social and family life.

In relation to the subject at hand, it could be stated that the 17th and 18th centuries are probably the most valuable in terms of the journals written about the Harem. Those written by Bobovski and Lady Montagu are probably the most illuminating in terms of scope. This study will use the above mentioned journals as the basis of attempting to understand the period in question by comparing these with various other traveller memoires. Although the thesis will predominantly explore the role of women and family life in the 16th and 17th centuries, two journals from the 18th century will also be consulted, due to the indispensable importance of the works in relation to the subject. Lady Montagu is the first example of a secular work written by a women and D'ohsson is an ambassador who lived in Ottoman lands from his childhood onwards and wrote a detailed book about social life.

In this study two basic methods which can be summarized as a critical approach to sources and comparison will be used. First, the selected travellers and journals will be identified. Secondly, the present data will be compared with the sources of the same period. To make this comparison the studies of modern historians and journals of Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi will be used.

C. The Importance of Ambassadorial Accounts

The wide ranging European diplomacy included a large number of states in the Ottoman Empire. Especially during the early periods, the Italian Kingdoms played the main role in regular diplomatic relations, soon to be followed by the Holy Roman Empire, then by France, Britain and others. The official diplomacy between Europe

and the Ottoman Empire begin with trade in the medieval ages. Most of the major European powers had permanent embassies in Istanbul. These representatives' diplomatic presence in Istanbul is as early as the beginning of thirteenth century even before Ottoman Empire was founded. The Genovesian governors were called "Podesta" and Venetian governors were called "bailio". Their presence mainly aimed to protect the Italian tradesmen's rights but they also were permanent envoys. The Habsburg and French ambassadors who came from mid-1550's onwards frequented Istanbul with some regularity. The British embassy was established in the late 16th century, however this was about a century later than its opponents. Ambassadors tried to control the flow of information from Istanbul to various European capitals. Poland, Holland, Russia, can be named as the other countries who had permanent ambassadors in Istanbul[19].

These ambassadors often left behind both texts and images as testimonies to their stay in Istanbul. Although the main content of the reports related to the imperial ideology of Ottomans, economic, religious and traditional aspects of Ottoman life along with social actors of the time also appeared in their accounts. Since the countries that sent ambassadors to Ottoman lands were the major powers of Europe, they sought out the political, economic and military limits of the Ottoman Empire. In order to gain accurate information it could be assumed that ambassadors employed a large number of informers and representatives in the Ottoman capital in order to achieve this. "An ambassador in Ottoman lands gave as much importance to the life of elite women as political issues. The accounts of them, the most abundant source we have for the lives of Ottoman imperial women, consist of information at best received directly from well-placed informants, at worst second or third hand and embellished by rumour. The aim of ambassador records regarding women, was to illuminate the effects of harem ladies to the throne and to inform their lords about the rumours in the capital city".[20] Their purpose was to monitor shifts in the power structure of dynasty as well as to identify members who might be favourable to their interests.[21]

Ambassadors wrote their reports for their own states based on certain developments and events, their information was probably based on the events or information they

[19] Mehmet İpşirli, "Elçi." in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* volume 11, 3-15. İstanbul: 1995.
[20] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 60.
[21] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 60.

were privy to and sometimes on hearsay. Regardless of limitations regarding source content, these reports shed light on the political and social events of the time and provided information about the individuals who played a role in such developments. In other words, the travel journals reflect general information regarding the social life of ordinary people but ambassador's reports carry more weight in terms of providing accurate and detailed information about the lives of the Ottoman elite.

CHAPTER I

THE TRAVELLERS AND THE AMBASSADORS OF ISTANBUL

1.1. The Travellers and Ambassadors of Istanbul

Travelling across the continents primarily undertaken because these travellers were obliged to do so, for political reasons, or for a spesific or a diplomatic reason or for other reasons, entailed a life-threatening risk. This risk of crossing continents was embarked upon in order to explore and become familiar with the other cultures, societies and histories. The relations between the two, sometimes hostile, sometimes business-related, caused Europeans to form ambivalent ideas about the Turks. The aim of travellers differed according to the purpose of their visit. However, if a very general classification was to be applied that was valid for the centuries in question, we could say that all travellers had a missionary aim of gathering as much information as possible about the East. The general standpoint of the journals was that of covering Oriental themes and those differences identified by travellers later helped to form the passive image of the East.

Since 16th century, before the European hegemony over non-European societies was established, the journals written in early modern period, reflected the curiosity of the travellers and comparison of the differentiated life styles ensued in the journals. One of the goals of this study is to use the early period as a starting point for research as this period was considered to be pre-orientalist era and to continue examining the sources to the enlightenment in order to see how negative perceptions of the Orient effected narratives and discourse. In the 16th century and 17th century, there was a large body of publications in Europe about the Ottoman Empire which took as their basis, travellers' reports. Despite the fact that the main focus of travels were scientific or diplomatic in nature, another common feature among travellers was religion. The travel narratives which narrated the differences between the two continents based their

observations on religious matters. Many European writers associated being Muslims with the Turks. The journals generally were written addressing the author's king and were written in a particularly informative style so that the public could easily understand the content. When the 18th century narratives are examined, the main theme of the journals changed from religion to diplomacy. The colonization by the Western countries meant that many more people travelled to the East and eventually shared their experiences in a written form, as memoirs, diaries, geographies, histories, and manuals. The East became an intriguing destination for travellers, many of whom went on to write about their experiences in far lands among unfamiliar people and customs. The studies of the Western scholars versed in the art, languages and literatures of the East, to identify a style or quality, showed itself in a diversity according to the countries in different features which all would get the common name Orientalism. [22] Hence in this chapter detail will be provided on the picture constructed by travellers in order to analyse their accounts to what they saw and what they heard during their journeys. Orientalism will be defined and the purpose of their travels in terms of whether their mission was actually fulfilled will be examined.

1.1.1. 16th Century Travellers

Travellers of the sixteenth century were mostly official ambassadors and individuals who came with embassy delegations. The delegation groups were quite crowded and during long journeys the attendants tended to keep notes diligently. These notes were generally explanatory and mostly emphasized the religious differences between East and West. The main theme identifiable in the narratives is curiosity and the need for comparison. It could be argued that the most detailed accounts that contained the least contaminated information was penned in the travelogues of this this century, with the centuries that followed seem to represent continuality. Since the interests and the missions of the travellers are determinative in analysing their narratives, a brief look to their lives and to purpose of their visits would also give us some hints about their point of view.

[22] Firdevs Çetin, "Batılı Seyyahlara Göre İstanbul'un Gayrımüslim Ahalisi (1553-1673)" (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2011), 3

Ogier Ghislain Busbecq,[23] had been in Istanbul twice as an ambassador of Holy-Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, between the years 1554-1562.[24] During his first visit Busbecq was accepted by Sultan Suleiman in Amasia and he was only successful in ensuring an agreement of a 6 months. In his second visit to Ottoman lands, his task for much of the time he was in Istanbul was to negotiate a border treaty between his employer and the Sultan.[25] Busbecq writes interesting descriptions of daily life in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, providing analyses of its politics, religion, history, court life, costumes, animals, military, medicine, geography, social classes, ethnic groups, women, architecture, flora and so on. He showed an appreciation of female status in Ottoman society and mentions the fact that women could demand a divorce. He praises the legal status of women and emphasizes Ottoman Empire regarding these aspects.[26]

Hans Dernschwam[27] was a specialist travelling on his own account in Ogier Ghislain Busbecq's embassy delegation in 1554.[28] His account featured realistic information about the Ottomans, their living conditions, customs, family life, marriages, divorces,

[23] The Latin work was first published in Paris with the name "Legationis Turcicae Epistulare IV" in 1595. Translated into English by Edward Seymour Forster from The Latin of The Elzevir Edition of 1633. Forster's work re-published periodically in the years 1694, 1881, 1927. Turkish version is translated from the 3rd publication. Busbecq, *Turk Mektupları* Introduction

[24] He was a zoologist, herbalist and a diplomat. Busbecq's travels span a great distancefrom Budin ended in Amasia. He was known to be a hümanist and man of therenaissance who spoke 8 languages.

[25] He had no success in this mission for a long time and his second visit lasted 1.5 years. The letters were written in this period. In a series of four letters written in Latin to a fellow Habsburg diplomat Nicholas Michault, he chronicled his experiences and travels. The work is about not just a description of new lands and peoples, it also shows insight into the culture and society of the writer. Busbecq, Ogier,Ghislain, *Türk Mektupları*, Trans by, Türkömer, Derin,, Iş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011 s:x

[26] Ogier de Ghislain Busbecq, *Türk Mektupları,* Translated by Derin Türkömer, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2011), 128.

[27] F. Babinger who obtained a copy of the manuscript from the Fugger archiv has published the entire text. As Önen mentioned in the preface of theTurkish translation of the text, the printing of the narrative would not have been planned in such a manner. This is because it was written like a diary with single leaves of paper and alsomany sheets and not in a seamless style. Although Babinger wrote a comprehensive preface and he addedexplanations, the text is not easy to understand. Semavi Eyice's article about Dernschwam is one of the most serious studies in recent years. Semavi Eyice, Semavi. "Hans Dernschwam." in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* volume 9, (İstanbul: 1994). 182-183.
Also Ferruh Toruk and Ayalp Talun Ince's researches base on Dernschwan's travel notes and were published in two different magazines in 2008.

[28] He was from a wealthy family. We know that Dernschwam attended Wien University when he was 13 years old and he graduated from Leipzig University Philosophy in 1510. He was nearly 60 years old when he came to Istanbul, he accompanied Busbecq all the way through to Amasia. The delegates had time to see Amasia and witnessed the Persian ambassador coming to the city. Dernschwam provided a social, cultural and economic portrait of 16th century Ottoman geography. Dernshwam,*İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya*, 10.

Sultans, Pashas, Janissaries, eids festivals and so on.[29] The most important difference of his travel book from the others is the detailed information he gave about everything he saw and he heard.[30] According to Babinger, his travel book contains true and reliable information that is a source for scientific researches.[31]

Baron Wenceslaw Wratislaw was a member of the embassy delegation which Holy-Roman Empire Rudolph II. sent to Murat III to extend the peace agreement for a further 8 years in 1591.[32] His memoires[33] can be classed as one of the most interesting historical documents regarding German-Turkish relations, the nature of the Ottoman state, and social life written at the end of 16th century. He wrote his diary in the first year of the visit. However, in the second year their lives were turned upside down.[34] The ambassador Von Kregvitz tried to inform his king about the preparation of the Ottoman army for a campaign and he was attempted to obtain information from the palace through bribery. Safiye Sultan, the mother of Mehmet III was said to be one of the sources of information.[35] Wratislaw recounted in his diary that when Sinan Pasha disposed of the documents as soon as he became privy to the information and following the cover up, Wratislaw and his friends were sent to a shipyard prison.[36] Following the death of Sinan Pasha they were set free through the mediation of Damat İbrahim Pasha and with the permission of Sultan Mehmet III. Some of the prisoners from the group etched their names on the walls of the fortress.[37]

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[29] Hans Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü,* Translated by Yaşar Önen, (Ankara: KTB Yayınları, 1992), 3.
[30] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 14.
[31] Yaşar Önen wrote two articles in 1969 which introduced the traveller to Turkish readers. İlber Ortaylı later wrote two articles in different journals with the same content in 1972 and 1984. Önen's Turkish translation was also published by Cultural Ministry in 1987 and 1992. The Travelogue consisted of two parts with headings "Travel to Istanbul", "Travel to Anatolia and back to Vienna."
[32] Wratislaw was the youngest member of the group. He said he attended this trip to fulfill his family's desire that he gain some experience. Baron W. Wratislaw, *Anılar,* Translated by Süreyya Dilmen, (İstanbul: Karacan Yayınarı, 1981), 9.
[33] The original work is written in Latin and first published in 1597 in Linz. English translation was published in late 19th century and this work was based in Turkish Translation. Wratislaw, *Anılar,* 9.
[34] Wratislaw, *Anılar,* 6.
[35] Ottoman sources do not make reference to this alleged incident.The traveller noted "Sinan paşa was afraid of Safiye Sultan and the palace and covered up the event". Wratislaw, *Anılar,* 7.
[36] While the ambassador Von Kregvitz was taken to the campaign with the army (he subsequently died in prison there), the rest of the group was kept as galley slaves in Istanbul. The prisoners later were sent to Sarıca Kule (a tower in Rumelia fortress) Wratislaw stayed there for more than 2 years.
[37] Among these people, we know of Wenceslaw Wratislaw and Seidel, the chemist of the delegation. Chemist Seidel also wrote his memoirs and they were published in Kerliç in 1711.Wratislaw, *Anılar,* 7.

Nicholas De Nicolay[38] was the geographer of the French King. He paid a visit to Istanbul with the embassy delegation of French Ambassador D'aramonte in 1551.[39] He wrote about topography, geographical conditions, neutral resources, the profession and the occupation of people in detail. The most interesting characteristic of his travel book is the pictures he drew. In those pictures he showed the clothing styles of Ottoman people of rank.[40] The mission that Nicolay assigned himself was that of understanding and becoming familiar the Empire itself and the buildings that surrounded it.[41] He gave importance to Istanbul and wrote about events such as fire, earthquakes and he told of the life styles of different military, religious and social groups. He possessed a drawing album. His drawings shed light on the sixteenth century women's costume.

Stephan Gerlach[42] was a Protestant priest of the David von Ungnad's embassy delegation that was sent to Istanbul by Maximillian II Holy-Roman Emperor. During his 5 years stay in Istanbul Stephan Gerlach analysed the daily life of both Muslims and Non-Muslims which included daily life, urban properties, social events and political relations.[43] His travel notes were an important source for Ottoman history regarding the last quarter of 16th century. More importantly for our purposes Gerlach provided information on ordinary Ottoman women, royal ladies, their living conditions, marriages and society in general. He was a diligent traveller whom we get the very first information about some architecture. As an example he is the first European who wrote about the prisoner's dungeon in Kasımpaşa.[44]

Reinhold Lubenau was a chemist in the embassy delegation that was sent to Istanbul by the Holy-Roman emperor in 1587. He stayed in Istanbul for 1.5 years. On the way

[38] Nicholay's travelogue was first published in 1568 in Lyon. Nicolas de Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın İmparatorluğunda,* Translated by Şirin Tekeli and Menekşe Tokyay, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 13.
[39] Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın*,44.
[40] Marie-Chiristine Gomez-Géraud and Stefanos Yerasimos prepared an introduction to the book and wrote about the Nicholay's pictures and their importance in history. The drawings were printed with the name "*Le Livre de la Diversité des Habits de Levant*" (Levant'daki Giysilerin çeşitliliğine Dair Kitap) in Lyon in 1567. Nicolay, Muhteşem Süleyman'ın,45.
[41] Üçel-Aybet, *Seyyahların Gözünden,* 42.

[42] Gerlach's diary style notes were more comprehensive than those of hiscounterparts. The travelogue was published by his grandson Samuel Gerlach in 1674 in Frankfurt, Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* translated by Türkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 21.
[43] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 21-25.
[44] Stephanos Yerasimos, "Stephan Gerlach" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* edited by Nuri Akbayar and others. volume 3, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 394.

back home he sailed with an Ottoman galley. He was the first and the only traveller who sailed with the Ottoman navy.[45]

His travel notes were a significant source that provide information about the daily lives of galley slaves, history, geography, botany and zoology of Ottoman lands.[46]

Salomon Schweigger[47] was a Protestant priest of the permanent ambassador Joachim Freihher von Sintzendorff who was send to Istanbul by Rudolf II, the Holy-Roman Emperor between the years 1577-1581. The author without being bound to a specific order adopted a freely organized form of expression and wrote about the city and the features of both ordinary folk and aristocrats. He commented on the events of the period. The travel book aside from containing accurate information also is also important for its reflection of the author's personal perspective, his cultural and intellectual grounding. Scweigger's notes can be considered one of the best of its kind for reflecting intercultural dialogue.[48] This work contains approximately 100 engravings, a city plan of Istanbul and a sketch of Jerusalem.[49] One occasionally could see an open-minded observer, a cultural intellectual or the perspective of a preacher in his work.[50]

Fresne Canaye[51] was a traveller who visited Istanbul with the French ambassador Francois de Noailles' delegation when he was 22 years old.[52] Like the other European travellers he knew ancient history and the Greek language very well. His skills in observation and of assessment and versatility stem from his education.[53] He carefully analysed the people he encountered on his journey road. For example, the hairstyles of

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[45] Anatolian shores, Troy, Aegean islands, Tunusia, Alexandria and finally his trip ends in Venice. Reinhold Lubenau, *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi*, translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012),14

[46] Lubenau, *Seyahatname* back cover.

[47] 21 years later upon his return to his country he collatedhis notes, plans and drawings. Schweigger published them in 1608. Salomon Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk*, translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 14.

[48] Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine*, 11.

[49] Nejat Göyünç, "Salomon Schweigger ve Seyahatnamesi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 13, no. 17-18 (1963): 126.

[50] Çetin, İstanbul'un Gayrımüslim Ahalisi, 41

[51] The travelogue is published in 1897, Paris by M.H. Hauser with notes and explanations. It is 239 pages and do not have a hand-writing copy written by Fresne-Canaye himself. This caused some doubt for the validity of the study but the details that Canaye gave about his life and the other information he gave along his trip are consistent with the ambassador' official reports. Philippe Du Fresne-Canaye, *Fresne Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, translated by Teoman Tunçdoğan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009):17-24

[52] Stephanos Yerasimos, "Stephan Gerlach" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* edited by Nuri Akbayar and others. volume 3 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 340.

[53] Fresne-Canaye,*Seyahatname*, 10.

Bulgarian women or the costume of women that he encountered on the streets of Galata scan be seen in his notes. However, Canaye was not amused by what he regarded as the stern temperament of the Turks. He did not understand why they covered their women and kept them in private prisons but yet they looked after stray animals.[54] Despite all this, Du Fresne's general inclination towards the Ottoman Empire and the Turks cannot be considered to be negative.

Michael Heberer[55] was from Bretten, Germany and he was taken prisoner by the Ottomans.[56] For years he lived in a galley. Part of the duration of his slavery passed in Istanbul. After being set free he explored Galata and the downtown streets of Istanbul. He wrote about life in a galley, Ottoman navy, the importance of embassies for the slaves, clothing of Greek and Turkish women, Turkish baths, bazaars, illnesses, and social life in Istanbul.[57]

Monsieur Aramon senior Gabriel de Luetz[58] was an aristocrat who was sent to Suleiman I as a permanent ambassador of France between the years 1547-1551. During his embassy, he acted as a consultant under the command of the Sultan. He is the only traveller who travelled to Persia with the Ottoman army in 1548. Jacques Gassot and Pierre Gilles were also in the retinue of the ambassador, they both composed diaries, but the most complete diary can be said to be that of Jean Chesnau.

John Sanderson[59] was a British merchant. Sanderson began working for an international trading company. He was appointed to a post in Istanbul.[60] He was in Istanbul in 1584, where he stayed with William Harborne, the British ambassador of the term. During his stay, he witnessed Sultan Murat III's death and the accession of Sultan III Mehmet. Sanderson attended the funerals of the 19 brothers of the new

[54] Fresne-Canaye, *Canaye,* 21-22.
[55] His memoires were published in 1610 in Heidelberg. The Turkish translation was basedon the 1967 Austrian copy and published with Sureiya Faroqhi's introduction in the name "Osmanlıda bir köle Bretten'li Michael Heberer'in anıları 1585-1588" Michael Heberer von Bretten, *Osmanlıda Bir Köle,* translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 6.
[56] The name of the travelogue in 1967 Austrian copy was "Michael Heberer Von Bretten, Aegyptiaca Servitus, Akademische Druck-u.". Michael Heberer von Bretten, *Osmanlıda Bir Köle,* 6.
[57] Heberer, *Osmanlıda Bir Köle,* 12-13.
[58] This work is published in France in 1566, in the name "Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, Ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant." The Turkish translation is published in 2012 in the name "D'Aramon Seyahatnamesi Kanuni Devrinde İstanbul-Anadolu Mezopotamya". Jean Chesneau, *D'aramon Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Işıl Everdi, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2012), 5-7.
[59] The travelogue consisted of Forster's prefaceand Sanderson's own biography, memoires and some letters that are published as a separate book within the Hakluyt Society editions series.
[60] The only information we know about Sanderson's life is his travel notes and his biography that he wrote in the introduction of his notes. All this information is taken from his book (1931).

Sultan. He also witnessed the revolt of the janissaries who rebelled against the value of the akçhe.[61] He came to Istanbul three times. His third visit was made in order to bring the present of the British Queen to congratulate of Sultan Mehmet.[62] In the very beginning of 17th century he witnessed the punishments of the Jewish ladies, as a result of a revolt, who also happened to be very close to the sultan and his mother.[63] Hafız Ahmet Pasha replaced Halil Paşa as vizier and the new vizier's unbending attitude caused a short term discontinuance in Ottoman-British relations.

1.1.2. 17th Century Travellers

In the seventeenth century, the number of travellers coming to the East was noticeably higher. It was not only the number of travellers but the frequency of visits also increased. This is especially true for trade oriented travellers like Galland, Tavernier and Chardin who came to the Ottoman lands more than once. Among the visitors of seventeenth century the ones who came with a specific mission seem to have been more conscientious. Presumably it was their education information they gleaned from previous century travellers that shaped their visits.

John Covel[64] was born in Suffok in 1638 and received his education at Cambridge Christ College. It's known that he studied medicine in early life with a view to being a physician, which accounts for his intimate knowledge of botany and medicines, he was eventually elected to a fellowship at his college but he changed his profession and took Holy Orders.[65]

[61] The Sultan while going to a campaign to Hungary in 1596 took the ambassador (Barton) with him in order to facilitate the agreement process. Sanderson mandated him in his absence. *Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant,* translated by William Forster, (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967).
[62] Sanderson was once more sent to Istanbul. The first time with an official duty since all the costs of a present –Organ-were undertaken by the company. He and Thomas Dallam who was the builder of the Organ travelled together in 1599. Sanderson, *In the Levant*, 50-60
[63] The Traveler notes that the Sultan was watching from the torture of Jewish women who were killed during the rebellion from the John Sanderson, Sanderson, *In the* L*evant* 85.
[64] In the Turkish translation of the book, the Hakluyt Society's 1893 edition is used but the segmentation of the work is redesigned in order to facilitate its understanding. The translator Nurhan Özmelek edited the study while maintaining its originality. John Covel, *Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü*, translated by Nurten Özmelek, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011), 6.
[65] James Thedore Bent's (1852-1897) detailed article about the Levant and Dr. Jon Covel's life. Covel, *Günlük,* 23.

His narrative is extremely interesting on many points, [66] during the 7 years he resided in Istanbul, from 1670 to 1677 he took note of many things, his sketches of life and manners are detailed and life-like.[67] As a representative of the protestant Church, his main aim was to inspect the Orthodox Church based in Istanbul. He made an assessment of whether there was a case for the unification of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Covel gave room to many topics in his diary, which he covered in detail, such as Turkish society's social life, its customs, habits, agricultural production, plants, commerce, festivals, administration, and protocol. Since the notes were not in any particular order and were dimmed to be confusing, the diary remained for a long period on the shelves of the British Museum. It was first published in the 19th century.

Antoine Galland's[68] first visit to Istanbul was in 1670 with the French Ambassador M.de Nointel. Galland was an archaeologist who could speak several Eastern languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish), Latin, Greek and Jewish.[69] His mission in coming to Istanbul was to inspect the Orthodox Church, to establish a dialogue with the Patriarch and the priests with a view to gaining as much information as possible. He also collected antiques for the French King. Galland wrote his memoires on a daily basis day painstakingly During his residences in the East, Galland acquired a thorough knowledge of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian languages and literatures, which he utilised upon his return to France to undertake many translations.[70] He published several other works, including Sultan Mustapha'nın Cülus'u in Turkish.[71] Galland had several unpublished works, among which can be listed; a translation of the Quran to French, a

[66] In 1669 Covel was appointed as Chaplin to the ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Daniel Harvey, by the Levant Company. During his residence at Constantinople he witnessed many important events, notably the great fetes at Edirne in honor of the circumcision of Prince Mustafa, and the marriage of the Sultans daughter, which were the most important fests of the century in Turkey, and also granting of the capitulations during the time of the plague. Covel, *Günlük,* 130-146.

[67] James Thedore Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, (New York: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1893), xxvii.

[68] The travelogue was translated into Turkish by Nahid Sırrı Örik from the copy of Paris Ernest Leroux Publisher 1881 edition. This translation was published by TTK in 1949 under the name Antoine Galland Istanbul''a Ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673) The same institution published the new editions in 1987 and 1998.

[69] Yerasimos, "Stephan Gerlach", 374.

[70] Besides a number of archeological works Galland translated 14th-century Syrian manuscript of tales from The Thousand and One Nights. "Les Mille et Une Nuits, Contes Arabes Traduits En Francais" Galland not only in Europe but also in our country the first name that comes into mind when 1001 night tales name is heard.

[71] The information about the biography of Galland was written in the eulogy of M. de Boze which is published by Ch Scheferr. In the introduction part Scheferr emphasizes the importance of the two years diary of Galland as s source for historians.

translation of the Ottoman historian Naima's manuscripts to French, An Introductory Book on Istanbul, and Ottoman History.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier[72] was a French traveller who was the son of a Protestant geographic map merchant.[73] He embarked on his first trip to Persia in 1632. He subsequently made 5 other trips which made him one of the most famous[74] travellers of the East.[75] The Baron of D'Aubonne and knight Tavernier, in his books' introduction explained his 40 year voyages with the words "I came to world to travel"[76]. His book consisted of 6 voyages he made from France to Persia.[77] The 1st volume of the book spanned Turkey and Persia, the 2nd and 3rd volumes spanned Alexandria, Halep, Ninova, and the fourth and fifth volumes covered Persia and the Persians.[78] The first book of Tavernier was "Nouvelle Relation de l'interieurdu serrail du Grand Seigneu" Thevenot, Chardin, Grelot and Evliya Çelebi can be classed as his contemporary travellers. As Yerasimos emphasised, Tavernier's notes can be considered to be the corner stone of the western despotism ideal and as a result, the hegemony of the west began totake form.[79]

Jean Chardin[80] first went to Persia through pressure from his father to sell jewellery to the Persian Palace when he was 22 years old.[81] Chardin chose Persia, the country

[72] This book was printed in Paris for the first time in 1675. The same book was published in Istanbul with the Turkish translation of Perran Üstündağ in 1984 under the name of Topkapı Sarayında Yaşam (Çağdaş Yayınları). In 2007 it was re-published with the new Turkish transliteration by Teoman Tunçdoğan with under the name of 17. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı (Kitap Yayınevi).

[73] Tavernier agreed with a publisher because he thought to dedicate his memoires to the King and he wanted an editor. There were unnecessary debates on the role that Samuel Chappuzeau played on the edition of the memoires. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyahatnamesi*, translated by Teoman Tunçdoğan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 25.

[74] In the encyclopedias of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the articles about Middle East belong to Tavernier. This means he was considered as Middle east expert for a long time. Tavernier, *Seyahatname,* 10.

[75] Tavernier, *Seyahatname*, 10.

[76] He visited Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Poland and Hungary when he was 22 years old. ,Tavernier, *Seyahatname*, 15-18

[77] He gave detailed information about the cities of Aleppo, Moscow, Warsaw, the Aegean Islands, Izmir, Isfahan, and also the Persians Armenians, Georgians, Tatars.Tavernier reached Istanbul in 1631 and stayed in the capital for 11 months before going on to Isfahan.Jean Baptiste Tavernier,*Seyahatname,* 11.

[78] Tavernier and Thevenot met during their journeys in 1663 and mostly travelled together, but they did not get along welland they tried to cover this up in their narratives. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Seyahatname,* 23-24.

[79] Tavernier, *Seyahatname,* 33.

[80] The complete narrative was published in 1711 with the name Voyages du Chevalier Chardin. In 1811 edition it was printed as 8 volumes. Turkish translation is the beginning part of another edition named "Voyage de Paris a Ispahan" (Paris'ten Isfahan'a yolculuk) which is printed in 1686.
He is the son of a Parisian jeweler Pierre Chardin who is protestant like Tavernier

[81] Jean Chardin, *Chardin Seyahatnamesi*, translated by Ayşe Meral, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014). 13.

he visited twice as a basis for his travel book and he did not claim to provide general information about Ottoman Empire. Chardin's difference from the other travellers was the comments he made as opposed to depiction. He did not provide the classic depicting themes of travel books but instead gave general information regarding the Ottoman-Europe relations and capitulations.[82] His travel notes cover the political history of the Ottomans rather than social life. For example, he wrote that the Ottoman Empire was administrated by women in the harem, while the minor Sultan Mehmet was regent, but he does not provide any information the identity of the women he was referring to.

Jean Thevenot,[83] was an orientalist traveller of the 17th century who stayed in Istanbul for nine months.[84] He wrote his memoires in 3 parts.[85] In the first one he described the city, in the second part he wrote about the customs and traditions of Turkish people, inthe third part he gave information about history and the administration. It can be seen that the customs and traditions section was written with a different mentality. Thévenot's elaboration while writing about the clothing habits or religious customs of Ottomans gave his notes an ethnographic characteristic. His observations were generally accurate and complete. According to Yerasimos,[86] Thevenot's notes were utilised almost in all related studies this is because of his "average traveller" attribute.[87]

Joseph Pitton De Tournefort did not go to a university but was self-educated and specialized in the branch of botanic.[88] Following the Karlofca agreement he was sent to Ottoman Empire by the Holy Roman Emperor. He visited the Aegean islands, Anatolia and Istanbul. Although he wrote 5 sections, out of a total of 22, about Istanbul,

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[82] Chardin, *Seyahatname,*16.

[83] There is not a complete translation of Thevenot's four-five volume travelogue. Some selected parts of his journal was translated by Ekrem Reşid Kocu in 1939 and later by Nuray Yıldız's in 1978. In 2009 still incomplete but a scientific edition was published by Kitap Yayınevi. The original travelogue was published in Paris in 1665."Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant". English translation with the name" The Travels of Monseur de Thévenot into the Levant" was published in 1687 in London.

[84] In French names if an article is in the name of a person, this means that that person is coming from an aristocrat class. Although Thevenot has an article it's thought to be used for a kind of affection.

[85] Thevenot had received instruction in the Eastern cultures and languages before his travels. Jean Thevenot, *Thevenot Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Ali Berktay, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 33-34.

[86] Thevenot, *Seyahatname,* 11.

[87] Thévenot was different from other travellers because he was not a merchant like Tavernier norwas hea sharp tongued day-dreamer like Chardin or an antiques collectorlike Galland. He was successful in the Sciences especially botany and he acquireda great collection whilst in India. His most important characteristic was to write the events simply and directly whether they had been previously relayed or not. Jean Thevenot, *Seyahatname,* 11-12.

[88] Tournefort continues his works especially with regard to Spain and Portugal and he published the book Elements de Botanique (Bitkibilimin Temel Bilgileri) in 1694. Joseph Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Ali Berktay and Teoman Tunçdoğan, (Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul 2008), 44.

they cannot be classed as being inventive.[89] He mostly gave information about the historical buildings in the city.[90] The rest of his observations on Istanbul were about classical portrayals, social life and the religious and administration structure of the city. As for women, he wrote about ladies and the Turkish hammam, marriage and divorce conditions for women- the information he obtained from a French lady regarding such matters. Tournefort also informed the readers of how the ladies travelled by boat in Istanbul, a city which rendered travel by boat a necessity for women at some point in their lives.

Simeon[91] a Polish Armenian did not receive an education of significance and he started his travels as a pilgrim.[92] He came to Istanbul 3 times and his 2nd visit which was in 1614 lasted nearly a year in order for him to save up for the rest of his trip.[93] His memoires mostly contained instructions relevant for pilgrims and pilgrimage. Although he wrote the travel notes in Armenian he used Turkish and Polish words quite often.[94] Simeon in his both visits stayed nearby to Armenian families and thus was provided with sound information about the way of life of the Armenian community in Istanbul. Simeon as both a religious and an ordinary European traveller shed light on the ethnic and topographic status of the areas he visited.[95]

Adam Werner[96] was the secretary to embassy delegation that was sent to Ahmet I. by Holy-Roman Emperor, Matthias II in 1616-1618. Contrary to the other travellers, he

[89] Tournefort, *Seyahatname,* 37.
[90] In Uskudar in 1555, he saw and described the palace which was built by Suleiman I. That palace was renewed by Murat IV in 1634 and later Selim III demolished it and built the Selimiye barracks underhis name in 1794. While describing the Maidens tower which he defined as a wooden square building, today's tower was constructed in the period of Mahmut II. Joseph Tournefort, *Seyahatname,* 91.
[91] The travelogue was translated into Turkish by H. Andreasyan and published by İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları in 1964.
[92] Hrand Der Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi (1608-1619),* translated by Saro Dadyan, (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2013), vii – viii.
[93] He left Istanbul by ship onwards to Egypt in order to reach his primary target in 1615. Hrand Der Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un,* 122.
[94] The travelogue was found by philologist Nerses Akinan in 1932 and was published in Wien in 1936. The explanatory English version was translated by G.Bournoutian and was published in 2006. The unique hand-written copy of the narrative which was in Lvov University Library but it was disappeared during German invasion in World war. George Bournoutian, "Simeon of Poland." Accessed December 31, 2014. https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/simeon-poland
[95] Simeon thoroughly describes the Hagia Sophia, the Hippodrome, the Topkapı Palace, Aslanhane, Cebehane, Divanhane, the various bazaars, Sulumanastır, Tavukhane, Yedikule, Tekfur Sarayı, and Galata in Istanbul, and gives a superb account of the sultan's public procession to Friday prayer.
[96] The narrative was first published in Nünberg by Simon Halbmayer Press in 1622. The latest edition is published in Germany in1984 the title was "Tagebuch der Kaiserlichen Gesandschaft nach Konstantinopel" with Karl Nehring's introduction. Adam Werner, *Padişahın Huzurunda,* translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011), 7.

wrote about the conditions of the embassy delegates and the list of the provisions they received from the Ottomans in detail. The aim of the ambassador himself was to submit the revised mission document of the Wien agreement to the Sultan and to gather information regarding the political and economic status of the Ottoman Empire.[97]

Claes Ralamb[98] was the first ambassador of Sweden sent to Mehmet IV in 1657-1658. As a graduate of school of law, his aim was to inform Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmet Pasha about the strategies of the Swedish kingdom concerning the Eastern Europe.[99] He seemed to be quite unsuccessful in his undertaking but his dairy also informs us about the Ottoman court. Ralamb prepared an album illustrating Ottoman costume styles. He also drew 24 pictures of Sultans parades.[100]

Albertus Wojciech Bobovski was a Polish musician and dragoman. He was held captive by the Crimean Tatars and sold to the court of Murad IV around the age of 18 years. As a member of an aristocrat family, Bobovski learned Latin and Greek and studied music. After staying at the Topkapı Palace for 19 years, he converted to Islam and was given the name Ali Ufki Bey. He possessed many skills, the best-known skill entailed being a music instructor of the palace but also he was linguist, poet, translator, historian and muralist.[101]

Bobovski played a cultural and diplomatic role in the relations between Europe and the Near-East.[102] He was in continuous contact with the Europeans, merchants, travellers, ambassadors, Eastern scientists and missionaries. Many travellers such as

[97] Werner, *Padişahın Huzurunda*, 9.

[98] The original name of the diary was "*Kort beskriffning om thet som wid then Constantinoplitanske Resan Ar Föreluppit"* (İstanbul'a yapılan yolculukta olan bitenler) the base narrative of Turkish translation is taken from a study regarding 17th century travelers published in London in 1732. "A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, other now first published in English in six volumes" This Work withstands a hand manuscript which was published in 1697, Stockholm.

[99] Also he expressed the Swedish King's feelings of friendship to the Ottoman Empire and he paid attention to the common interest of both countries against their enemy Russia. Ralamb, Istanbul, 13

[100] Claes Ralamb, *İstanbul'a Bir Yolculuk 1657-1658,* Trans by Ayda Arel, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), back cover.

[101] Some European sources write he could speak seventeen languages but the accuracy of this information is questionable. Perhaps not as many asseventeen but it is estimated that he spoke twelve languages; Polish, French, English, German, Latin, Antique Greek, Modern Greek, Turkish, Italian, Persian and Arabic. Albertus Bobovius, *Topkapı Sarayında Yaşam*, translated by Ali Berktay, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 13.

[102] Ali Ufki Bey, was said to be the chief translator of the Topkapi Palace for European sources but this information could not be confirmed by Ottoman sources. Hazerfen Huseyin in 1670-1671 denotes him as the second translator behind Panayiotis Ikusios. Albertus Bobovius, *Topkapı Sarayında*, 13.

Antoine Galland,[103] Cornelio Magni, Thomas Smith, John Covel, Levinus Warner, Clares Ralamb, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Johann Ulrich Wallic, Paul Rycaut, Nicolaus Brenner used Ali Ufki Bey as a source in their works.[104] Bobovski's translation of the Bible into Turkish, known as the "Kitab-ı Mukaddes" Holy Book has for long been the only complete Turkish translation of the Bible, and is considered one of his greatest achievements. He wrote the Italian work just before the great fire of Topkapı Palace in 1665.[105]

George Sandys belonged to an aristocratic and religious family and travelled for political reasons. He began to travel when he was 33 years old. Sandys stayed in Istanbul for 4 months near Thomas Glover who was the British ambassador at that time. He analysed the traditions of Turkish people. He made his travels on behalf of Prince Charles of England. The first volume of his book was about the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, palace, daily life, administration, military forces, religious issues and the portrayal of Istanbul.[106] His memoires in four volumes were published in 1615.

Thomas Dallam[107] was an English organ maker. In the early years of the 17th century he travelled from London to Istanbul in order to deliver an organ to Mehmet III. The instrument was a present from Queen Elizabeth I and could be played normally or by clockwork. Thomas Dallam, in order to set up the organ and to demonstrate how it worked, went to Istanbul with the British Ambassador Henry Leo. On arrival, the organ took several months to assemble. Dallam kept a diary of his journey, which was

[103] Antoine Galland notes in his diary that he took Turkish lessons from him. Rycaut quotes his Topkapi Palace description in his work "*The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*" which was published in 1698.
[104] Bobovius, *Topkapı Sarayında*, 14.
[105] The travelogue was written in Italian and published in Parma, by Cornelio Magni. In 1679 "Quanto di piu curioso e vago ha patuto raccore Cornelio Magni. per la Turchia", and it was later re-published many times. John Covel brought one of the copies to England which was written in Pera, 1665 and had Bobovius signature. This copy was given to British Library Harley Collection in 171 ."Serai Enderun, cive Penetrale dell'seraglio detto nuovo dei G.Sri e Re Ottomani, la descrittione del loro viviere e costume ed altri esserciti , scritto da me Alberto Bobovio, sequolitano polaccho, fatta al qual tempo di sultan strangola to, e nel tempo del presente G.S. sultan Memetto, figliolo del predetto sultan İbrahim." Another French version is found in Istanbul. This copy is the translation of the French ambassador in Istanbul in 1686. German translation is published in 1667 in Wien. There is a partial English translation of the French copy. Turkish translation is only a part of French edition. Bobovius, *Topkapı Sarayında*, 11-15.
[106]The second chapter is about Egypt, He gives information about Damascus,Cario, Nile and hieroglyphs,-The third chapter is about the Holy land, Jews, Christians, sects, the Grave of Jesus Christ and the temple of Suleiman. The last chapter is about Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicily and some Italian cities like Rome, Venice, and Naples. George Sand, *Sandy's Travailes*, (London: J. Williams, 1652),5.
[107] Dallam's diary was published with Thedore Bent's editorial by Hakluyt Society in 1893. But Maclean notes (2006:27) either this edition or Stanley Maye's An Organ for the Sultan [Sultan'ın Orgu. (Mehmet Haşim Spatar, Çev.) İstanbul: İletişim, 2000] had numerous faults.

published in the nineteenth century by the Hakluyt Society.[108] Sultan Mehmet III asked him to stay on in the Ottoman Lands and to perform recitals to the Sultan regularly. [109] Thomas Dallam is claimed to be one of the rare people who actually got toto see the harem. His memoires were the first of its kind written by someone from inside the Topkapı Palace and as such they are both interesting and significant.

Sir **John Finch** of Fynes, was a physician, diplomat and knight who lived between the years 1626-1682.[110] In 1672 he was named ambassador to Constantinople in order to represent the Sultan's indirect support for the King of England, Charles. II. There he remained till 1681, his experiences during the discharge of his functions were recorded in the book "Under the Turk in Constantinople A record of Sir John Finch's Embassy" He was appointed to the Sublime port of the Ottoman Empire in Constantinople, 1674.[111] Owing its origin to the enterprise of merchants and maintained entirely at their expense, the English embassy on the Bosporus existed chiefly for their benefit; the principal part of the ambassador mission being to promote trade and to protect those engaged therein both against the Turks and against each other.[112]

Josephus Grelot, most probably came to Istanbul in 1672 together with Charles François Nointel, the French Ambassador. Antoine Galland mentioned Grelot's presence in Istanbul at the beginning of 1672 and he introduced him to Chardin.[113] Grelot became the artist of Chardin and travelled with him for 2 years.[114] As far as we can ascertain from Venetian sources Grelot had a calm and restful personality, he was well-disposed and modest. Josephus Grelot spoke Latin, Arabic, Greek, Persian and Spanish at an intermediate level. Grelots seemed to have been passionate about his

[108] Gerald Maclean, *Doğuya Yolculuğun Yükselişi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İngiliz Konukları (1580–1720),* translated by Dilek Şendil, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 25-26.

[109] Sultan Mehmet was willing to keep Dallam in Istanbul. This visitor who was an ironmaster and musician in a short timebecame one of the most important guests of the palace. However, chose toreturn to his country. J.Thedore Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam 1599-1600*,Burt Franklin Publisher, Hakluyt Society, 73

[110] He began his career by studying medicine at the University of Pardua, andheld the chair of anatomy atthe University of Pisa, for five years while he was King Charles II's minister in Florence. G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy,* (London: Macmillan, 1920), vii.

[111] Other British residents during Finch's tenure included the reverend John Covel, merchant Sir Dudley North, Finch's consul in Smyrna, Paul Rycaut and their letters and memoirs contribute to our picture of Finch's reign.

[112] Abbott, *Under the Turk,* 7.

[113] Yerasimos, "Stephan Gerlach", 473.

[114] Chardin, *Seyahatname,* 23.

vocation. In his work he was the first to draw the plans of Haiga Sofia and Suleymaniye Mosque.[115]

1.1.3. 18th Century Travellers Lady Montagu and D'Ohhson

Although the eighteenth century is not within the remit of this study period wise, the importance of the sources of this period are of undeniable significance regarding the women and the family unit. One of the aims of this study is to research about what European people knew with regard to the above before female travellers wrote their memoires and introduced the topic of Eastern women's life in the harem to the West. The specific parts of two main narratives of eighteenth century travellers will be used to basically verify the previous century's impressions of male observers. Lady Montagu is chosen because her narrative is the very first example of a secular work written by a woman. d'Ohsson is chosen because of his very detailed narrative which covers almost every topic.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, an English aristocrat who was a wife of the Biritsh ambassador of Istanbul. She was remembered particularly for her letters from Turkey, Montagu wrote these letters during her residency in Istanbul.[116] Her letters were the first example of a narrative written by a woman about the Muslim Orient. The most important part of the letters was devoted to the lifestyles prevalent in Istanbul during reign of Ahmet III. She entered to harem which none of the foreigners had previously achieved. The first-hand information of this voyage and her observations of the East were often credited as being an inspiration for subsequent female writers, as well as for Orientalist art. Montagu was impressed by the beauty and hospitality of Ottoman women. Lady Mary criticizes the previous male travellers regarding their incorrect observations. According to Montagu, in contrary to what was written before, nowhere else were women as free as they were in the Ottoman Empire. Montagu's work

[115] Chardin, *Seyahatname*, 25.
[116] Lady Montagu followed the route Rotterdam, Lehi, Cologne, Nuremberg, Wien, Prague, Hannover Petervaradin -Belgrade- Edirne and at finally came to Istanbul.

consisted of 52 letters 30 of them were about Turkey, others were about Holland, Wien, Hungary and Paris.[117]

Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson was an orientalist French historian and diplomat of Armenian descent and was born in Istanbul. He was a dragoman and an interpreter who later became an ambassador to Sweden. His knowledge of the Arabic and Turkish languages gave him the opportunity of acquiring information about the Ottoman Empire from reliable sources. He collected as many documents as he could and wrote about the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to the 18th century. D'Ohsson's book was illustrated by the best artists in Istanbul. His ambition was to depict the empire and to offer a portrayal of its peoples, in particular Muslim men and women. D'Ohsson tried to be objective in his perspective. He presented some of his works to Selim III who was known for honouring knowledge. His book consisted of 7 volumes and the 4th volume covered 18th century Ottoman social life. "Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman" is an important source for portraying the subtlety of 18th century customs in Ottoman society. D'Ohsson furnished information about palace life, imperial ladies, the harem and harem women relying on the narratives of the concubines who once lived in the palace.[118]

1.2. From West to East, the Mission of the Travellers and Orientalism

1.2.1. Mission of Travellers

The Ottoman Empire had a competitive presence in Europe in the second half of the 15th century, which naturally increased the number of visitors to Istanbul. In the first decades of the 16th century, Charles V of Holy-Roman Empire had an ongoing battle with his rival François I the king of France, to be the dominant power in Europe. During this period, the Ottoman Empire maintained good relations with France and sometimes engaged in long wars and sometimes pursued alliances with the Roman-Austrian Empire. In time, the Ottomans established diplomatic relations with both countries, who sent their ambassadors to Ottoman lands. Besides France and Austria

[117] Lady Montagu's letters can be considered to be the most selective work of its kind. The letters were translated into all languages.
[118] Kemal Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson." in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* volume 9, (İstanbul: 1994), 497.

many travellers from Britain, Venice, Portugal, Poland, and Sweden, also visited Istanbul for various reasons.

The travel narratives written during this period beginning with the conquest of Istanbul have provided us with a new perception and helped us to interpret what we already know from a different perspective. They were the main sources of information that allowed ideas and images to form in the minds of those in distant lands at a time when communication and transportation technologies had not yet. The travellers through the journals they left behind, formed and solidified the image of the East and the Ottomans in Europe. This image throughout the centuries underwent various transformations and undertook many forms. Presumably it was curiosity and a willingness to learn about the 'other' in the very beginning that sparked the flurry of writing on the Ottomans in the form of travel books and later was probably due to the need to gain superiority over the Ottomans in the Enlightment period. The distinct viewpoints of the narratives which were written throughout different centuries can be identified.

"Educated Europeans who visited Constantinople on diplomatic, scholarly, and commercial enterprises in the sixteenth century shared a common culture of antiquarianism, and their passion for the antiquities of the East shaped their accounts of the Turk and Ottoman Constantinople."[119] The sixteenth century represented real chaos for Europe. The crusades were over and Christianity was subdivided into branches; Protestantism and Anglicanism were part from Catholic Church, and the Little Ice Age bought with it colder winters and various shortages. [120] Various factors forced the beginning of there-formation process throughout the European geography.

The Renaissance which begun in Italy in the late medieval era begun to spread all over Europe and represented beginning of the process. This period can be considered to be a bridge between the Middle Ages and modern history. The cultural movement encompassed development of the linear perspective in arts and showed itself with gradual but widespread educational reform. In politics, the Renaissance contributed to the development of the conventions of diplomacy. European countries begun to embark on diplomatic relations. Idealist individuals and educated humanists who were appointed by governors, travelled across Europe in order to explore the unknown. This

[119] Amanda Wunder, "Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe," *The Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003): 89.
[120] Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in The Early Modern Ottoman Empire,* (Cambridge University Press,) 2011,78

enlightment period had its own characteristics and Humanism was the dominant ideology at the time. In some ways, humanism is not a philosophy but a method of learning. In contrast to the mediaeval period, humanist scholars shaped the intellectual landscape throughout the early modern period. Modernisation brought innovation in administration and in diplomacy. In this diplomatic initiative the ambassadors and travellers who came to East were eager to grasp anything new and carried back the novelty of what they learned to their homeland. With the self-awareness of the diligent travellers, Europe was well informed about the art, architecture, science, music, religion, military and politics of the Ottoman Empire.

When we use the term traveller, the first that comes to mind are the ambassadors and pilgrims. Then secondly we think about the aristocrats, soldiers, missionaries, artists, merchants, slaves and so on. Within the common name traveller presumably we have Assumptions considering the nationalities of travellers can be made based on what weread in their travel records. Some European countries had their delegates in Constantinople since Byzantium times.. As an example, the Genovese and Venetians maintained preferential trade in Istanbul since the Byzantines period. These countries kept a representative accredited by their state. The official envoys that were stationed in the capital city mostly looked after commercial issues. The delegation process took a diplomatic form over time. In this context, the pioneer state was Venetians.

The Venetian community's ambassadors were called Bailo and the geographic center of the country in Istanbul was called the Bailo-House. Venetians moved their Balio-House to the Galata district outside the city walls during the years they were at war with the Ottomans, until the beginning of 16th century. Although the peace agreement was in force, the embassy moved from Galata to Vigné di Pera, which was the route that would later be followed by the embassies of other European countries.[121] This new district since it was outside the city walls left the ambassadors free to navigate and it was also a rather desolate area which helped to protect from the plague and sometimes gave the opportunity for slaves to escape.

[121] Eric R. Dursteler, *İstanbul'daki Venedikliler*, translated by Taciser Ulaş Belge, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 37.

Although the embassy was accepted as the center of the Venetian community in Istanbul, the focus was on the Bailo himself.[122] The primary competitor of Venetian Bailo was the French Ambassador.

The French Embassy was set up in Ottoman Empire in mid-16th century. The Franco-Ottoman alliance was established between François I and Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. This alliance was the first non-ideological alliance of its kind between a Christian and non-Christian Empire.[123] Although the opportunity for both rulers to fight against the rule of Habsburg seemed politically a scary strategy, the social and commercial privileges' effects aroused greater discomfort in Europe. This partnership showed itself as the facilities granted to the French Ambassadors rather than their rivals. Cultural and scientific exchanges between countries flourished. Among the numerous French travelers to the Ottoman Empire, most of them were notables who travelled in connection with an ambassador. The French Embassy, in comparison to the others, provided a framework for scholarly or artistic exploration of the Ottoman Empire. Embassies provided the framework for the artistic commemoration, as well as scholarly investigation, of Constantinople.[124]

The first Holy-Roman ambassador Busbecq was in Constantinople in the mid-16th century. The Holy-Roman Empire had its religious problems, namely being divided into two, which originated with the Protestant reformation, a movement against what its followers considered to be errors in the Roman Catholic Church. The movement has its origins in Germany and began by the turn of the sixteenth century.[125] In most of the embassy delegations of Austria a priest accompanies the ambassador in order to get first-hand information about the Istanbul Greek Patriarchate and to try to convince this power to join their side. As an example, two important travelers Stephan Gerlach and Salamon Schweigger were priests, even though they had versatile interests, their vocation as a priest and their point of view expressed in accordance with their holy duties can be predominately felt in their narratives.

European Countries tried to learn the living conditions of Ottomans maybe to copy the facilities or to analyse the diplomatic situation. To carry out an accurate assessment we have to look to the narratives through the traveller's point of view. The aim of this

[122] Dursteler, *İstanbul'daki Venedikliler,* 41.
[123] Yusuf Yıldız. *Osmanlı-Habsburg İlişkileri,* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2013), 135-145.
[124] Philip Mansel, *Constantinople City of Worlds Desire 1453-1924*, (London: Penguin, 1997), 14.
[125] Yıldız. *Osmanlı-Habsburg* ,165-180.

essay is to analyse Ottoman women and family life through the eyes of the Europeans in the early modern era. With the advent of European colonization the Europeans came into contact with the lesser developed countries of the east. They divided the world into two parts. These two parts were civilized and uncivilized. The undisclosed aim of the Orientalists was to prove the fact that 'the West is more modernized.' The Europeans used orientalism to define themselves as civilized; and they justified the colonization they undertook through this ideal.

1.2.2. Orientalism

The Europeans developed various discourses describing Islam and Muslims as "the other". "*The other*" in this situation was a term used to separate East and West from one and other which in time rendered a comparison demand and ensured that the West was viewed more favourably. Different aims, motives, perspectives and narrative modes united, all the European travellers with a common in travelling to Eastern geography and through the information they consciously transmitted, they helped to shape the evaluation of the 'other' by the West. The term *Oriental* implies to European people the concentration of romance and authenticity. Gerald Maclean, a British scholar in Exeter University and an expert on the cultural exchanges explicates the otherness like. "It involves identification as well as differentiation, of sameness as well as otherness, of desire and attraction as well as revulsion." [126]

The newly shaped ideas in Europe referred to the Orient or East in contrast to the Occident or West, and often, as seen by the West, often as realism. These ideas would later begin to be called Orientalism.

Orientalism is a western based academic discourse examining that what is deemed to be eastern and subsequently value judgements about the East world in areas such as religion, linguistics, thought, art, and history were constructed. [127] Since it is a way of thinking, the main focus of it was the variable cultural and historical relationship between Asia and Europe. Secondly, it expressed the scientific disciplines of West, specializing in the study of the eastern culture and traditions beginning from the first half of the 19th century. Thirdly and finally it covered the ideological assumptions,

[126] Gerald Maclean, *Looking East English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 22.
[127] Edward Said, Orientalism, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 38.

imaginaries about the East.[128] The first and most comprehensive definition of Orientalism belong to a Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said. Since the publication of Edward Said's book *Orientalism* in 1978, much academic discourse has begun to use this term. The book had developed a sharp bias in the West. It emphasized East is East and West is West, these two were separate and could never unite. Said argues that "with the advent of European colonization the Europeans came into contact with the lesser developed countries of the East. They found their civilization and culture very exotic and established the science of orientalism, which was the study of the Orientals or the people from these exotic civilization." [129] Western people used the term orientalism to define themselves. Some attributes were associated with the Orientals, and whatever the Orientals weren't the Occidents were. The Westerners thought themselves to be the superior race compared to the Orientals and they justified their colonization by this concept. According to Europeans, it was their duty towards the world to civilize the uncivilized world. The term Orientalism describes the ways that 'Westerners' understood and eventually sought control over those cultures and nations by appointimg them as the Orient.

"When early European visitors set about understanding, misunderstanding, overlooking or ignoring the self-representations of the Ottomans, the reports they left behind may often owe rather more to their own imperial fantasies and personal ambitions than to really existing conditions."[130] These reports should be carefully analysed in order to extract that what is imaginary and to rather gain first-hand information based on actual observation. The early modern period is a time before the systematic influence of West over East was not in force yet. The scientific discipline began in early 19th century in parallel to imperialism. Since then, Orientalist had been a traditional term for a scholar of Oriental Studies.

Throughout his book, Said discusses and evaluates many examples of Western orientalists, statesmen, writers, military and political leaders as well as a lot of Western books and works of art. Said states that early orientalists before 18th century, through their works, have set metaphysics for East to be dominated by West. Once the West had mobilized its power to apply these perceptions on the East, more Orientalist

[128] Yücel Bulut, "Oryantalizm" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* volume 33, (İstanbul: 2007), 428.
[129] Said, Orientalism, 75.
[130] Maclean, *Looking East,* 18.

knowledge had been required to meet the new needs of such a domination and so on, "knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control."[131]

The travel journals provide information concerning the personal experiences of the visitors in Ottoman Empire. Such accounts contain facts "that contributes our understanding of commercial negotiations, political interactions, social life and the formation of national identities. Unlike members of earlier generations who had travelled to the East on pilgrimage or on crusade early-modern Euroean travellers were typically motivated by personal ambition and the promise of material gain. Frequently, they found themselves both fascinated by and envious of the spectacular display so staggering wealth and imperial power that the Ottomans had made their own." [132]

The daily life of an Ottoman subject was greatly affected by the rise of the market economy and the arrival of European ideas, goods, and customs. Whatever the starting point may be, the travel narratives despite their bias, can be considered to be the first hand records and thus important primary sources which depicted the life in the period in which they were written. Regarding the subject of women and family life in Ottoman Istanbul through centuries, the journals were indispensable source materials. Even today they still maintain their uniqueness regarding the portrayal of the external appearance of women in society. Due to Islamic traditions women had never been in the foreground of Ottoman historical documents. Each culture embraced islam according to its own traditions. Even in its homeland, rules and regulations changed according to the political rulers and the traditional culture of the area. In early modern times it is not only Muslim women , but women everywhere had been imprisoned by prejudice and cruelty.

1.2.2.1.Female orientalism

Even though the debate on "Orientalism" is not very old, the images of the East, positive or negative, are centuries old, and "Oriental woman" played a significant part in those images, and in the creation of them. Starting from medieval times, from

[131] Said, Orientalism, 36.
[132] Maclean, *Looking East*, 64.

travellers to politicians, and from painters to novelists and poets, the "oriental woman" has been a popular subject.[133]

In the central focus of this study since the aim is to discuss Ottoman women's social and cultural agency the value and limits of Orientalism need to be analysed. Its focus on sources with a female point of origin brings a new element to existing challenges to masculinist histories of Orientalism. "Ottoman sources also provide an example of 'indigenous' cultural agency that demonstrates the other side of the classic Orientalist paradigm." [134] That these sources are by Ottoman women is particularly important because they speak of practices of resistance that are charged by differences of both ethnicity and gender.

It is of foremost relevant that, the term 'Ottoman women' refers to a mixed group of women coming from different origins, regions, social status, wealth and religion. Within the orientalist context it is commonly stated, that the women in the Ottoman society did not leave much trace about their daily lives. According to a common belief women were living confined behind four walls and looking after children. Most of the European travellers within an orientalist perspective wrote about the non-Muslim women but do not give much scope to the world of Muslim women outside the home. The spatial segregation, mostly coinciding with the restrictions imposed by the Islamic law and the society defined the borders of female presence and activity.[135] Male travellers until the second half of 18th century reflected on what they heard and what they saw in the streets. Harem was a forbidden ground. The most comprehensive Orientalist traveller who gave the first accurate report about harem and female social life was Lady Montagu.

Lady Mary Montagu, as wife of the British ambassador of the Levant Company in 18th century, was remembered particularly for her letters. Lady Mary highlighted an unknown and figured out a view of Turkish harem life that was not available to their male counterparts before. Montagu's Turkish letters were frequently cited by various

[133] Derya Keskin Demirer, "Women Between Modernity, Islam and Orientalism," (M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 2003).
[134] Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism, Women Travel and the Ottoman Harem,* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 3.
[135] Firuzan Melike Sümertaş. "Female Patronage in Classical Ottoman Architecture," (M.A. Thesis, ODTU, 2006).

women travellers, more than a century after her journey. Such writers cited Montagu's affirmation that women travellers could gain an intimate view of Turkish harem life.

Lady Mary knew that many travellers came to Ottoman territory before and she often corrected the accounts of male travellers. In her letters she mentioned the names of the British travellers Aoron Hill and Paul Rycaut and did not hesitate to bend the truths. Her letters were considered pioneering because of detailed, observations of Oriental sexual practices, this work facinated readers and became favourite source of information for many writers. She seemed herself not just a traveller but an adventurer going to Harem for the first time and bringing a back secret from East. The female travellers claimed that women were not prisoners. Ottoman women's sluggish, erotic and untrustworthy image disappeared.

"Oriental woman" played a significant part in the images of the East, Starting from medieval times, from travellers to ambassadors, and from painters to novelists, "oriental woman" has been a popular subject.

Reina Lewis in her book looked at Western relations through the eyes of Ottoman Women, "Ottoman women publishing in the West joined with their male compatriots in wanting to correct Western misconceptions about Ottoman society but they also wanted (as did many men) to intervene in Ottoman gender relations. Their awareness of Western prejudices made it complicated for them to express their reservations about regional gender restrictions whilst also correcting assumptions about a way of life that was, by the turn of the century, rapidly becoming defunct. Their books must always be understood in relation to this dual axis."[136]

Women have been put at the centre of many debates throughout the history, and this trend still continues with the debates of today. Ladies are still the symbols of civilization, modernity, tradition, religion, progress, backwardness and so on. The way they live their lives, the way they look, the way they dress, and the way they think are considered to be the indicators of a society. [137] When Western modernization was adapted to meet the needs of the East, the debates became even more complicated because of the different religions that dominated the Western and the Eastern culture.

[136] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism,* 17.
[137] Demirer, Women Orientalism, 2

The Muslim women symbolizes the ultimate “other” who can also reveal much about the individual as well as about Western patriarchy.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF OTTOMAN WOMEN FROM THE EYES OF TRAVELERS

The participation of Women in the public realm generated a great deal of discussion in the early modern ages in both the East and in West. For the Western world since the otherness manifested itself with cultural differences, the segregation of women in society was an important criteria in assessing the participation of women. The image of the East be it positive or negative was a gauge in terms of the participation of women in society and therefore and oriental women played a significant part in those images. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the identity of Ottoman women in social life, their visibility and how their status was reflected to European visitors. More specifically, this section aims to analyze how well women fared with regard to certain aspects of Ottoman life in Istanbul during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through foreigners' eyes. It will also be endeavored to identify some of the misconceptions and realities concerning women's authentic identity in early modern Ottoman Istanbul.

In the eyes of the Europeans, the Ottoman society was certainly a male-dominate done. Traditions have limited the full participation of women in society. Islamic laws and cultural customs impact various stages of a Muslim women's life including her education, employment opportunities, marriage, and freedom of taking her own decisions and so on. Although in early ages of Islam the wives of the Prophet Muhammed serve as role models for Muslim women who wanted to legitimize female activity in society, later the freedom available to earliest Muslim women were soon denied to most of their successors.[138]

[138] Zilfi, *Women and Slavery,* 17.

In the Ottoman society of sixteenth and seventieth centuries, status is the most significant factor in the degree of seclusion. High status men and women who appeared in public were surrounded by attendants. The more powerful the individual, the greater extent to which her or his accompanying retinue took on the aspect of a ceremonial procession.[139] Women's experience in a manner of use of outer public and social spaces in urban context is considerably less than men. Ottoman Empire was a patriarchal society where the women were usually confined to the home.They were more likely to be secluded in the harem and, if they went out, it was always with an escort. Since it is quite impossible to come across an uncovered women in the street, there was no possibility for a European male traveller to talk about a Muslim woman's physical appearance though her veil. The veil is an Islamic practice; it has come to a place symbolizing Eastern Women. Visitors have perceived the veil either as a somewhat sexual object that hides the imagined Oriental women or as a tool of oppression of women in Muslim societies. The journals emphasize Islamist conservatism and provide narrative on the visible targets, dress, mobility and the general status of women.

2.1.The Image of Ottoman women

Visibility or invisibility are not personal choices for individuals in an Ottoman context. Ottoman women's invisibility is not their private choice in Istanbul. It is more dictated by culture and religion as well as their legal status.

In the sixteenth century, women had nothing to do with "matters of government and sovereignty" argues Sunullah Efendi, leader of the religious hierarchy of Ottoman Empire.[140] Depending on the Quranic verse which invites the wives of the Prophet Muhammed "to remain in your houses" an admonition commonly proposed for all women as a model of emulation. Quranic tenets and Ottoman ruling principles are unequivocal regarding spiritual equality among all Muslims and social equality among

[139] Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 8.
[140] Mustafa Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, edited by Mehmet İpşirli, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 826.

Muslim males. However, economic and status differences argued for a different social story, as did individual family decision making.[141]

The most important social role of women in Ottoman Empire began with starting a family. Female legal status was directly related to marriage. Marriage equated to economical security for women. Becoming a wife and a mother is a decisive factor of status in society. The studies carried out on the family unit in the Ottoman Empire, start from the percept that it would be wrong to talk about a single model family structure in this wide geography. The structure demonstrates differences at different times and in disparate regions. Moreover, distinctive classes existed in different social economic and political environments and this situation resulted in various family structures and gender relations. In time, many attempts have been made to understand a woman's status in family and society by evaluating various issues. Since Ottoman women did not appear out and about much, most of the studies carried out in order to understand women's status in family and society are based on official government records. Ottoman primary sources; court records, provincial *ahkam* registers, endowment deeds and so on give information about the matters like engagements, marriages, divorce, alimony, *mahir*, guardianship, custody or inheritance.[142] There is also one more primary source which depends on eye-witness accounts of the Westerners. Travelers base their narratives on the events they witness or hear. Therefore travel journals are indispensable sources for gaining insights into the daily life of Ottoman women. We will try to find out the female figures in these accounts of travelers will be examined, along with what they wrote about women and how reflected their observation about female status in the imperial domains.

In Ottoman society there is no doubt women held an important position in the family structure. Penetrating behind the veil and beyond the image of harem they lived rather a segregated life. Women in Muslim culture are often viewed in Western world as lesser and powerless beings. However, it is only through hearsay and misinterpretation that the Western world has defined and attributed meaning to female imagery in Ottoman society.

[141] Zilfi, *Women and Slavery*, 16.
[142] Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Women in the Early Modern Ottoman World: A Bibliographic Essay," *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 60 (2014): 7.

2.1.1. Muslim and Non-Muslim Women

The cultural differences resulted in the formation of many prejudices in the West, Oriental women being one of the most significant of these prejudices. With very little understanding of either Islam or local customs, travelers tried to describe the different cultures they encountered in the East. According to western observers, women were thought to be kept in the harem under compulsion and were portrayed as victims without any individual identity. This bias generated a distinctly different image of female presence in society. The central theme was generally the veil, it can be said that the veil was at the centre of the Orientalist attitude.Unlike European fellows, Muslim women had to embody Islamic virtues in order to be recognized as a respectable member of society. According to visitors, Ottoman ladies were under the dominance of men and did not leave their homes often. Their main social activity outside the house was visiting the hammam. They sometimes also visited the cemetery or went to a funeral. These are similar to festivals and presumably the only chance for a European traveler to see women outside. We to a great extent see the same expressions while female visibility in all travel accounts is being described.

Hans Dernschwam a sixteenth century traveler writes that, "Women are entirely invisible and separated in the society. They are not often in streets and, when present, maintain a level of seclusion."

He underlines their limit public appearance, use of retinues and veil while outside and the intense restrictions of Islamic law on them."[143] Dernschwam also provides detailed information about the white cloth that ladies wear when they go out streets. He portrays the situation toa fancy ball and likens Ottoman women, to a corpse from out of a grave.[144]

Another 16th century traveler Busbecq says,

> I will tell you about the high standard of morality which obtains among the Turkish women. The Turks set greater store than any other nation on the chastity of their wives. Hence they keep them shut up at home, and so hide them that hardly see the light of day. If they are obliged to go out, they send them forth so covered and wrapped up that they seem to passers-by to be mere ghosts and specters….. Hence all women are kept in seclusion.[145]

[143] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 78.
[144] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 183.
[145] Ogier Ghislein de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters,* (Oxford: Clerendon Press, 1968), 118.

Reinhold Lubenau states that women cannot be recognized even by her husband in the street, because of the simple attire they wear so, they can hardly be dissociated from a slave.[146]

Thevenot, describes the women he saw "Women are all covered with long garbs, they close their faces with a white or black veil up to the eye level.[147]

Tournefort who was in Istanbul at the end of 17th century says,

> Ottoman women are rarely in streets, they sit at home without dealing with worldly issues. It's not the same for the pasha' women, they are not enclosed within the houses, they do lots of tricky thing.[148]

This kind of information about Pasha's women and about women who can described as being from more elite backgrounds, is mentioned in several travel accounts but presumably they may have originated from hearsay or gossip.

Tournefort also mentions an interesting case. It is about a boat trip with Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha,[149] his family and some other governors. The Pashas' wife, one of his daughters, 6 female slaves and several eunuch slaves are all squeezed into a boat, decorated with filet shaped wooden cages and covered strictly. Tournefort argues that that the women could hardly breathe inside those cages. When the boats made a stop the crew put down the plank for the women to land and disappeared. The eunuch slaves sprawled out some clothes so that the women could walk on to the shore without being noticed. If it is impossible for the boat to draw nearby the shore, the ladies were covered with 5 or 6 layers and the crew carried them on their shoulders like a bale fardel. They leave the women to the ground and run away immediately. It's strictly forbidden to look towards women's side although they are miles away from the area.[150]

The travellers, if they are giving details of skin colour, eyes, hair and so on, either describe non-Muslim women or they use their imagination presumably depending on hearsay from other foreigners enriched with fantasy. William Lithgow, a Scotch traveller who was in Istanbul in 1611 wrote,

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[146] Reinhold Lubenau, *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 343.
[147] Jean Thevenot, *Thevenot Seyahatnamesi*, trans by Ali Berktay, (Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2009), 63.
[148] Joseph Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Ali Berktay and Teoman Tunçdoğan, (Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul, 2008), 18.
[149] Grand vizier from Köprülü family
[150] Tournefort, *Seyahatname*, 106-108.

> Turkish women are generally short and overweighed, they are timid and outside they wear closed dresses. But in the house they are very beautiful, they have black eyebrows, wide mouth and large eyes.[151]

The height and weight of women can be anyhow described but most probably the specific physical definition of uncovered women imagery at home is fictitious.

According to the 16th- century traveler Fresne Canaye, the Ottoman ladies have black colored eyes, black colored eyebrows, and black colored hair. No matter what their hair color is they dye their hair black[152]. These women were naive, epicurean and skillful.[153]

Black in hair colour and make-up seems to be dominant among ladies. Since nothing else is said and Lady Montagu repeats the information in the following century this data is presumably true. The important factor in most of the narratives is to eliminate what is real and what is imaginary from each other. Many travellers base their narrative on literary fantasy.

European commentators shaped by the Orientalist thought, characterized Ottoman women, as a dependent instead of an individual, hiding from community and totally segregated from public life. This prejudice mostly originated from oriental tales like "*The Arabian Nights*". In respect of the commendatory journals of European visitors Ottoman women possessed a considerable number of features.

Generally women were denied access to intuitions and collectiveness that equated to sociopolitical equality with male members of the community. They were prevented from attending congregational mosques at prayer time and they are kept away from active membership in the craft guilds.[154] In other words Muslim women isolated themselves from the city center and placed their rituals and cultural life at a distance from the male-dominated sacred spaces of the center. This isolated life beclouds the ken of the European visitors. Although we find very little information about the daily life of Muslim women, Non-Muslim women who were more visible, and therefore female dominance in European records identifiable.

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[151] Üçel Aybet, *Seyyahların Gözünden,* 119.
[152] Jean Thevenot "In Turkey the women are commonly beautiful, straight and well-shaped, they are very fair. The add art to their natural beauty, fort hey paint their eye brows and eyelids ,with a blackish colour, which they call *surmee* "Travels into the Levant Jean Thevenot ,56
[153] Fresne-Canaye, *Fresne Canaye*, 59.
[154] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman Empire," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures Family Law and Politics,* edited by Suad Joseph, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 201.

Michael Heberer blames Greek women for their splendidness. According to his view, Ottoman women's modest standing is remarkable when compared with Greek women's haughty posture.[155]

Non-Muslim women have much more freedom, most of the journals portray that Greek women like to be seen with their charming accessories and comparatively décolleté, dresses. Gerlach underlines some anecdotes:

> Greek girls don't go to church until their marriage. There isn't any tradition like this in Greece, presumably they evolved this tradition because they are wary of Turks.[156] Greek women are free mannered, they obviously flaunt their sexuality. Sometimes they use some little knives to stick to their own arms or chest in order to ingratiate their lovers. If the lover rejects them they don't hesitate to commit suicide.[157]

> Jewish men and Jewish women are welcomed by court and they are seen as highly reputatable. This is because they are superstitious and they are knowledgeable about the art of magic, they impart this information to the imperial harem ladies.[158]

Actually Gerlach seems to have been more concerned with religious matters and their effects on society.

> An Armenian who recently become a Muslim passed our door with his wife and children. On his head he wears a white turban of the type they wear and in his hands there is an arrow. His wife is covered like Turkish women and walking behind him. An old Turk is walking in front of them.[159]

2.1.2. The Women of the Urban Elite

The visibility of Ottoman dynastic family and wives of high dignitaries (pasha households) were considerably different to that of ordinary Muslim and Non-Muslim women.

This can be illustrated by means and representations of power assumed by the elite women by looking at ceremonies, rituals and architecture.

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[155] Heberer, *Osmanlıda Bir Köle,* 297.
[156] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 613.
[157] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 136.
[158] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 141
[159] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 596.

The Ottoman elite women held an intermediate position, if they come from the ruling class this means they possessed wealth and power. Although women in Ottoman society changed or gained status through marriage, father's or husbands were not directly decision makers in this process. This is because Islamic laws allow women to keep their own property independently of their husbands. Power can be expressed in different ways, in different contexts, from the 16th century onwards imperial female power is reflected in architectural representation. For Imperial women indeed, architecture became a strong tool of power manifestation that in a way replaced other forms of imperial imagery. Architectural patronage is related to two significant issues; a religious obligation that advocated a philanthropic attitude in terms of providing public services, and a will to reflect political power and presence to the *tebaa*, especially to the female *tebaa* and foreign visitors and residents and in turn get their acknowledgement and appreciation which were once only claimed by the sultans.[160] The imperial female visibility depends on the symbolization of sovereign power. Silhouette is not seen but the magnificence is felt. Mehmed Rasid who is a *vakanüvis*-official history writer of the Sultan-writes about the opening day of Gülnuş Valide Sultan mosque in Uskudar,

> The mosque built by the patronage of Valide Sultan was ready to pray. The sultan and his mother went to Üsküdar and they stayed at the house of *Bostancıbaşı* From the house of bostancıbaşı to the way to the mosque all the houses were emptied and all the shops were closed by curtains. The valide sultan and the harem ladies visited new mosque. They prayed and gave some gifts to the servants of the mosque.[161]

During those the rare times which imperial harem ladies are out for an occasion, the streets are emptied, so it's quite impossible for anyone to see the dynastic ladies and the other elite women.

Many travelers saw the carriages of sultans passing by the embassy. Since the carriage is frequently described, we may think that Imperial women were not totally hidden away between the palace walls and got the opportunity to get out.

[160] Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, "Female Patronage in Classical Ottoman Architecture," (M.A. Thesis, ODTU, 2006).
[161] Mehmet Raşid, *Tarih-i Rasid ve Zeyli*, edited by A. Özcan, Y. Uğur, B. Çakır, A. Z. İzgöer, (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013), 848.

Stephan Gerlach, in his long stay in Istanbul, witnessed several times the stroll of Sultan's Corfiot wife[162] in a carriage.

> The group consists of 20 carriages, The Sultans carriage is covered with a red cloth like all the others. There aren't any special decorations, only 4 knobs are gold plated. The most senior officials accompanying the group are castrated black slaves riding the horses. Some Janissaries are walking in front of the carriage.[163]

Reinhold Lubenau says if a high class lady wants to go somewhere she uses a closed carriage. The slaves hold cloths in both sides of the road so that the lady can get to the car without seen by anyone.[164]

Tavernier, Galland and Thevenot are also eyewitnesses to the Valide Sultan's entry to Istanbul. This enormous leg of the journey is carried out under the control of imperial cavalry. The consensus of the travelers is the presence of Valide Sultan and her retinue, the high ranking officers of state and armed soldiers in the convoy, serve to uphold the honor and inviolability of the queen mother and to symbolize her power in government.[165]

Travelers describe the scenes that they witness, but ambassadors are somehow able to reach information inside from harem. In contrast to foreign visitors, some Venetian ambassadors seem to have had more of a chance to describe royal women. They broke with convention and described the image of the mothers or wives of the Sultan's. In 1526 for instance, Ambassador Baragadin describes Hurrem as "young but not beautiful, although graceful and petite"[166] In 1612 Ambassador Simon Contarini describes Kosem as "a woman of beauty and shrewdness, and furthermore…of many talents, she sings excellently, whence she continues to be extremely well loved by the King."[167] As previously discussed, Venetian ambassadors, are abundant sources, they receive information from well-placed first-hand informants, at worst second or third-hand people and embellish their reports with rumor.

Nearly all the travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attempted to write on the issue of female visibility,but the outcome cannot be said to be satisfactory.One

[162] Nurbanu Sultan, Gerlach gives the correct nationality of Nurbanu Sultan unlike some records she is Corfiot, not Jewish. Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 91 editors note.
[163] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 91.
[164] Lubenau, *Seyahatname,* 345.
[165] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 195.
[166] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 59.
[167] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 105.

of the reasons for this is due to ‚male travelers' limited information regarding women's physical appearance. On the other hand, 18th century ladies who had the chance to communicate with women in the harem enlightend this mystery.Lady Montagu wrote her impressions as the very first example of a secular work by a woman. According to Montagu there were no ugly women in the Ottoman Empire. She says;

> I never saw in my life so many fine heads of hair. I have counted 110 of these tresses of one Lady's, all natural; but it must be own'd that every beauty is more common here than with us. Tis surprising to see young women that is not very handsome. They have naturally the most beautiful complexations in the world and have generally large black eyes. I can assure you with great truth that the court of England cannot shew so many beauties as are under our protection here. They generally shape their eyebrows, and the Greeks and Turks have a custom of putting round their eyes on the inside a black tincture that, at a distance or by candle-light, adds very much to the blackness of them. I fancy many of our ladies would be overjoy'd to know this secret, but this too visible by day. They dye their nail rose colour; I own I cannot enough accustom myself to this fashion to find ant beauty in it.[168]

Since our main subject is women through the eyes of 16th and 17thcentury travelers, our focus will be that time period. The only visible Muslim female seen in the streets, are covered carefully, who are depicted like silhouettes. Clothing and costume is another topic that is decisive in segregation of status and religion.

2.1.2.1.Clothing

Istanbul, being the capital of the Ottoman Empire hosts women from every nation and from every social status. Although it's possible to live according to their own traditions for non-Muslims also, Islamic customs were strictly administrated and controlled for Muslim women. *Entari* (outer dress), *shalwar* (trousers), *kuşak*, *başörtü*,(headscarf), *ferace* and *yasmak (*head cover*)*were the indispensables of Muslim women's clothing. Due to their totally covered nature in public, these women are described in terms of their outer clothing. The veil and the general outlook of women are analyzed in the visibility section. In this chapter, clothing and costume will be analyzed more specifically, through nationality, religion and status of women.

[168] Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* edited by Robert Halsband, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 327.

The travelers witnessed a male dominated country in the Ottoman Empire. Almost all of them write about the segregation of Muslim women in the Eastern world. Since Ottoman's do not write much about their women, and male Western observers have no access to an Ottoman harem, the imagery of women in travel narratives is either based on women seen in streets or based on non-Muslim women who have comparably more freedom. This section will analyze the women's clothing habits in Istanbul and the clothing differentiation based on classes through travel narratives. Ottoman clothing has a relatively stable traditional form. The tradition of clothes and costume are designated in terms of color, style, fabric, and so on.

Cross referencing of the data of travelers gives an idea about the perception of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries female clothing habits. When the periods of the Ottoman Empire are examined, it can be seen that throughout the centuries that women wore traditional outer clothing namely the *ferace* and the yasmak. Many of the narratives emphasize some common issues regarding the characteristic of Eastern women. Since their notes are coherent to each other, probably they either came across similar women, read the previous traveler's notes or they have dependable sources. The empire lands spread to a huge area although various communities still represented themselves through their own traditions. For example, Dernschwam notes that, in Bulgaria, women were not covered and they didn't wear a veil.[169] Busbecq, his contemporary notes that "women wear a dress with ridiculous embroideries and wear a bonnet to their heads."[170] These kinds of examples can be seen in different areas of the empire but since our main subject is to discuss the portrayal of Istanbulite women, we will focus on the diversity in this city.

Fresne Canaye, a 16th century traveler who tried to converse with some women in the street and was not unsuccessful in his attempt describes women as,

> Women's faces were covered with a veil which is made up from camel hair and painted to be black. Their courtesy could be understood from their voice tone and from the shape of their hands unless they are wearing gloves.[171]

Reinhold Lubenau, says,

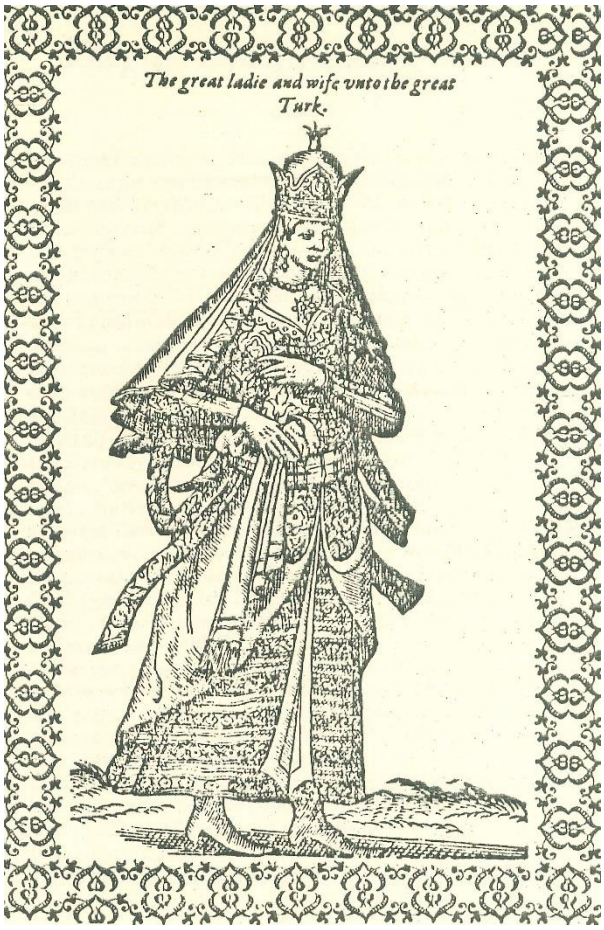
[169] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 3.
[170] Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters,* 23.
[171] Fresne-Canaye, *Fresne Canaye*, 58.

> They are wearing *shalwar*, coat and turban, like a man, but there is a cotton cloth on their faces as outerwear so that no one can see them. Some women wear black veil made from silk or hair. He was surprised to girls at small age who were also covered.[172]

Lubenau mentions a woman he saw from the window of his room, and remarks that she liked to show off. "Fez on her head and there is various jewelry on her arms, ears, neck and ankle."[173]

Nicholas de Nicolay on the other hand liked to draw paintings of some common women in the streets. Indeed he produced a unique work which provides an insight into visibility in terms of the image of 16th century women. The drawings of Nicolay show that actually the main difference between Muslim and non-Muslim women's clothing is the face cover. As may be observed from his drawings, Istanbul has similar clothing characteristics, Istanbul's suburbs seem to have been more flexible while the French, Greek women living around Galata wear charming dresses and accessories[174] Nicolay, explains to his readers that he got the information about women from a eunuch slave named Zafer Aga, from Ragusa. Zafer Aga was trained in the palace and was in the service of the Barbaros family. In order to give authentic information Zafer Aga found two ordinary women and sent them to the bazaar for attire shopping. Nicholay draws his imaginary female portraits according to those dresses.[175]

[172] Lubenau also gives information about women's clothing at home. "They wear a transparent silk dress, sometimes golden strings fancy their hair" but since there isn't any chance of the traveller to see this kind of a home state, this information is probably an imagination.
[173] Lubenau, *Seyahatname*, 343.
[174] Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın,* 176-181.
[175] Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın,* 161.



1.1 The Great Lady, Wife of the Great Turk

Nicolay De Nicolay, *The Neugations into Turkie*, (New York: De Capo Press, 1968), 52.

Michael Heberer also had observations about clothing. Ottoman women braided their hair and attached jewelry or accessories also. They put on a bonnet, woven with golden strips which look like a shower cap. They also wear a turban that covers the head and the hair completely. The tunic they wear is weaved from a tissue textile like their turban. It's in large form with long sleeves and it's collarless. They wear a *salwar* and a knee high robe from satin or *damask* which is encrusted with silver or golden strings.[176] The clothing of non-Muslim women is also portrayed in detail. Heberer tells about Greek women. They wear velvet, *damask*, silk and satin dresses with brocade handwork mostly designed with flower figures and they don't hesitate to show their

[176] Based on Muslim tradition silk is allowed for women but it's not allowed for men. Muslims believe that men wearing silk in this life will not be wearing it in the afterlife. Mouradgea De D'osson, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Türkiye'sinde Örf ve Adetler*, translated by Zerhan Yüksel, (İstanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1977), 73.

décolleté these women wear valuable accessories on their neck, ears, arms and hair. He explains he saw such women in wedding ceremonies and some other places too.[177]

Nicholas de Nicolay defines Greek and French women's dressing as implausibly wealthy and dazzling. When going out these women really dress up. All women wear silk, velvet, satin or taffeta. Their accessories and hats are charming and fashionable.[178]

As was the case of most states in the pre-modern world, the sumptuary laws in the Ottoman Empire also tried to regulate the subjects' costumes. These regulations reflect the mentality of the rulers. For the rulers, color in costumes, is a determinative factor. Although the Ottoman rulers allow ethnic or religious minorities to have certain rights, they also make some arrangements to underline the difference and to distinguish the Muslim and non-Muslim population. The state dictated the style and the color of the costumes according to religious differences. Colors also may emphasize the social status of governors. Unfortunately we do not have any unique information regarding female costumes color and fabric regulations, so maybe it would be useful to analyze the topic in general.

Pashas and the other ruling class wore required dresses for their positions which mostly had symbolic meaning. As an example, governors who belonged to educational classes wore blue boots which meant their wisdom carried them to sky, to infinity.[179] According to Bucbecq, black, purple and dark blue color dresses are used at the funerals by Sultan. At mid-16th century this color was deemed to be unlucky. He mostly observed the Sultan's color choices. Although purple was the color of Ottoman aristocracy, it was known as being the harbinger of death at wartime. White is rated as a lucky color and worn in ceremonies by the Sultan.[180]

When it comes to women, the state had a further reason for controlling dressing, for women are always perceived as potentially dangerous, inciting disorder and causing unrest by their too open presence on the streets. It is therefore considered necessary to ensure that how they dressed is at all times was appropriate and thereby avoided excessive ostentation. The state issued constant directives over what women should

[177] Heberer, *Osmanlıda Bir Köle,* 295-297.
[178] Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın,* 182.
[179] Nedim who is a famous poet of 18th century explaines blue boots as follows:
"Menhec-i ilmin nice hasm olmasın erbâbına,
"Çarhı pâ-mâl etmedir kasd âsmânî mûzeden."
[180] Lale Görünür, and Sema Ögel, "Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanılışları." *İTÜ Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2006): 59-68.

and should not wear. Dress is to be appropriate, not over-ostentatious and not excessively expensive. It is certainly not to be revealing in anyway whatsoever.[181]

Clothing mainly represents the religious, ethnic and socio-economic differences in the society. Selim II issued decrees about restrictions on non-Muslim men and women dress. He forbade them to imitate dresses assigned to Muslims or to wear expensive garments.[182] Due to state regulations, the outer dresses' of non-Muslims should be ash color and not be silk.[183] Shoe colors should be yellow for Muslims, red for Armenians and blue for Jews.[184] Non-Muslims were expected to wear lower quality dress than the Muslim population. The upper price limit for a non-Muslim dress was about 30-40 akçe's. The decrees about clothing did not discriminate against Jewish and Armenian women. Armenian women had to put a piece of red cloth with yellow lines on their heads which shouldn't be long.[185]

To give another example, in 1577 Murad III sent public criers throughout the city, announcing that Christians and Jews were not to dress in clothes made from silk or fine woven cloth, but garments of poorer quality. Instead of elegant and expensive footwear, they were to put on simpler shoes worth half a thaler; their turbans were not to be of high quality, and they were to wear stockings and gaiters, not long trousers. According to Gerlach, the reason behind Murad III's decree at that time is the sighting of a Jewish woman out on the streets two weeks before the announcement wearing jewels round her neck worth forty thousand ducats. Jewish men were also seen out and about in garments of velvet and silk.[186]

The women in Ottoman society represent a complex structure; made up of Muslim, Non-Muslim, Royal, urban and peasant individuals.. Of course, the fabric and the quality of t high status ladies' clothes was better than the clothes of commoners. Dresses of royal family were woven in private workshops.[187] Silver and gold alloy

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[181] Kate Fleet, and Ebru Boyar, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 177.
[182] Ahmet Refik, *On İkinci Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 87.
[183] The travelogues that tell Non-Muslim women dressing silk contradicts with II.Selim's ferman.
[184] Çiğdem İrtem, "Osmanlı Kültüründe Renk Kavramı ve Sosyal Yapıya Etkileri," (M.A. Thesis, Haliç Üniversitesi, 2014).
[185] Namık Sinan Turan, "16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Sonuna Dek Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrımüslimlerin Kılık Kıyafetlerine Dair Düzenlemeler." *Ankara Üniversitesi Sbf Dergisi* 60, no.4 (2005): 247.
[186] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 633.
[187] Evliya Celebi mentions the existence of 500 tailors in royal weaving workshops. Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 53.

threads were used in weaving. Since the royal women gave importance to being decorative precious jewelries were sewed to their hoods. The accessories they wore were valuable. When going out, they put on a cover cloth – *ferace*- over their hoods. Everyday women used veils instead of hoods.[188] *Ferace* was a cover worn over Muslim womens' usual clothing. Generally all men and women covered their heads. Non-Muslim women were forbidden to wear *feraces* and veils and non-Muslim men were forbidden to wear the turban (*sarik*). Both male and female slaves wore ordinary clothes made from a thin fabric and their faces were open. A piece of cloth covered their head and shoulders.[189]

The most detailed information given on this topic is comes from the accounts of Lady Montagu and D'Ohsson in the 18th century. Although belonging to a later period, their detailed journals may also shed light on previous centuries. D'ohsson stated that Turks didn't wear a costume that didn't belong to their own national tradition. As an example, a hat or a Persian bonnet was not welcomed among Muslims.[190] They wore *sarik* or turbans. Shoes were also a decisive factor. The Muslim community wore yellow leather shoes, the *ulema* wore blue leather shoes, and non-Muslims wore black shoes.[191] Muslim women had traditional clothing while non-Muslim women had more freedom. All those who could afford to, wore silk clothes and Indian fabric. Silk and gold and silver alloy threads were only used by women. The number one choice for Indian fabrics was wraps. Wraps were made from thin wool and they were very expensive. Fur was classed as the most luxurious wear for both genders.

Lady Montagu rather than giving general information informs us about her own costume[192]

> The first piece of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reaches to my shoes and conceals the legs more modestly than your petticoats. My caftan of the same staff with my drawers is a robe exactly fitted to my shape and reaching to my feet, with very long straight falling sleeves.

[188] Seda Türüt, "XVI.-XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı Dönemi Saray Kadın Kıyafetleri ile Halk Kadın Kıyafetlerinin Karşılaştırılması," (M.A. Thesis, Haliç Üniversitesi, 2011), 196
[189] Türüt, Kadın Kıyafetleri, 197
[190] Basedon a Islamic tradition , the wearing of silkis allowed for women but is not allowed for men. Muslims believe that men wearing silk in this life will not be wearing it in the afterlife. Mouradgea de D'Ohsson, *XVIII. Yüzyıl,* 73.
[191] D'Ohsson, *XVIII. Yüzyıl,* 84.
[192] Montagu, Letters, 326

Looking at women in the 16th and 17th centuries, the fabric choices presumably say a great deal about the wearer, including her social status and religious affiliation.

2.2.The Social Status of Ottoman Women

2.2.1. Traditions and Encounters

Nearly all the travellers made a brief analysis of the East by emphasizing its differences from the West and discussing their traditions. Ottoman culture evolved over several centuries as the ruling administration of the Turks absorbed, adopted and modified the cultures of conquered lands and their peoples. Although the Ottomans were strongly bound to their cultural traditions, conquests also shaped the social attitudes. Unlike European countries in the early modern era, the modernization period in Ottoman periodization was hardly the logical continuation of the earlier period based on cultural change. The cultural and traditional portrayals made by travellers in their eyes defined the early modern age character of Istanbul and also demonstrated the continuality of the Turkish and Islamic traditions which intertwined over centuries. That's why it makes sense to speak about traditions and encounters which began to be told from almost the middle ages followed by early modern era in Istanbul in relation to the rise of awareness.

Throughout its history the Ottoman Empire has had substantial subject populations of Byzantines, Armenians, Jews, and some other nations, who were allowed a certain amount of autonomy under the confessional Millet system of Ottoman government and whose characteristic cultures enriched that of the Ottoman state. Although these populations tried to maintain their own traditions, they also influenced each other. Since the main subject of the study is women, the chapter will focus on both the women's traditions and the general traditions that affects women.

In early modern Ottoman Empire religion is the premier distinction so the Muslim and non-Muslim traditions base on their society.

Simeon pays a visit to Hagia Sophia, he says inside the mosque, it's visible that a man size cupper column exudes and this sweat is said to be holy water. He writes that both

Muslim and Non-Muslim, men and women hide their faces.[193] Another example is that men, women and Muslim and Non-Muslim mix in a certain area in Saint Domenik Church in Galata. Once a year, in the Thursday of the ninth week of the Easter, there is a visiting day. Both Muslim and non-Muslim come to the church. People come partially for a visit to watch the pray or to watch the ceremony.[194]

Traditions generally belong to either Muslim's or non-Muslims, either men or women. Exceptions can be seen in superstitious or religious matters. These kinds of examples are striking in journals of the travellers who are from a religious origins.

Gerlach tells about a fountain in Silivri called "*Hrisopeyi*" made up from white marble internally and externally. The underground water supply is once surrounded by brick walls of Panaghia Church, but today only ruins of the church can be seen. It's needed to go down 32 step stairs in order to reach the fountain. There is a white table in front of the fountain and a earthenware dish on it. The visitors fill the dish with this water and wash their faces. They believe that this underwater is a cure for fewer. Both Muslim and Non-Muslim people come to this place to get benefit. Gerlach witnesses a Turkish lady with her daughter who came to visit the fountain.[195]

The traditions are numerous, except from the beliefs and superstitious ones, the physical appearances, love. Religious traditions are striking. The examples of the traditions give us an idea about the life of women and children then.

Ottomans combed the hair of uncircumcised boys' and afterwards braided their long hair. When they were circumcised their hair was shaved, leaving only a small braid at the top.[196] Ottoman children when they wanted to show respect to their mother, they call her "*kadıncık*" which means a tiny lady, a women or spouse, otherwise generally they call their mother "*ana*". Mothers addressed their sons as "*efendi*".[197]

[193] Hrant Der Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi (1608-1619),* translated by Saro Dadyan, (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2013), 6 .
[194] Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un,* 17.
[195] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 328.
[196] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 197.
[197] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 436.

2.2.2. Living Conditions of Women

2.2.2.1. Houses and harem

Houses

In early modern Istanbul, Ottoman architecture flourished greatly. They mastered the technique of building perfect inner and outer spaces. Islamic religious architecture shows all the modern techniques of the period and they are built with extensive decorations. They integrated mosques into the community and added public kitchens, schools, hospitals, baths, tombs. These public buildings are monumental and classical works. Although monumental religious architecture, city walls and fortifications, palaces and great civil buildings, bridges, provide a powerful visual image, wooden houses in urban centers which seem to be constructed in several days exhibit a contradictory image.

Wooden buildings are not encountered in royal buildings often, but they are the main materials of houses in everyday Istanbul. They usually contain reception rooms where men can receive guests (*selamlık*) and private quarters (*harem*). These quarters can be very district to the extent of being virtually separate dwellings with distinct entrances the best part is reserved for the outside world and the sleeping quarters are generally separated to guests. A typical Ottoman house includes an entrance floor paved with stone (*taslık*), a multi-purpose room often with an elevated platform that was used as a sitting area by day and a place to lay sleeping by night.[198] Since the women's most of the time passed at home. The best point is the definition of the houses.

Busbecq notes that "it's characteristic of Turks to avoid any magnificence in their buildings; to care for such things is in their opinion a sign of pride, vanity and self-conceit, as though a man expected immortality and a permanent abode upon this earth. They regard their houses as a traveller regards an inn; if they are safe from thieves and protected from heat and cold and rain, they require no further luxuries." "This is why in the whole world of Turkey you would have difficulty in finding even a rich man in possession of a house of any elegance. The common people live in huts and cottages; but the rich are fond of gardens and baths, and have roomy houses to

[198] Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance,* 84-90,

accommodate their huge establishments, but no well-lighted porticoes or halls worth looking at or anything else magnificent or attractive."[199]

Salomon Schweigger notes that all the houses in Turkey are jerry-built. Although people in the empire are satisfied with the patchy houses the wakif buildings like mosques or schools are spectacular.[200] Even though Schweigger argues that the Turks do not know much about construction, he also praises the monumental architectural buildings belonging to the Turks. Schweigger also points out that the Turks have very little chests, cabinets, kitchenware, and furniture's in their houses. Instead of chests and cabinets, they use wicker baskets which are covered with red leather. The couches and cushions are covered with very beautiful covers.[201]

Lubenau describes ordinary Turkish houses as undersized and low-rise made from wood, stone and adobe. The ground floor is a barn and servants reside in the ground floor. on the second floor the family all live together. Since the summers are very hot, some families built balconies in order to sleep outside. But this is costly; people who build balconies are religious attendants or wealthy families.[202] In terms of inner decoration, Gerlach says in Turkish houses floors are covered with carpet so that the household walk either by socks or barefoot.[203] Tournefort gives detail from inside the house, "Turks don't decorate their houses with paintings and sculptures but with gold and with flower motif glasses and some incenses with Arabic redolence.[204]

Dernschwam underlines the position of Ottoman women in 16th century. According to his observations, women are segregated in the their houses. Even the slaves are not able to see them. None of them go shopping. The concubines do the laundry, cooking and the housework. Men and women stay indifferent parts of the house. They don't eat together. Men eat alone, women eat with children and concubines.[205] Michael Heberer notes that ladies rooms are at the back of the house. If the room has a window overlooking the street, the window will be high that women can't see outside.[206] It is difficult to imagine how life was for women isolated inside the house. Most of the

[199] Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters,* 11.
[200] Salomon Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk,* translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 122.
[201] Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine,* 210.
[202] Lubenau, *Seyahatname*, 178.
[203] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 689.
[204] Tournefort, *Seyahatname,* 30.
[205] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 179.
[206] Heberer, *Osmanlı'da Bir Köle,* 295.

travellers say that Ottoman women don't do any housework like the Europeans, all the housework and shopping were done by the slaves. Women at home are described as lazy females only busy with crafts and raising their children. The primary mission of wives was to take care of the children. Any duties out of the house were not welcomed. Indeed, George Sandys emphasizes that trade is not permitted for any women.

There are many rows of buildings, consisting of shops only, all belonging to Grand Signor who lets them out into trades-men; into which their wives come not: Women being prohibited by Mehmed to buy or sell (though now not seldom they do) or they themselves publicly.[207]

In the cities couples marry without seeing each other. A man can marry up to four women according to the Islam tradition. These women stay either in different rooms of the houses or in different houses. A man who has several wives is obliged to look after all.[208] Istanbul is not only a political centre or a city that only aristocrats lived in, but it's like a cantonment. The sultan, janissaries and the mercenaries can go on a campaign for up to a couple of years. Although many men go on campaign the ones who stay in the city are numerous. Women sometimes failed in their efforts to live alone. Although prostitution was rife it was carried out under obscurity. Depravity was prevalent. In the streets ladies' identity couldn't be recognized under veil even by their husband's. Derschwam notes some women who feel lonely leave home and go to the hammam not returning for several days. Some of them drink wine even at street corners. If this was learned of somehow, they would be severely punished.[209] This kind of information is to be taken with caution, although the writer is credible, the information may be fanciful. Presumably the veil which prevents women from being looked at, the emancipation of women in society, and their cover temperament steer European travellers to have a wild imagination.

[207] George Sand, *Sandy's Travailes,* (London: J. Williams, 1652), 27-28.
[208] Jannissaries were forbidden to marry a second wife untilthe Sultan Suleiman period. This restriction was abolished by the Sultan, but it was economically hard to look sfter more than a family. Hans Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 183.
[209] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 179-182.

Harem

When Ottoman woman is mentioned the first word that comes to the mind of Europeans is the harem. Harem literally denotes a sacred area without any gender specifications, yet, but it usually is used for the private quarters for the women of a family. Harem is not just a place that women lived but where also the Ottoman family life went to. Harem, presumably was the heart of the house. The female members of the family, children, and concubines all lived in Harem. Due to the secluded nature of the harem households, there is no source related directly about harem life with the exception of some female eyewitnesses who wrote their memoires in 18th century. The lack of knowledge pushed the Westerners to learn more about this mysterious institution. This intuition created fascination in the Western imagination. The theme became a subject of numerous novels and thrillers.

According to Pierce, "There is a tendency in the West to assume that the Harem institution, with its linked practice of gender segregation, is an Islamic manifestation of the Western conception of the public/private dichotomy. This assumption is a more profound obstacle to arriving at an understanding of the structure and dynamics of Muslim society than the more easily recognized myth of the harem as the sight of Muslim promiscuity." [210]

This constitution is assumed as a space in which eroticism was played out. Due to the Oriental tales already internalized by most European visitors, they did not feel the need to demystify fancies on harem the authors to enrich their imaginary.

Imperial harem

Imperial harem is no doubt more sophisticated than the rest of the harems. The sources generally base their arguments on the lives of the sovereign people. Analysis of gender draws us away from the class differentiation, turning our attention towards the everyday lives of women. It focuses the attention on all socially-constructed categories, including class and ethnicity. It's reasonable to assume that in order to shed analytic light on female lives, the first place to look at is the houses which they spend nearly all their time in. The structure of the homeshow marks of tribal life. It is believed

[210] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 7.

that this is a transient world and the minimal structures and enough furniture is in use. The journals are unique sources because in Ottoman records popular-class urban, rural and tribal women are most often absent from historical data.

The question of female sovereignty however was important for western travellers who wanted to see the complete picture of diplomacy in the empire. We can see from the narratives of the ambassadors that Westerners wondered whether the Ottoman Imperial ladies used limited sovereignty or if they participated in the full administration invisibly. Most likely, answers to such question that can be deemed to be satisfactory will never be found. However, the comparative approach may be successful in providing important results. Many travelers write about the impossibility to enter the Harem. Tavernier underlines the privacy with a metaphor "Entrance is forbidden to men with greater vigilance than in any Christian Convent."[211] Very little is known about the internal functioning of the Harem and of relationships among its residents. Since Ottoman sources are silent, the accounts written by the European observers are our main contemporary sources. Before Lady Montague who enlightened the Harem's mystery in 18th century, many works providing comprehensive descriptions of harem is written by European travelers and ambassadors as well as by captive's and renegades who had served in the Sultan's palace.

The journal of Bobovski is the most important source giving information on the imperial harem. The author spent 19 years in the harem and wrote his own observations as an eye-witness. Most of the contemporary travelers either consult him or use his narrative as a source. Rycaut wasaware of the importance of harem. He says in his travelogue "I employed an understanding Polonian who spend nineteen years in the Ottoman Court." This is most probably Albertus Bobovius, a music page trained in the inner palace school.[212]

Ali Ufki Bey (Bobovski) as a palace musician, witnessed imperial ladies' invisibility inside the palace. Although he gives much information about harem life, the impression is that he never saw an imperial lady. He only gleaned information from first hand sources. He notes "While the sultan is enjoying with the harem ladies, the

[211] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Topkapı Sarayında Yaşam,* translated by Perran Üstündağ, (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1984), 151.
[212] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 115.

musicians were taken to the room with their eyes closed and they were obliged to look to the floor. The Sultan's women are chosen according to pecking order. This order is related to reproduction. The one who has the first prince is the queen mother of the future and has the 1st order.[213] Bobovius also notes, Princess could leave the palace via a marriage with a vizier or a pasha after the Sultan's death. The ones who stayed and the prince's mothers are sent to the old palace. Princesses with through political or social necessity are married to viziers or pashas with a magnificent wedding. But they are all still secluded from the public.

Travelers coming from the West who are used to the power of an imperial lady, presumably find it strange in the Eastern world that all the ladies even Imperial women are hiding behind walls. Early modern Europe is known as the age of queens as well as that of kings. Ann Boleyn, Margarethe of Navarre, Elizabeth I, Catherine de Médicis, Mary Queen of Scots are European nobilities who acceded to the throne. According to many historians there is very little relationship between the two sovereignties in comparative perspective. According to Pierce, Hürrem Sultan can be categorized to the same level with her contemporary queens. She was the queen of the Ottomans who was in a position of great prestige and influence. With a radical development, Suleyman I raised the importance of his *haseki* which later caused profound change in the dynasty.[214] Ottoman tradition do not allow for female sovereignty but the authority and prestige of Hürrem was probably not less, even maybe more than any of the European king's wives.For instance, there is evidence of diplomatic relations between European sovereignty and Ottoman queens. Diplomatic contacts with Hürrem's native Poland was frequent during Suleiman's reign. Hürrem enjoyed private correspondence with the son of the King Sigismund II, who became king in 1548. Upon his accession she wrote personally to congratulate him. One of the letters Hürrem finished her letter by announcing that she was sending a gift of two pairs of pajamas, six handkerchiefs, and a hand towel.[215]

At the very beginning of the 17th century, Thomas Dallam, organ builder went on a voyage from London to Istanbul in order to deliver an organ to Mehmet III as a present from the British Queen Elizabeth I. This is not the first interaction of such a nature,

[213] Albertus Bobovius, *Saray-ı Enderun,* translated by Turkis Noyan, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2013), 60-65.
[214] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 58.
[215] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 58.

before Dallam, Sir Edward Barton who was the first resident ambassador of Britain at Istanbul brings Queen Elizabeth's presents to both Sultan Murat III and to his powerful wife Sultan Safiye. In 1593 Elizabeth sent Safiye a jeweled portrait of herself, and Safiye sent two garments of cloth of silver, one girdle cloth of silver and two handkerchiefs in return.[216] Particularly prominent in the diplomatic activities of the empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are four Ottoman women; Hürrem, Nurbanu, Safiye and Kösem.

The accounts of the Venetian ambassadors are the most abundant source we have for the lives of Ottoman royal women. Each ambassadorial reports devote space to provide information about the dynastic family members. As an example, in his 1553 report, the Venetian ambassador Bernardo Navagero wrote how Hürrem had won the affection of the Sultan and how she excluded her stablemate Mahidevran with a trickery.[217]According to the Venetian Ambassador Paulo Contarini, the dismissal of the grand vizier Sinan Pasha in 1582 was due in large part to the efforts of the queen mother, Nurbanu Sultan, who wanted her own candidate in the post. In addition, observed Contarini, she was motivated by a desire "to avenge herself for the words that Sinan had dared to speak, that empires are not governed with the counsel of women, and moreover that authority did not rest with her, even though she might try to make it seem so, but rather with the sultana consort."[218]

Pierce specifies the situation, "The affair of Sinan Pasha's dismissal reveals the rivalry not only between influential individuals in the inner and outer government (exemplified here in the tension between female generations (queen mother and favorite)."[219]

Venetian reports provide an important amount of information regarding the female members of the sovereignty. But of course the other nation's ambassadors also are successful in mentioning important data regarding imperial harem. Busbecq provides information on prince Mustafa's murder in his father's imperial tent. He passes comment on the situation that Hürrem whom he calls Roxolana wished to save her

[216] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 219.
[217] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 60.
[218] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 91.
[219] Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 219

own children by sacrificing Mustafa who was the eldest son of Suleyman born from a Crimean concubine. He also gives some information about the Sultan's family life,

> Suleyman had several children by Roxelena, to whom he was so much attached that he gave her the position of a legal wife and bestowed a dowry upon her, an act which is the surest pledge of a legal marriage among the Turks.[220]

Busbecq after his visit to the Sultan in Istanbul makes a brief description of the Sultan and assesses the hearsay critics ofhis wife

> Even his bitterest critics can find nothing more serious to allege against him than his undue submission to his wife and its result in his somewhat precipitate action in putting Mustafa to death, which is generally imputed to her employment of love-potions and incantations.[221]

In Venetian ambassadorial reports, Mustafa was an immensely popular prince. When he was only nine, "he was an extraordinary talent, he will be a warrior, is much loved by the janissaries, and performs great feasts. In 1553 Navvagero's report notes Mustafa was thirty eight years old and it is impossible to describe how much he is loved and desired by all as successor to the throne.[222]

All the information except physical appearance of the Sultan probably derives from the hearsay of travelers. These kind of rumors are common among travelogues. Antoine Galland witnesses *bostancı's* (bodyguards of the sultan) throwing big stones to the sea from Sarayburnu in order to send away the dinghies which are floating around when mother of the Sultan is at sea lodge.[223]

2.2.2.2.Marriage

Marriage is extremely important in Ottoman community. Muslim or Non-Muslim nearly all the residents in the empire were married. The travelers attest to the importance of marriage and provide important detail;

Marriage is held sacred by the Turks, though no minister of religion, nor any religious ceremony is concerned in it. The *Kadi*, or judge of the palace, celebrates it; he unites the parties by a civil contract; the bride does not appear upon this occasion, but the

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[220] Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* 28.
[221] Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* 65.
[222] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 56.
[223] Charles Schefer, *Antoine Galland İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar,* translated by Nahid Sırrı Örik, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), 192.

father or someone of her relations, who makes the contract for her, and this ceremony through custom has the force of a law. After the contract is signed, the relations of the bride bring her with great ceremony to the house of her husband, who undresses her and puts her to bed.[224]

Thevenot emphasizes different types of marriages. The Turks have three sorts of wives, for they may marry lawful wives, have wives of Kebin, and their slaves for wives; but the first they never see till they be married. When anyone would marry after this first manner, he agrees with the parents of the maid, whom he would have, what dowry he is to give her, that she may be his wife; and this agreement is made in preference of the Kadi and two witnesses, which Kadi writes down the conditions of the marriage, and what dowry he is to give his wife. When they are thus married, if the husband happens to die, the wife takes her dowry, and no more; and if the wife dies, leaving children behind her, these children may constrain the father to give them the mother's dowry. Now Turk's marry four wives in this manner, and divorce them when they please; which they do, by going before a Kadi and saying I part with her three times. When a man has divorced his wife he cannot take her again till first she has been married to another man, and then he may take her back. When a woman is divorced she cannot marry another man before four months. For the wives of Kebin, less ceremony serves, a man goes to the Kadi, and says he takes such a one to wife, to whom he promises to pay so much if he divorces her. They have as many of these wives as they please for their slaves.[225]

Kebin was actually a contractual marriage for a certain period of time. This contract is made before the *kadi*, but it's only for a limited time, and a sum of money is stipulated to be paid by the husband to the woman, if he ends the agreement at the specified time. This type of marriage was instituted for the convenience and pleasure of strangers and travelers. Men could marry up to four women and he was free to have as many concubines as he can afford to pay their needs.

Nejat Göyünç in his article states that, in Istanbul and Edirne 92% of the marriages were monogamous and the average number of children per family was 2. Generally

[224] Elias Habeschi, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, (London: R. Baldwin, 1784), 106.
[225] Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi,* 55.

non-Muslim families had more children[226] Polygamy was possible unless the bride was from a higher classes.

"If the wife is the daughter of a man of very high rank or has brought an unusually large dowry, the husband undertakes on his part not to keep any concubines but to be faithful to one wife. Otherwise, no law forbids a Turk to take as many concubines as he likes in addition to his lawful wife; and there is no distinction between the children of wives and those of concubines, but both are held to possess the same rights."[227]

"Their wives are not farre from the like servitude, for the men by the Alcoran, are admitted to marry as many women as they will, or their ability can keep. Their wives are not fare from the like servitude, for the men by the Alcoran, are admitted to marry as many women as they will, or their ability can keep. And if it shall happen, that any one of these women (I mean either wife or Concubine) prostituteth herself to another man besides her husband; then may he, by authority, bind her hands and feet, hang a stone about her neck, and cast her into a River, which by them is usually done in the night."[228]

Prostitution was rife in Istanbul, some visitors underlined the presence of both male and female prostitutes. Adam Werner witnessed the punishment of a female prostitute.

> She was half naked, superimposed to a donkey reversely and forced to hold the tale. Sheep intestines were hung to her neck and sheep tripe was put on her head. A man was hitting her face and her body with the intestines.[229]

This penalty is relatively bearable. In some cases the punishment is execution. If non-Muslim men as an example is caught having intercourse with a Muslim women he could either choose to die or choose Islam. Male prostitutes were not restricted to the wine houses, but were also found working the streets, as Gerlach noted in the 1570s: youths, dressed up in alluring clothing, passed in front of the houses of high-up gentlemen and they make great efforts to attract their attention and they behave in a far worse way than the cheapest women. These boys earn great amounts of money. A young man if he is beautiful can earn by selling himself twenty to forty or even fifty ducats and ensure that he is given beautiful clothes as well. Male prostitutes were more

[226] İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile,* (Pan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2009), 4-6.
[227] Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* 118.
[228] William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations.* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1906), 137.
[229] Werner, *Padişahın Huzurunda,* 81.

coquettish than female ones, according to Latifi, who wrote, 'Teasing, smiling and uttering sweet words/ In this, male prostitutes surpass females'.[230]

Marriages of sultans

Aristocracy and imperial life in Ottoman Empire can be distinguished from that in Europe. in the Ottomans aristocratic class did not stem from ancestry. Viziers, other governors and *ulema* were the ruling class. The grand vizier who was the second most powerful figure in the empire was usually a slave in origin. Rather than placing one of their relatives to the position of a vizier, sultans give this position to a slave. If the slave is unsuccessful or was not able to fulfill his responsibilities in a satisfactory manner, he is immediately taken from post. The integration of minorities into the empire such as Jews and Christians into every level of society was possible unless they preferred conversion to Islam. Within this social system the most qualified individuals formed the upper level of society. This formation was effectual during their governmental duties and it did not pass from father to their son. Ottomans didn't possess land-holding nobility, even the *ayans* in later centuries never boasted a local power base comparable to European aristocracy.

In post medieval and early modern eras, the Sultans had legitimacy which also depended upon acceptance by the military class. In the 17th and 18th centuries when everyone accepted that great military victories were no longer possible, bureaucracy became institutionalized, high ranking office-holders begun using their own households as recruiting grounds.[231] Simultaneously it became necessary for the Sultan to acquire the support of the viziers in order to maintain the unique power domination upon janissaries. Beginning from the reign of Suleiman I, a new model of dynastic family is formed. Male slaves were married to princesses.[232] This changed the previous system of keeping royal bridegrooms away from the capital. With the integration of the sultan's family members into the mosaic of the high ranking officials through the marriages, females begun to share lower levels of the pedestal on which the sultan sat

[230] Fleet, and Boyar, *A Social History,* 201.
[231] Tülay Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership To Collective Rule." Toplum ve Ekonomi 4 (1993): 53-94.
[232] The Ottoman buraucrat and writer Mustafa Ali, whose late-sixteenth century historian is one of the principal sources for Suleman's reign, attributed to Suleiman the policy of marrying princesses to statesmen of vezirial rank. Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 65.

came to be shared by the women of his family. This new phrase with a progressive increase reached until the end of 18th century when princesses were portrayed as to having sovereign power. Some of the travelers witnessed the marriage ceremonies of Sultans.

Gerlach writes about an imperial princess wedding that he witnessed. The bride is taken from the old palace and brought to the house of the Rumelia governor. At the front row of the wedding procession Pashas take place. The princess is hided under a beautiful velvet tent. Everything was so covered that the only thing to see was the head of the horse. Lady sultan's belongings and dowries are ornamented with branches, flowers and candles. Her bridesmaids wearing embroidered dresses, they are in carriages at the back of the group. When they arrive to the groom's house, some amount of money is spilled out with the bowls. At that night and at the previous night's fireworks are thrown for hours.[233]

These festive occasions are also recorded in Ottoman records, the weddings of Murad III's daughters in particular are splendid events centered on the Old Palace. It's from there that Ayse Sultan is married in 1586 to Ibrahim Pasha, governor of Egypt, and that Fatma Sultan is married in 1593 to the admiral Halil Pasha. The historian Selaniki describe the events; "Fatma Sultan, who was concealed behind a screen of red satin, to the place of her new husband." Selaniki also wrote that at the wedding of Fatma Sultan "skirtfulls of shiny new coins are distributed".[234]

Before marriage with a princess, pashas had to divorce from their previous wives even if they had children. Gerlach gives Sokollu Mehmet Pasha as an example, Mehmet Pasha divorced his wife in order to marry Ismihan Sultan, the sister of Suleiman Magnificent. Sokullu's wife was married to another man and one of his sons was governor to Halep. Gerlach also informs us about Piyale Pashas marriage, Pashas who married to lady sultans were obliged to be a kind of slave to their wives.[235]

Bobovski notes the ones who were granted the title of pasha or governor rarely had the chance to put an end to a marriage with a woman of noble background. The Sultan decides the marriages of the widowed lady sultans with wealthy ruling class

[233] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 201.
[234] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 123. Mustafa Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 207.
[235] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 585.

members.[236] Lady sultans are the daughters or the sisters of the sultans, this definition nearly covers all the female members except prince mothers. The boys of lady sultans are not brought to governor positions.

2.3.Women's Visibility in Urban Public Spaces

2.3.1. Hammam

The bath-houses have, for centuries, constitutes a vital public place within Ottoman religious, social, and political life. Hammams are very important cultural institutions due to the required religious rites of Islam. They are secure places where Ottoman women have a legitimate reason to leave their home alone and to have an opportunity to socialize with other women outside their family circle. They are the most frequently visited places without affecting their modesty but is breaking point for their invisibility. Since men are allowed to socialize also in coffee houses and public markets, hammams is the sole opportunity for women to socialize, relax and for entertainment. Bath-houses have separate quarters for both gender patrons and contain different entrances for men and women. A white cloth suggests the entrance of women's bath.[237] Although religion discrimination is significant in most levels of the social life, in Ottoman bath houses women from every nation and every religion bathe together.[238] Visiting the public hammams was widespread among women. They went to bathhouses twice a week, and were generally assumed to be healthier than European women. Since the hammams are the cornerstones of Ottoman society, even the wealthiest individuals who had their own private bath in their homes dropped by the public baths at least once a month. In general women went to the bathhouses in groups of eight, ten or twelve. Nicholas de Nicolay portrays walking from their houses to the hammam as a ritual. He writes his observations in detail which are also embellished with imagination. Primarily, we have to accept the solid observations which he gleans from the streets. He describes two, three group of people which the lady walks in front of the group, the slaves follow her carrying a cupper bucket over their heads.[239] They stay in bath from morning until lunchtime, close friends wash each other, and they paint their hands and nails and catch up socially.

[236] Bobovius, *Saray-ı Enderun,* 63.
[237] Lubenau, *Reinhold Lubenau,* 218.
[238] Heberer, *Osmanlı'da Bir Köle,* 295.
[239] Nicolay, *Muhteşem Süleyman'ın,* 172.

Actually the Ottoman hammams become a routine for early western travellers seeking an 'authentic' and complete cultural experience in the Levant. With the curiosity of oriental life, hammams are the indispensable part of Ottoman daily social life that is overlooked by Europeans generally. In their resulting accounts, the bathhouses came to carry symbolic weight, epitomizing foreign perceptions of Ottoman culture as full of Oriental despotism. Specifically, the behaviour of Turkish females within the female bathing quarters sparked the interest and imagination of the male travellers. "The baths are known as house of piety, sanctity, and modesty; a space shielded from the outside eye of an enforcer of segregation and of the proper female customs of humility. But almost all of the travellers with an ignominy-seeking opinion depicted the hammam into a site of suspicion and a supposed haven for rampant and illicit female licentiousness."[240]

In the accounts Ottoman bathing culture is discussed in detail. Travellers made various assumptions probably most of them base on their own context and motives. The authors' emphasized bathhouses as a space shielded from the outside eye; an enforcer of segregation and of the "proper" female customs of humility and reticence. Michael Heberer writes that the women visit bath-houses more often than their husbands. This allows the ladies to go somewhere else especially to the places to which their jealous husbands do not let them to go.[241] This kind of information to be treated with caution is mentioned in most of the travel accounts. Since the bath visits give a chance for the women to go out, this aroused suspicion in the European traveller's mind.

Some have more sophisticated observations. Lady Montague says female bath-houses serve a social rather than erotic function. Impropriety does not take place within the walls of the bath-houses. Slaves and aristocratic women bath side by side. She argues that within the hammam, markings of rank, like clothing was stripped off.[242] Bath-houses are put in a place to symbolize the sexy femininity behind doors by western orientalists. Montagu emphasizes that "it is not the sexual possession of women that is interesting (as it invariably interests male observers) but something that might call the representation of women's sexual self-expression."[243] " The hammam, as one of the

[240] Molly Weinstein, "The Levant Unveiled: Western Travelers' Reports on Ottoman Female Bathing Culture," Tisch Library Records, 2014, 8.
[241] Heberer, *Osmanlı'da Bir Köle,* 295.
[242] Montagu, *Letters,* 406.
[243] Montague reports in one of the letters that the disease is rendered "entirely, harmless by the invention of engrafting… a set of old women… make it their business to perform the operation… it is most likely

sites that allegorizes the unconscious, imbricates the public with the private, underwriting both. The bathhouses, as a site of hygienic and aesthetic functions, were also a places where therapeutic practices are carried out, it was common in that environment to find female herbalists, magicians and medical practitioners."[244]

Until Montagu's narrative the sixteenth and seventeenth century journals are accounts by male travellers who were unable to imagine or picture the realities of the Turkish bath simply because they had no access and could not appreciate the creation of such a utopian female space.

2.3.2. Cemetries

While examining the social and cultural lives of females in early modern era, we continue to track the footsteps of the travellers. Cemeteries are the areas which are said to be 'extensions of public space' and they are one of the possible places for one to see women visiting. The Ottomans shared the faith of other Muslims in terms of the meaning of death and their idea of afterlife. The sixteenth century is marked by the emergence of a more characteristically Ottoman funerary culture. There become a growing desire to identify and characterize the dead. Tombstones come to record details and specific descriptions of the deceased, especially with respect to status, patronage and family links. In short they became social markers.[245] Although it is a rite to join the funeral of the familiar people, due to the cultural and traditional facts women do not enter the funeral ceremony.[246]

Several days after the funeral, women and the household visit the cemetery and uttered lamentations over the grave. They cry, lament and show their sadness, this ritual goes on for a couple of days. The visitors bring food with themselves (bread, eggs, cheese, meat, etc.) and leave them for birds, ants and other animals. The male relatives do not

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the same female environment in which Montagu learned the major medical innovation with which she is credited: popularizing the technique of smallpox inoculation in England after observing its widespread use in Turkey. Montagu, *The Letters*, 338.

[244] Sirinivas Aravamudan, "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the Hammam; Masquarade, Womanliness, and Levantinization." *ELH* 62, no. 1 (1995): 69-104.

[245] Edhem Eldem, "Death and Funerary Culture," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gabor Agoston, Bruce Masters, (New York: Fact On File Inc., 2009), 179.

[246] Women of the court or Ottoman women are difficult to find, but they do turn up, for example in a miniature from the second volüme of the 1597 "şehinşahname" which records the funeral of Nurbanu Sultan (d.1583) Among the mourners at the bottom of the page who await the funeral entourage are anumber of women in the crowd dressed appropriately for the outside.

wear clothes of mourning at most they wear dark purple or black in colour or maybe they put a black band somewhere in their *sarık*. Women do nothing special in terms of clothing.[247]

Reinhold Lubeau says women do not participate in the funeral ceremony but afterwards they plant tulips and some other colourful flowers on the grave. Women also plant cypress tree somewhere nearby the grave.[248] Stephan Gerlach says similar things, women bring food to the grave for animals and for poor people, and they ask the dead why he or she left them, what was missing.[249]

Additionally Gerlach provides information about the funeral of a Greek aristocrat. The deceased belonged to a member of Kantakuzenus, an old Byzantine aristocratic family. The patriarch attended the funeral in his official clothes. There were some women in the funeral paid toshout, cry and lament. According to Gerlach, upon the death of their husbands Greek women put on a yellow cloth and never washed it until tripped, then she changed the cloth and this continued on until her second marriage.[250] One other funeral belonged to a young Greek women. She was 13-14 years old and had been married for only 14 months. The dead women lies in a coffin and was dressed inher best clothes and jewellery. People walking around the funeral are carrying candles. Many women were paid to cry, shout and, lament and to beat their breast. Unlike a Muslim funeral, women could attend the ceremony in church and go to cemetery with the group.[251]

We can see from the travel narratives that in early modern Ottoman Istanbul, during a burial ceremony only the male relatives and the male community members could accompany the body to the cemetery. While men participated in the funeral procession, women stayed at home. Christians, Jews and foreigners were also excluded. Muslim women could be visible at cemeteries at least one day after the burial. The women in such cases are generally foreigners or in some cases non-Muslims.

[247] Scweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine,* 200.
[248] Lubenau, *Seyahatname*, 346.
[249] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 680.
[250] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 182.
[251] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 595.

2.3.3. Bairams, mesires and festivals

The closed nature of Ottoman society, which mostly resisted every kind of change had to be accepted because of the prevailing rules of Islam in society necessitated a control over the social realms of the culture. These rules mostly supported gender segregation in open urban places. If the objective is to learn how Europeans viewed women in Ottoman social life, than one of the most illuminating cases are the festival records. European observers describe bairams (Eids) as festive like occasions. Nearly all visitors define the *bairam* celebrated after Ramadan as great *bayram* and the *bayram* celebrated 2months 10 days later as the little bayram .Presumably these names are given according to the importance given to the *bairams*, but since the terms are used so often it can be thought that these are also the local names of the period.

Gerlach begins to define bairam with the preparation day (arefe) "People buy everything that they would need during *bairam*, a kind of shopping day" The *Bairam*, in the morning begins with artillery. In the little bairam about 70,000 people make pilgrimage to Mecca. At bairam, Turks offer each other sweets, meat, flowers and many gifts on large trays. Man wander around all day, shake hands when they meet each other, if one of them is youngerin age or in position he either holds his lords hand with both hands or kiss his caftan. On the first day of bayram they go to palace, Atmeydanı or the other important places in the city, on the second day they go to the artillery in Tophane, on the third day they visit the shrine of the Islamic lord Eyub Ensar-i. Gerlach notes women are forbidden to wander in the streets during bairam.[252]

Hans Dernschwam describes the entertainment areas of Istanbul and notes women are not seen around.[253] Lubenau defines the area near sultan Beyazıd Mosque as an entertainment square. Here people try to earn some money with their pet's abilities. He depicts men and women dancing with two wooden spoons, singers, sword masters, wrestlers, and many other performances take place.[254] Lubenau defines bairams as the lesser bairam and as the greater bairam. Although he gives all the entertainment details of bairam days he does not make mention of whether women appear in the streets or not.

[252] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 290.
[253] Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya,* 132.
[254] Lubenau, *Syahatname,* 230.

Philippe du Fresne-Canaye witnessed a naval festival in 1573 and he watched the ceremony from a Marseilles ship. Although there is a large group of public audience there was not any hooting heard, he says the voices of drums and flutes were the only voices. Besides men ladies also boarded the boats, they cried and bade farewell to their acquaintances.[255] Naval festivities were organized when an imperial baby was born or circumcised or when a battle was won. These festivities lasted three, five or seven days. The palace and the mansions were decorated, feast tables prepared, and fire work shows organized on the Bosphorus. Women watched all these shows behind caged windows.[256]

The sixteenth century records state that women are rarely seen around during some celebrations and ceremonies but they are not seen around during bairams.

Thevenot in seventeenth century writes about the urban rituals in Istanbul during bairam periods.

> The Night differs not much from the other Nights of the Ramadan ; but in the Morning the Streets are full of Swings, adorned with Festoons ; he that has a minde to be tossed in the Air, fits down on a good feat of Wood, that is fastened to the end of the Ropes, and two Men on each fide, holding a Rope a thwart the Ropes of the Seat, and pulling to and again with all their force, make him that is in the Seat fly to a great height. They have also very large wheels, like the wheels of our Water-mills, wherein all that please great and small fit on Boards, and a Man makes the wheel to turn, and yet no body that is within it falls. This wheel may very well be called the wheel of Fortune, for everyone has his turn, sometimes up, and sometimes down. They have many other such Diversions, which they prepare some days before the Bairam and there are of the malmoll in all the Streets, which are so full of People, that one can hardly pass along, for all walk through the City from Street to Street; and even a great many Women who the rest of the Year never came abroad, have liberty to walk during the three days of the Bairam. It is dangerous for Franks to walk through the City during those three days for they being days of public Rejoicings, everything seems to be Lawful so that many Turks get drunk, and if they meet a Frank when they are for they sometimes give him a Stab with a Cangiar (şangır). However since I was curious to see everything, being at Constantinople the second day of the Bairam, I went over a good part of the City, having a Sipahi who was a Renegado French Man with me, and all the hurt I had, was a great many railing aud reproachful Words, but I confess I was more happy than wife.[257]

[255] Fresne-Canaye, *Fresne Canaye,* 89.
[256] D'ohsson, *XVIII. Yüzyıl,* 242.
[257] Jean Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot Into the Levant,* (London: Printed by H. Clark for H. Faithorne, 1686), 46.

Thevenot in his journal mentions he saw the festivities and as can be seen above gives the details of the bairam scene.[258]

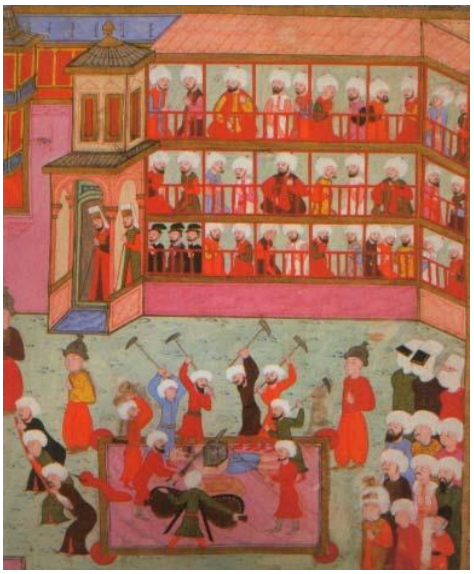
Elias Habeschi in the 18th century states that,

> The sultanas who are shut up in the old seraglio, have the liberty on that day to pay their respects to the grand signor, and visit the sultana-mothers, the sultanas actual wives of the sultan, and of the other ladies of the new seraglio; it's therefore the most agreeable day to them of the whole year, for they are permitted to walk in the delicious gardens of the palace, and they always obtain any little favour they may ask of the monarch.[259]

Within the confines of Islamic tradition, women have a small visible role in society. In early modern Istanbul, the vast majority of manuscript illustrations depict ceremonial occasions of *bairams* and military events. Not surprisingly, women appear very rarely indeed in the scenes. Actually, various sources inform us that women would watch events from the places so that they could not be seen. Depending on the Ottoman sources, some miniature paintings they are seen rarely between spectators congregated in side streets sometimes with their children as depending to painters' choices.[260]

Presumably in 17th century women had a bit more freedom to go out and break their invisibility at least on some occasions. Early in the16th century travellers tell that on *bairams* and navy festivals women were isolated from society but some late 16th century and 17th century visitors talk about women present at the festivals. In 1582 there are ladies seen in the miniatures (see picture below).

[258] Jean Thévenot, *Thevenot Seyahatnamesi,* translated by Ali Berktay, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 89-90.
[259] Elias Habeschi, *The Present State,* 105.
[260] Surname-i Humayun (Imperial Festival Book), Cami'ül-Buhur der Mecalis-i Sur, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali(d.1601), Şehinşahname of Lokman (d.1601).



1.2 Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı,* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997), 73.

CHAPTER III
EVALUATION OF SOURCES

When studying the early modern history of Ottoman Empire there are many ways of using sources such as chronicles, archival documents such as court registers, imperial orders and "first-hand narratives" such as those used for the purposes of this study. Especially with the rise of cultural studies narrative sources have gained more importance. Court registers and chronicles have always been extensively used in Ottoman studies and they present a limited space for women in terms of inclusion in the sources. The travel narratives have newly begun to be used as a primary sources. This new type of source has been introduced to historiography in various ways. As an example, facsimile copies of books are translated and reprinted thus researchers have easier access to the data.. However, besides the printing of narratives some historians like Cemal Kafadar, have presented a diary of a seventeenth century dervish as an example of a first-hand narrative. The notes and diaries kept by the eyewitnesses are not perfect in terms of evidential value. Although travel narratives are counted among the sources that shed light on the historiography of a given period, they have always been a topic of debate. The travelogues have often been considered subjective, one-sided and sometimes may be written in terms of an author's own cultural background. Hence in this chapter the accuracy of the information available will be discussed through comparing European first-hand narratives with Ottoman sources, and also by analysing female participation in social life in Europe. This will ensure that the similarities and differences between European and Ottoman women in terms of way of life will be ascertained. Secondly, this chapter will examine the view of some of the early modern male travellers which is prevalent: 'Ottoman women are lazy and do not do anything.' However this image changed after female travellers wrote accounts from inside the harem. My primary concern is to understand the European way of thinking and to shed light on travelogues which helped to develop new perspectives on Ottoman women's daily life in early modern Istanbul.

3.1.The differences between European traveller records and Ottoman accounts regarding Ottoman women and family

European travel writings of the early modern period in the Ottoman Empire written from a critical perspective. Their aim in explaining the 'other', sometimes exceeded its purpose and turned into highlighting Europe's superiority. In order to detect the unbiased data which does exist, first concepts of travelogues will be used with a special emphasis on the differences in the definition of women's life between Ottoman local records and European records. Secondly, European travel manuscripts are compared with visual Ottoman sources.

The most common issue in traveller records is the quotation or sometimes the traveller's imaginary that taints his journal with prejudice. To overcome this problem detailed evaluation methods are useful. Sometimes travellers already inform the readers that some parts of their journals are quoted from their colleagues. If unique information is given, it is difficult to differentiate if the author really witnessed the event or if he just mentioned it based on hearsay. In order to check the accuracy of the source, a viable solution is to compare the narratives with the contemporary native sources, such as court records, provincial *ahkam* registers, visual sources (miniatures), endowment deeds or local traveller narratives in order to verify the accuracy of the information given.

The scholarly studies of social life in Ottoman Empire is a popular subject among historians, studies about women in particular have mainly been undertaken by Lucy M. Garnett and Ronald C. Jennings. Garnett described the social position, domestic life, and folklore of women based on personal observations over eight years in the regions which is now called the Middle East. Her observations were supplemented by the accounts of certain Europeans. On the other hand, Jennings analysed women primarily based on judicial records of the Kayseri court.[261] Jennings's study sets an example of women's economic status in the Empire. Unfortunately, the court records of Kayseri provide no information on the important subjects of veiling, seclusion in the home, or size or organization of the household, especially with regard to the status of the wife in relation to the husband, the nature of women's employment in the home,

[261] Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Judicial Records The sharia court of Anatolian Kayseri." *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18, no.1 (1975): 53-114.

their shopping in bazaars and so on. Such information may emerge from studies of judicial records from other regions.[262]

In Istanbul court records there are representations of some women acting as professional money lenders. They were generally using their own properties inherited from their husbands or their fathers, and they made profit by lending money. Legally, no relatives could sell, rent or make use of her property without her consent. They must be personally involved in sales and debt contracts.[263] There were no special court dates for women, the *kadı* was the legal protector of women. They were equally treated with men. This idea was carried out in practice. Women in Istanbul generally tended to come to court themselves, instead of using representatives. The ones who were using representatives were usually from wealthy families. Thus, the tendency of wealthy women to use deputies (*vekils*) was more dependent on their socio-economic status than gender discrimination.[264] The ratio of women going to the sharia court was unexpectedly high. Women dealt with many kinds of matters such as debt and loans, divorce and inheritance shares. They could even be creditors.[265] Looking at the *sicils* it could be seen that a woman in Ottoman Empire, freely represented herself in court both socially and economically. This detail seems to have gone unnoticed by travellers. On the other hand, the narratives described the conditions of divorces, presumably this was the only court detail that travellers was aware of.

Busbecq notes the following regarding the divorce of women courts.

> Divorces are granted amongst the Turks on many pretexts, which husbands can easily contrive. A divorced wife has her dowry restored to her, unless the separation has been done to some reproach against her. Wives have more difficulty in divorcing their husbands. Amongst the reasons for which it is granted are the failure on the part of the husband to supply his wife with the necessities of life and unnatural behaviour on his part. The wife then appears before the judge and testifies that she can no longer live with her husband; when the judge inquires the reason, without giving any answer she takes off her shoe and turns it upside down. This indicates to the judge the treatment which she has received from her husband.[266]

[262] Jennings, *Journal of Social History* ,117.
[263] Yonca Köksal, "Economic and Social Life in Late-Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, The Istanbul Court Records of 1107-1108 (1696-1697)," (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1995),32
[264] Jennings, *Journal of Social History,* 53-114.
[265] Köksal, Istanbul Court Records, 33
[266] Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* 119.

The humane side of Busbecq's character rendered his letters as neutral as possible. On the other hand Paul Rycaut is not that optimistic and adopts a harsh style.

> The tye and solemnity of marriage, and the nature thereof amongst the Turks, is as before related; from which the women hath no ways to unloose herself, whilst the husband maintains her with bread, butter, rice, wood and flax to spin for her clothing, the law supposes her to industrious a housewife as with her own labour to supply herself; there are some other points plead able in law for divorce in behalf of the women, as impotency, or frigidity in the husband, and the like, but the man bath divers means to acquit himself, and can do it by several allegations; and may upon as easy terms, on as light grounds sue out his divorce, or that she found no favour in his eyes. There are amongst Turks three degrees of divorce, every one of which is made before the Kadi or justice, and by him drawn out and registered.[267]

In addition to such verified information, there are sometimes stories which have not been verified. For example, Wratislaw records one of his memories. He talks about a young and quite good-looking lady who was married to an older man. Despite being married, she was in love with a janissary named Mustapha and she used to go to a hotel to meet him under the pretext of going to the hammam. Wratislaw himself had a chance to sit and talk with her within the context of afternoon entertainment and offered her wine and confectionery.[268] The travellers often wrote about women's deception, however this kind of information requires a sceptical approach. Although it is plausible for a woman to commit such acts, the situation would be difficult for a foreigner to witness. Thus because the information could not be verified by local sources, the possibility of gossip hearsay should not be ignored.

Another verification method is to look at the local narratives. Nonetheless there are only a few Ottoman travelogues. The best known local voyagers who recorded narratives of their travels are Evliya Celebi and Eremya Celebi. Both of the voyagers travelled in the seventeenth century. The main difference between their narratives is Evliya's focus is downtown Istanbul (Inside the city walls), Eremya's focus is the gates of Istanbul and life outside the city walls and in the suburbs. Nevertheless, although they both provided information about everyday life in Istanbul they rarely wrote about women. The importance of these local travellers for this study is to analyse if their

[267] Paul Ricaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, (London: Printed in St Paul's Church-Tard, 1686), 297.
[268] Wenceslas Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw,* (London: Belly and Daldy, 1862), 100.

narratives are contradictory to European travellers' or not. These two adventurous characters of early modern Istanbul constitute very rare examples of Ottoman internal narratives.

Evliya Çelebi was an intellectual who lived in the 17th century and he was Ottoman Turk and a member of Ottoman *askeri* class.[269] He was born in Istanbul. Evliya Çelebi travelled the core and periphery territories of the Ottoman Empire and also he traveled the territories where around the Ottoman Empire, such as, some lands of Habsburg Empire.[270] He travelled more or less forty years and he wrote the greatest travelogue (*Seyahatname*).[271] His father was an officer in the treasury of the Ottoman Palace (*Topkapı*). Evliya Çelebi was a well-educated man, he received a madrasa education and he could recite the Quran by heart. He was employed by the state with different purposes by the Ottoman palace and he had very good relations with some of the high-ranking Ottoman officials. For example, Melek Ahmet Pasha who became a grand vizier.[272] He travelled with these officials and sometimes as an envoy. Celebi presents detailed information about the cities, people, fortresses, traditions, political events and history of the places. He came face to face with trouble and dangerous situations including death.[273] He joined some campaigns with his patron. He also wrote about the wars.[274] His final visit was to Egypt. He died in Egypt and his travelogue has survived as ten volumes. These volumes are about different parts of the empire. For instance, the first volume is about Istanbul and this is the volume which is important for the purposes of this study.[275] The *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi was written as a conclusion of forth year's journey so it received the attention of many foreign researchers. Ritter Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who is an Austrian historian, wrote an Ottoman History as a great work. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall also translated the work of Evliya Çelebi into English.[276]

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[269] Robert Dankoff, *Seyyah-ı Âlem Evliyâ Çelebi'nin Dünyaya Bakışı,* translated by Müfit Günay. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 7.
[270] Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 7.
[271] Dankoff, *Seyyah-ı Âlem,* V.
[272] Dankoff, *Seyyah-ı Âlem,* 205-208.
[273] Dankoff, *Seyyah-ı Âlem,* 8-9.
[274] Dankoff, *Seyyah-ı Âlem,* 8-12.
[275] Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle*, 1.
[276] Joseph Von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa by Evliya Efendi*, (London: Oriental Transilation Fund, 1834),.

Eremya Çelebi (Kömürcüyan), a historian and a writer who was born in Istanbul, Langa in 1637. He was from an Armenian family who had lived in Istanbul for two generations. It is known that his father and two of his brothers were priests.[277] He had received a good education under the patronage of an Armenian merchant who is known with his proximity to the high rank pashas especially Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Pasha[278]. He learned Turkish, Greek and several European languages perfectly, but no record regarding his education exists. He tempted to establish a printing press and opened a school in Surp Sargis Church in Langa for the education and training of Armenian people in 1677. The first Armenian printing press in Istanbul was established 1597 so this was the second attempt but unfortunately it did stay open long and closed soon after due to economic reasons. Eremya traveled to various territories in Ottoman Empire but he wrote his travelogue about Istanbul. He begun to write the narrative in 1661 but because of his continuing travels he finished it in 1681.[279] His works consisted of the records of historical events, topography, the genealogy of famous people and families, letters, odes and elegies. The travelogue was translated into Turkish by Hrand Der Andreasyan and he added some explanatory notes to the end of every chapter. These notes complete the author's narrative and make the narrative more understandable. With complimentary issues they also helped to show the changes in Istanbul through the centuries.

Almost every European traveller's account of Istanbul includes vivid descriptions of social life in the streets. After reading the accounts, the reader is left with images of despairing 'orientals' in which women are segregated in their houses and rarely seen outside and if they are out, they are all covered up. Unfortunately, neither Evliya Celebi nor Eremya Celebi wrote directly about women. When studying the 17th century European travel narratives these local travelogues give us the possibility to verify the global accuracy of the travellers' accounts. Jean Thevenot, J. B. Tavernier, Albertus Bobovius and Ralamb Claes were the contemporary travellers with the local Ottoman travellers. They visited the same places approximately at the same time. Although their interest areas are different, the travelers' accounts are not contradictory to each other. Thevenot was a good example, he was travelling in the crises period of the Ottomans.

[277] Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul,* translated by Hrand D. Andreasyan, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), x.
[278] Kömürciyan, *XVII. Asırda,* xii.
[279] According to P. N. Akinan it was finished in 1689. (Kömürciyan xvii)

In 1655, he reached Istanbul where he stayed nine months. He was a good observer and he carefully observed the Turkish customs, cultural life, costume, dress traditions, and religious life. According to Yerasimos, his trip in seventeenth century surprisingly looks like the guided trips done today. Thevenot had some bias but the travelogue is close to the truth.[280] The French traveler recorded every detail carefully to inform people in his country who didn't know anything about the city, while Evliya Celebi wrote about the people, fortresses, traditions, cities and gave complete lists of districts, professions of Istanbul with historical details enriched with legend. His accounts were very informative for the Ottoman people. Their focus of information was irrelevant to each other. Regarding hammams as an example; Thevenot wrote about the interior decoration, how they functioned and the frequency of usage while Evliya Çelebi lists all the names and histories. Thevenot had a fluent expression and wrote in a literary style. Whereas Evliya had an epic style and he listed almost all the buildings he came across. Both writers were meticulous in their use of expressions and in recording what they saw. Evliya's travelogue is repeatedly validated by other sources, may be used to assess the accuracy of a European traveler's narrative. Specifically with regard to themes, the foreign and local sources complement each other.

Unfortunately, women and family life in Ottoman Empire was not a topic of priority for the local accounts they either ignored the presence of women or preferred to make implicit observations. Foreign visitors were braver and did not hesitate to write about what they saw or they heard. As an example to local traveler, Evliya Çelebi rarely mentions women whom he had heard of or encountered himself. He had harsh words for some, but he also attested to admirable female demeanor. The women of the Tophane district of Istanbul, he noted, "comfort themselves with the utmost propriety." His frame of reference was the time-honored ideals of passivity and modest virtue, but he was something of a rarity among intellectuals of the time in occasionally granting that some women of the day met the standard.[281] As another example, Andreasyan in his notes which he added to Eremya's narrative, explained the places in Istanbul in a timeline with benefit from various travel journals. He takes every place and event that Eremya noted about and enriched the work with European travel narratives to gain a complete picture of seventeenth century Istanbul districts, their past and their future.

[280] Thevenot, *Seyahatname,* 15.
[281] Zilfi, *Women and Slavery,* 67.

Eremya Celebi described in his *ruzname*, the spectacular ceremony in 1657, especially the procession of artisan groups took place in the presence of Sultan Mehmet VI put on in honor of the Cretan conquest. Following the observation on trade he notes the spectators, "all townspeople were standing on both sides of the road. Even the women who were closed in their houses were present there."[282] Eremya Celebi's observation is in parallel with some of the seventeenth century European travel journals which stated that "Women are present in ceremonies, bairam's and mesire places".

Another source of verification for the travel manuscripts is to use visual images. One of the most characteristic branches of Ottoman art was miniature painting. The dominant form of Ottoman pictorial art has been studied as reflecting the socio-historical contexts and artistic tastes of the era within which they were produced. In this study a few examples of the miniatures from XVI to XVIII centuries have been selected, and the focal point is the narrative function of the pictorial detail of women in the miniatures.[283] The Ottoman miniatures did not represent an individual portrait but presented the status conceptually as an image. They were not signed until the eighteenth century due to the collective nature of their production.[284] In the sixteenth century, the classical Ottoman miniature style was created. Official state ceremonies included enthronements, the observance of semi-annual *bairam* festivities, some rituals, funerals and so on, many of these occasions were described in XVI century miniatures. The images of women either at festivals or at funerals, were portrayed in a corner among the crowd or at the window.

[282] Kömürciyan, *XVII. Asırda,* 294.
[283] Begüm Özden Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman Miniature: Conteporary Readings of an Imperial Art*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2015), Introduction.
[284] Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman*, Introduction.

1.3 Beyazid II Funeral Selimname y. 1525, picture 56.[285]

In the seventeenth century the urban miniaturists –mostly located in Istanbul- who were not restricted by imperial constraints, worked in a distinct style and took up new subject matters. The single page miniatures were intended to be collected in albums or *murakka's*. Lessening of the material and textual constraints of the book allowed miniaturists to experiment with new subjects, everyday scenes that had not previously been possible under the thematic reign of the books.[286] In miniatures of this century, women were often portrayed individually, one hand at their belt and the other hand holding a flower or a handkerchief. Compositions like musician women or entertainment in harem are also seen in this century's thematic miniatures.

[285] Banu Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı,* (İstanbul: Kabalcı, 2005).
[286] Fırat, *Encounters with the Ottoman*, 10-40.

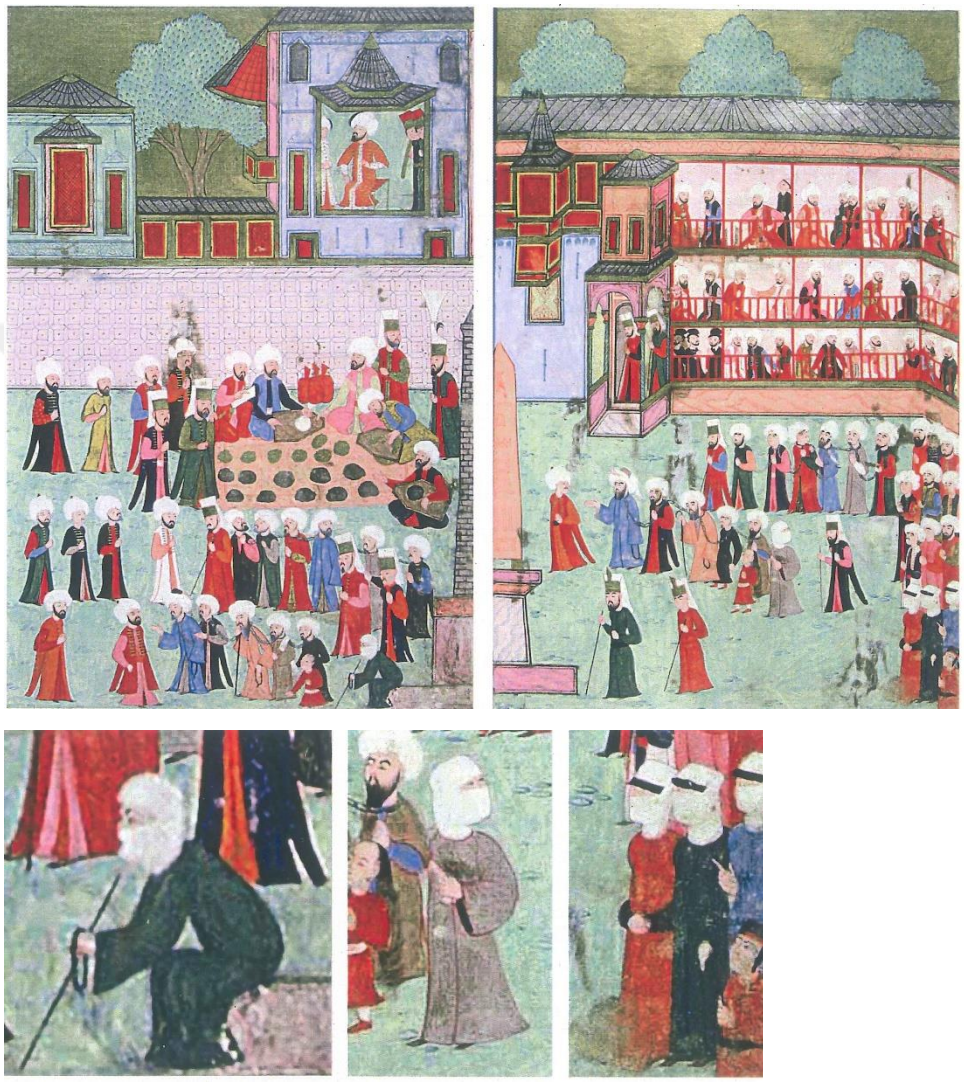
1.4 Musician women, Sultan Ahmet Ist lbum

In the early eighteenth century beginning with tulip era quite a lot of artists (nakkash's) painted more modernized miniatures. The characteristics of the period carried the influences of Westernization. Grand festivals, rituals were portrayed.[287] Figures of women by Levni and Abdullah Buhari does not intend to be a portrait in the conventional sense but rather sought to be an idea by keeping the viewer at a distance.

1.5 Girl with a veil, Levni[288]

[287] Saeidef Shahmari, "Osmanlı ve Iran Minyatürlerinde Figür Anlayışın Etnografik Açıdan İncelenmesi," (M.A. Thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2014).
[288] Süheyl Ünver, *Levni,* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1951) .

By presenting the festive occasions as events taking place in the here and now in the viewer's eyes, the miniatures perform a sort of visual storytelling. Nakkaş Osman[289] in the sixteenth century, Ahmet Ist album[290] in the seventeenth century and Levni's drawings[291] in the eighteenth century are to be the best examples of comprehensive social life miniatures that carry the characteristics of their own period.



1.6 Women absolved of debs, 1582.[292]

[289] Şehinşahname is an important study of Nakkaş Osman, the author and the artist who enriched his work with miniatures the miniatures belong to the second half of sixteenth century particularly of the year 1597. The book is one of the most important comprehensive visual sources that we see the social life in early modern Istanbul.

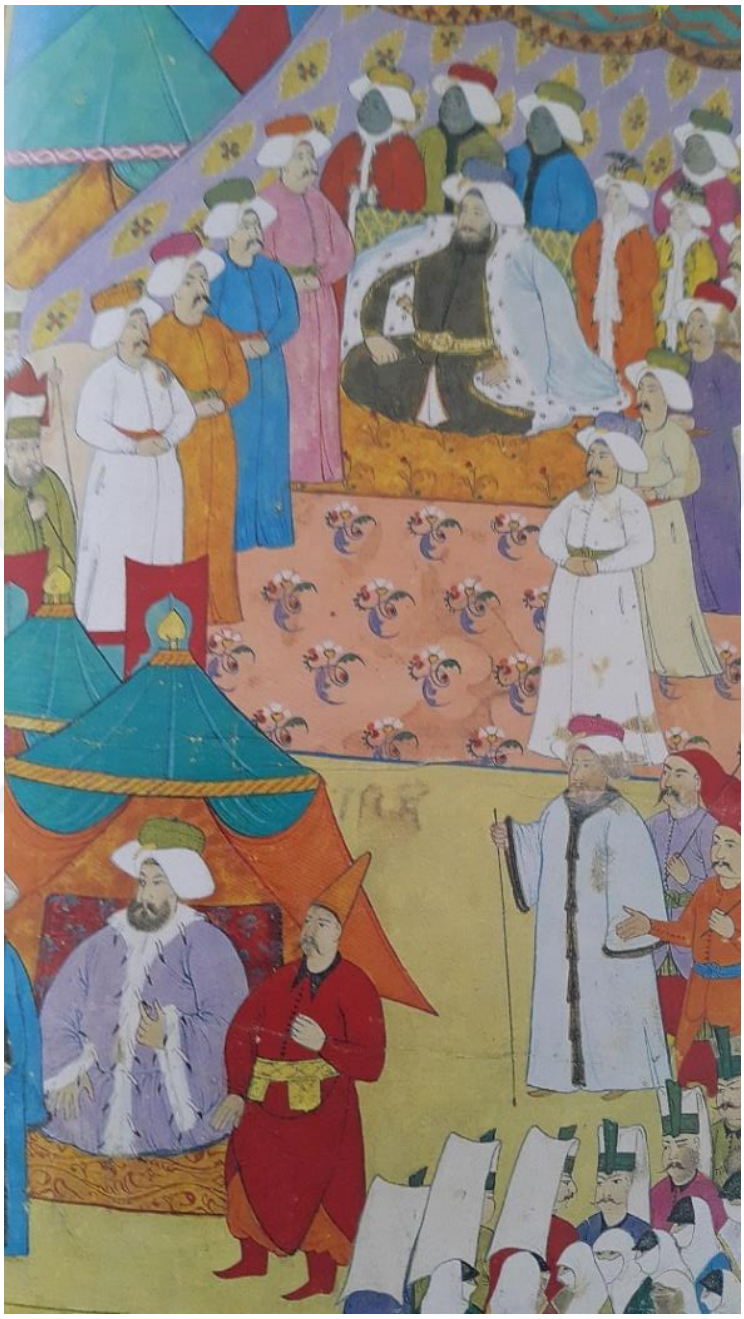
[290] Although the exact date of the book cannot be given in the preference the vizier and the artist Kalender Pasha states that he complied this album as an offering to Sultan Ahmet I. It contains 35 miniatures, painted by many different artists.

[291] Levni's festival book, Surname-I Vehbi which depicts the celebration commemorating the circumcision in 1720 of Ahmet III's sons. The book gives a day to day visual and verbal account of the 15-day festival. In Vehbi miniatures, women who attended to the ceremonies are obviously seen.

[292] Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı,* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997).

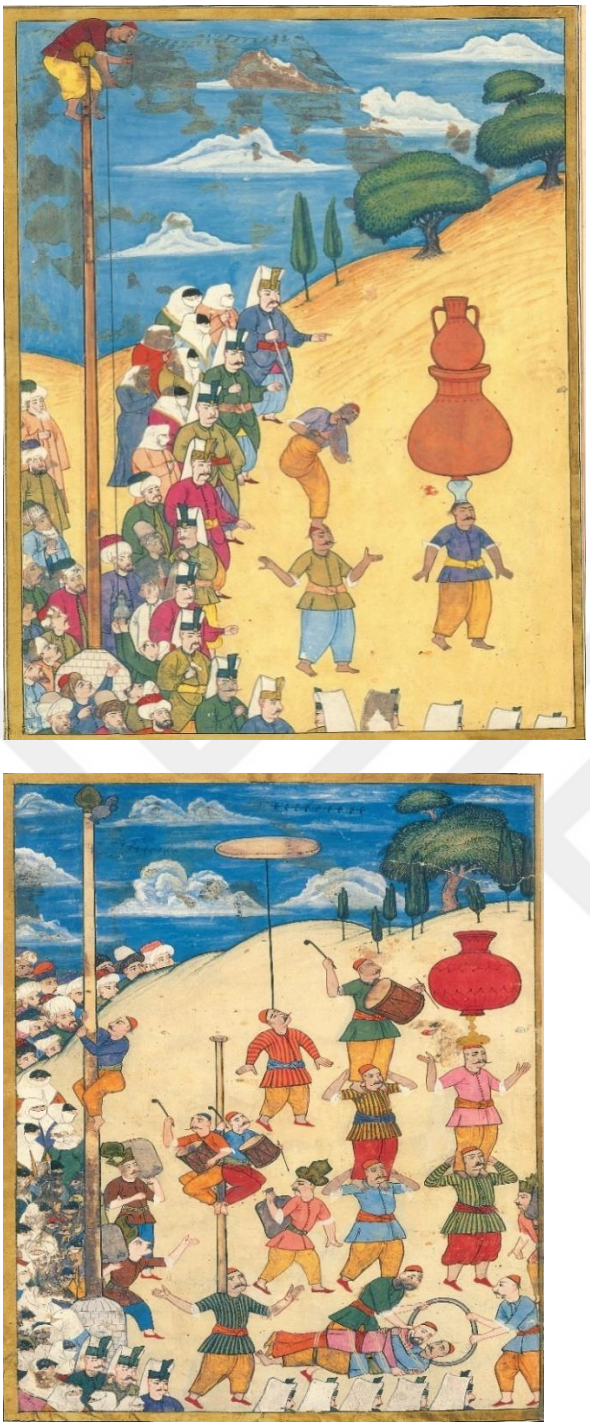
Ottoman miniatures featuring ceremonies functioned as protocol registers in the sense that they depicted what was supposed to happen and what actually happened.

1.7 Sultan watching Festival Vehbi Surname Sultan Ahmet Düğün Kitabı, Kabalcı Yay.2007. 157



1.8 The funeral of Nurbanu Valide Sultan

Şehinşahname II 1597, (TSMK,B,200,y.146a)



1.9 Vehbi, *Surname Sultan Ahmet Düğün Kitabı,* (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2008), 157, 230.

Unlike the European artist's photo-like drawings miniatures convey a story and they cover specific details. Rather than the event itself, performances, the spectator's gender, clothing, some metaphors are hinted in pictorial details.

All of these miniature exemplifies the visual female representation of the early modern period Ottoman Istanbul. Paintings of different encounters and different periods are addressing almost identical characteristics of European travel narratives concerning

visuality and visual representation of women in society. The European manuscripts that note women's presence in outer space during occasional activities in seventeenth century are supported by local sources. Although the XVIth century European narratives did not mention women in the public sphere during occasions, the local miniature artists show women's urban experience through various pictures. Early modern Ottoman women, in contradiction to some orientalist accounts that claimed women were absent in public spaces, seemed to participate in urban life more than just going to the *hammams* and local shops.

The descriptions of Ottoman everyday social life, customs, religious feasts, local costumes, recreation sports, the streets, monuments, major themes of the period which formed the backbone of the travelogues often overlapped with the paintings and engravings. The photo-like images drawn with wide angle from a distance help to understand the area clearly. Unlike the miniature paintings that hint at various metaphors these pictures act as photographs. Joseph Grelot the French traveller was the first to draw the plans of the Haigha Sophia and Suleymaniye Mosques.[293]

> Turks who never admit their women into their mosques, have no occasion for so many galleries to accommodate their Piety; and have therefore appointed those galleries which formerly belonged to them, to the use of men.[294]

2.0 Women's gallery Hagia Sophia by Joseph Grelot. (Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage,* 128.)

The images of Ottoman women whether from an Ottoman or a European source featured costume and dress styles. The Orientalist images from costume albums and the portrayals painted by local miniaturists are quite similar to each other.

[293] Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople,* translated by J. Philips, (London: Printed by John Playford, 1683), 90.
[294] Grelot, *Voyage,* 126.

Claes Ralamb [295]

2.1. A women from the city XVII: century

2.2 A women from the city: XVII century (TSMK, H. 2132/4)[296]

Nicolas de Nicolay

Claes Ralamb

2.3 A women from the city: mid- XVI century.[297] 2.4 A women from the city: mid XVII century.[298]

[295] Claes Ralamb, Costume Book 1657-1658 - 121 pictures, Sweedish Royal Library /Manuscript Department 1886.

[296] Hesna Heral, "Osmanlı Minyatürlerinde Kadın," (M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006).

[297] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Neugations into Turkie,* (New York: De Capo Press, 1968), 54.

[298] Ralamb, Costume Book.

3.2.The position of Women in Early Modern Europe

The harem and the hidden world of Muslim women has always been the focus of interest and has always tempted the travellers. It is generally thought that Muslims are less secularised than Christians and therefore Europeans analysed Ottoman culture through the filter of their own strongly held religious beliefs. Anyone proposing to discuss urban life in Europe or European culture generally do not base observations on religious factors.[299] Hence in this section our aim is to put forth the social status of European women in the early modern age and to look at the difference of east and west in the construction of the terms of comparison precisely the difference that the religion makes.

Neither in Europe nor in the Ottoman Empire is there a single history to be told of the history of women in any period but rather many stories. The debate about the nature of women and their role in society has been around since at least the Renaissance. "Experience differ by country, by cultural background and religion. Social and economic historians of women in the early modern period –and they are not numerous- in the absence of sound scholarly monographs have tended to concentrate upon uncovering hard facts. For some this has meant isolating women in society to look at their specific roles and attitudes, others have followed Natalie Zemon Davis in her plea for a recognition that equal weight should be given to the experience of both genders. At the same time she urged for an awareness that the differences in every sphere of female existence must be accentuated if such a balance is to be achieved." [300] Women's social role in society is allied with many issues. Religious beliefs were often oppressive in determining attitudes towards women. This resulted in a double standard that viewed women as being inferior to men. Female status and notions of women begun to thrive when the reformation period begun in Europe. The French revolution is known as the turning point which reduced hostility towards women.

Women's active participation in the revolution was necessary for the revolution's success. Ladies demonstrated and fought to establish the new order, and pressured the government to defend the new republic and regulate the economy. But like the women

[299] Julie Marcus, *A World of Difference Islam and Gender Hierarchy in Turkey*, (London: Zed Books: 1992), 92.
[300] Olwen Hufton, "Survey Articles: Women in History: Early Modern Europe." *The Past and Present Society* 101 (1983): 125-141.

in social movements since that time, they found themselves fighting on two contradictory fronts; with the men to bring about a new society based on "liberty, equality, fraternity," and against the men to claim those very rights for themselves.[301] Although their presence during the revolution was striking, they were soon prohibited from every political and social organisation, they were explicitly excluded from citizenship and they were prohibited from speaking before the legislative body. Despite this for many historians the status of women during revolution was the turning point for individual female presence in society. The Enlightenment had had a considerable impact but its effects were not immediate. The process is mostly related with women's education. "The history of women's education has constituted one of the most obvious focal points for women's studies. In England for example, the difference between male and female literacy rates are less remarkable and far more English women would appear to have attained basic literacy levels by the end of eighteenth century than their French counterparts."[302] In early modern Europe and onwards, various schools for young girls taught basic catholic doctrine, handiwork, and other household skills. In fact, the history of women's education is one of the most important focal points of women's presence in society.

3.2.1. Ottoman Women versus European Women

Restrictions upon Muslim women's use of space have served as a base for travellers to emphasize the images of imaginary western freedoms. In fact, religious beliefs are often crucial in determining attitudes towards women in all religions at that age. In the early modern period, women's status was similar in both Europe and in the Ottoman Empire. They played the same roles; a mother, a daughter, a wife or a widow. Until the last decades of 20th century all women in Europe were defined by their relationships with men. Within the male dominated family, a woman is first identified as her father's daughter, than as her husband's wife or widow or her son's mother.[303] In contrast, male roles were defined by their social position or occupation. For travellers it was striking,

[301] Sara E. Melzer, and Leslie W. Rabine, *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5.
[302] Hufton, Women in History, 125-141.
[303] Judith P. Zinnsser, and Bonnie S. Anderson, "Women in Early and Modern Europe." in *Women's History in Global Perspective*, edited by Bonnie G. Smith, (Chicago: University of Illionis Press, 2005), 116.

while European women had responsibilities as a worker and as a manager of the household, the Ottoman women left such duties to slaves and concubines instead. There begins the invisibility, the women in the empire whether from elite class or a peasant background had no need to venture out of the house. If they were of a class or standing that did not warrant a slave, the husband was responsible for seeing to chores outside the home Women spent most of their lives at home and if they ventured out, this was probably either to the hammam or to visit a relative . In Europe although females do not work in their own professions, most of the wives tended to help their husbands. They had the same level of visible presence in the streets as a man, also church services were one place where women of all classes appeared in public. Unlike Ottoman Empire, the women in early modern Europe were always on the periphery of Western culture.

In the journals the first outstanding issue and primary diversity regarding social life seems to be the gender segregation according to the frequency of mention in the sources The male dominated streets, for the travellers was an interesting case which they referred to this invisibility in their narratives and most of them wrote about the gender segregation. Presumably the situation drew the attention of the Europeans who were not accustomed to it and this encouraged them to fill in some of the blanks with a bit of imaginary. The second issue comes with the visual female image. If the traveller came across a Muslim women in the street presumably she would be wearing the Islamic traditional outdoor garb which consisted of a *ferace* (overmantle) and *Yaşmak* (light-coloured veil). This female image constituted a remarkable difference with their own country and probably most of the time conveyed their own orientalist prejudices. *Tesettür* which is a determining principle between religion and everyday life gained the status of being the primary symbol of Muslim women.

3.2.2. How Ottoman ambassadors saw women in Europe

By the end of 17th century Ottoman diplomacy was characterized by non-residential ambassadors who were sent to gain information about the social, economic and military aspects of the European countries. The reports of the Ottoman ambassadors' sheds light on understanding the difference between the world views of the Ottoman Empire and of the European states. In this study we aimed to depict Ottoman women

through the eyes of European travellers'. Ottoman ambassadors' view of European culture would show us the picture of Europe in the eyes of Ottomans. Analysing the reports from both sides helps to understand the traveller's point of view. Unfortunately, Ottomans begun to send envoys to Europe in the beginning of eighteenth century. In order to make a social and cultural comparison with Europe two Ottoman ambassadors from different countries have been taken into consideration namely Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi and Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi. Ambassadorial reports written by Ottoman envoys to foreign country after their return to Istanbul, usually contained not only details of diplomatic activities but also of general observations regarding the respective country. These two ambassador's notes were the very first examples of a secular work. The choice among the Ottoman ambassadors for this study is made due to the time and place of their embassies and according to the content of their journals.

Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi

Yirmisekiz Mehmet Celebi was the first statesmen delegated as ambassador to France in 1720.[304] His embassy of eleven months in Paris was notable for being the first ever representation of Ottoman Empire in Europe by a permanent envoy. Mehmet Celebi is remembered with his embassy mission which he recorded his impressions in a book "*Sefaratname*". His principle charge was to acquaint himself with the society that lay beneath French diplomacy. Mehmet Çelebi was to visit fortresses and factories, to make a studies on civilization and education and report back suitable practices to the Ottoman Empire. Much of the book compares the two countries that gave their blessing to this rare and genuinely mutual encounter.[305] His embassy had ensured some immediate repercussions in the Ottoman Empire, notably the first printing house was opened as a direct consequence of Mehmet Celebi's mission in Paris. In addition to this,, Sadabad gardens which are one of the symbols of the Tulip era were inspired by French gardening techniques and are described in length by the ambassador. His notes contain much valuable information but since the subject at hand is women, his views about European women are the parts that are of interest.

[304] Mehmet Celebi himself was entrolled in the Janissary corps, and since he had served in the 28th battalion (orta) of the corps, he came to be known with the nickname yirmisekiz(twentyeight) Şevket Rado, Pariste Bir Osmanlı Sefiri.

[305] Madeline C. Zilfi, "East Encounters West: France and Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century Fatma Müge Göçek." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52, no. 1 (1993): 56.

According to Mehmet Çelebi, in France the dignity of women is superior to that of men. They do whatever they want and they go wherever they like. The gentleman from every walk of life shows respect to women. Mehmet Çelebi while describing streets, festivals or ceremonies, continuously repeated the mixed gender of spectators with the words "men and women together" Presumably he was in some kind of a cultural complexity. The situation was rather different in Ottoman Empire. Although women were attending some festivals in the seventeenth century, they did not intermingle with men and according to Islamic tradition this would be dishonourable. From this point of view, European travellers found it strange not to see any women in the streets and as a sub-topic most of them emphasized segregation of women in their narratives. He also describes his reception by Louis XV, the ceremonies and the social events and musicals that he attended. In all the events he examined the Western culture and as being a men from east, he became a reason for public gathering for curious Parisian women.[306]

He was being watched by French people while making *iftar* (breaking fast) in Ramadan. The reverse position is explained by Wratislaw, "all the Turks that were stared at us when we ate, and wondered at our customs, our ambassador would not willingly spend the night with them."[307]

Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi

Ebubekir Ratıf Efendi was a statesmen sent to Habsburg Empire as an ambassador "reis-ul küttab"in 1792. "In his 150 days of embassy besides embarking on a programme of visiting military establishments, hospitals, academies and other institutions, all of which were described in great detail in his travelogue and treatise, Ratip Efendi also had the newspapers translated for him and generally tried to keep up with the current events in Europe."[308]

He made careful observations on the Habsburg's institutions and European way of living. Ratıp Efendi's work "*Nemçe sefaretnamesi*" also includes his observations about the state of affairs in Europe. He explains in detail the effects of French

[306] Şevket Rado, *Paris'te Bir Osmanlı Sefiri Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyehatnamesi,* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 13-40.
[307] Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron,* 29.
[308] Fatih Yeşil, "Looking at the French Revolution Through Ottoman Eyes: Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's Observations." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70, no.2 (2007): 283-304.

revolution on the Habsburg Empire.[309] It seems that Ratıp Efendi was inclined towards Westernization in material terms. Nevertheless, he is proudly admired the moral strength of the Ottomans compared to the Europeans. According to him, though Europe was rich in terms of material standards, it was poor in terms of morality.[310] Ratıp Efendi describes the ball and dance gatherings in Sibin. He joined these gatherings and describes the ball as the meeting of men and women in a particular place to dance together. He writes that a man danced with a women whom he liked. There were, he says, approximately from forty to sixty people in such gatherings. The noble families met in their mansions whereas the ordinary people met in an assigned place for them in the city.[311] His astonishment on the men-women relations is felt in his narrative.

He admires the policies of the famous European rulers such as Peter the great, Frederick II and Catharine II. He admires their policy of bringing the famous military officers and scientists from other parts of Europe. He even finds Catherine II more successful than Peter the Great in terms of bringing famous men of Europe to Russia. She sent them letters and precious gifts in order to get their support for Russia. Ratıp Efendi writes that she managed to get the admiration of Voltaire by means of this policy even he formerly did not like her.[312] In his notes he deals with the weaknesses and strengths of Europe and try to depict the situation on a comparative basis.

3.3. What changed after women began to write about Harem. Correction of men's accounts after female authored sources were accepted.

Women in the early modern Ottoman Empire were assumed to pass their time in domesticity. It is not easy to identify the experience of women being distinct from that of the household. Since the interior of the house was accepted as a private space, the harem was deemed to be a mysterious place. This domestic space always attracted the interest of foreign travellers. However, since male travellers did not have the chance to directly encounter women, their narratives were strongly affected by an orientalising

[309] It seems that his conversations with Mouradge D'Ohsson who came from France to Vienna after French revolution, constituted main source of information. Fatih Bayram, "Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi as an Ottoman Envoy of Knowledge Between East and The West" (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2000).
[310] Fatih Bayram, "Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi as an Ottoman Envoy of Knowledge Between East and The West" (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2000), 110.
[311] Bayram, Ratıp Efendi, 29.
[312] Bayram, Ratıp Efendi, 73.

gaze. While male visitors to the Ottoman lands were frustrated by their lack of access to the space of the women, Lady Mary exposes its inner workings, thus satisfying the desire for the "truth" on the 'other' and solidifying the position of the West as being all knowing [313].

This chapter aims to focus on women's use of space in public area from a different perspective namely from the female point of view. Although our main period is sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, the female travelogues beginning with Lady Montagu in the early-eighteenth century will be used to an extent for the verification of men's accounts.

Lady Mary Montagu was the first female to write her observations. She came to Istanbul with her husband who had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of Turkey. She is known for her letters from Ottoman Empire which she wrote to her family and friends. Her letters demonstrates a keen interest in Turkish customs, particularly those relating to women. She was clearly intrigued by the differences between her own sensibilities and ideas and those of Ottoman ladies. Her letters chronicle the encounters of a curious mind with numerous aspects of a foreign culture in frank and witty language. In her correspondence she wrote that she was impressed by the liberties given to women by Turkish cultural institutions, such as the veils that rendered women not to be recognized in the street. Lady Montagu thought veiling rendered Ottoman women freer than their European counterparts. According to her walking in the streets without being noticed is an undefinable freedom. In one of her letters she advocates that she herself also preferred to use the veil and expresses her pleasure in using it. "The yasmak or Turkish veil is become not only very easy but agreeable to me".[314]

The veil which had become a strong metaphor, and was one of the most enduring symbols of the backwardness and oppression of the East, was turned on its head in Lady Mary's letters. Instead it represents a source of liberty, a mode of free public passage. However, Lady Mary also thought that the veil for Ottoman ladies represented freedom of movement for the purpose of having extramarital affairs. Montague also asserts that women's veiling in the public blurred the lines of the social rank, linking

[313] Teresa Heffernan, "Feminism Against the East/ West Divide: Lady Mary's Turkish Embassy Letters" Eighteenth Century Studies, Vol,33, No,2(1990-00), 201-215.
[314] Montagu, *Letters,* 397.

upper-class women to slaves in a mixture of emancipated femininity. According to Montagu, this was an alternative from Europe's strictly designed hierarchical space usage. She describes Turkish women as the only free people in the empire and thought Ottoman women took sexual advantage of enforced public anonymity. She provides an alternative reading of the veiled women in which women have neither to be saved nor to submit to their culture.[315]

The male travellers of the early modern period encountered women probably in the streets going to urban institutions such as public baths or local markets and always wearing a veil. Since Islamic laws necessitated women to dress in a modest manner in public spaces, the practice of veiling was the significant factor of a place, be it private or public. Unlike her male colleagues, Lady Mary defined the veil not as an assimilation element but as a symbol of gained freedom for women and more than that; a symbol of female liberty and a constructive segregation tool.

Throughout her letters, Montagu points out the errors of previous travel writers and claims for herself an authority based on gender and class. "Meyda Yegenoglu, in her reading of Turkish Embassy Letters, notes that Montagu's contestation of the accounts of Jean Dumont, George Sandys, John Covel and others rests on her claim that she, as a woman, had greater access to the 'truth' of Oriental women. Yegenoglu goes on to assert that it is through the renunciation of previous 'truth claims' that a text may claim authority for itself; in other words, the contestation of previous knowledge can in fact be seen as part of Orientalist discourse's hegemony and unity, rather than as a challenge to it. While Yegenoglu's reading highlights the interaction between gendered and Orientalist discourses in the construction of textual authority, it nonetheless omits the important role of class discourses in the interplay between these authoritative claims."[316]

Montagu refutes the accounts of other travellers who assert the superiority of Christian or Western ways by arguing that Orientalists themselves and their target audience are the lower classes and therefore they are not able to authentically represent or be representative of Eastern culture. "Montagu repeatedly remarks that previous travellers remained ignorant of Oriental civilization because they had not come in

[315] Fatma Tunç Yaşar, "Women in Early Modern Istanbul: The Use of Space" (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001).
[316] Anna Secor, "Orientalism, Gender and Class in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters: Top Persons of Distinction, Men of Letters," Cultural Geographies 6, no. 4 (1999): 375-398.

contact with the strata of society she so easily moved as the ambassador's wife."[317] In a letter to an unnamed correspondent she asserts:

> The Turks are very proud and will not converse with a Stranger they are not assured is considerable in his own Country. I speak of the Men of Distinction, for as to the Ordinary Fellows, you may imagine what Ideas their Conversation can give of the general Genius of the people.[318]

Montagu asserts her femininity to legitimate her own 'knowledge' of forbidden female spaces, especially the harem and the women's baths. She criticizes Paul Rycaut, George Sandys and Baudier who aroused imaginary orientalist fascinations. As an example, "she portrayed the baths as a communal space where the markings of rank are stripped off and where women are able to consort."[319] She was impressed by the unpretending behaviour of women in the hammams, which she compared to English coffeehouses because of the freedom of conversation they promoted.

Lady Montagu wrote extensively on cultural differences in a certain reticence to censure her sex and a degree of feminism is felt in her manuscripts.[320] Her desexualising definitions most of the times challenged with her colleague's orientalist fantasies. She conflates the imaginary Orient and the world she finds about it. Lady Mary engages various discourses of the day, thus in her manuscript the inviolability of the harem is taken to represent autonomy and female control of space, rather than the imprisonment of women. Lady Montagu provisionally rescues women from the stereotype repeated endlessly which portrays oriental women in an eroticism circle.

[317] Secor, "Orientalism, Gender, 375-398.
[318] Montagu, *Letters,*168.
[319] Montagu, *Letters*, 411.
[320] Montagu, *Letters*, 314.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to explore how European travelers perceived women and the family in Ottoman Istanbul in the early modern age, namely from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. The Ottoman Empire hosted many European travellers and a substantial amount of journal archive was created as a result of well-educated people writing their memoires. The travel journals written by these early modern visitors, aroused readers' curiosity about far-away landscapes and cultures without exhibiting the attitudes evident in the later writings of aspiring imperialists. In order to obtain accurate historical information, a detailed examination of the visitors to Istanbul was undertaken It has been sought to shed light on the following questions –How did they see the Ottoman women? - Which prejudices were they affected them? -How objective were there accounts? In this study, all sources, including journals, letters, memoires and ambassador reports, were reviewed under the common denominator of traveller records since they are the products of the authors' travels to the Ottoman capital.

Travel narratives' main topics comprised of diplomatic missions, missionary activities, pilgrimages, and commercial journeys, military and scientific expeditions. While visitor impressions focused on these subjects, their manuscripts also included useful sources of information in particular for everyday traditions, local costumes, the harem, religious feasts, hammams, streets, the household and significant events mostly formed the infrastructure of the travelogues. The decisive factor in making the choice among the travellers was the context of their documents, and their objectivity.–None of the travellers analysed women and family life directly but they wrote about the cultural and social phenomena they observed in the Ottoman Empire, focusing naturally on those that differed from the ones at home. Even though the cultural transactions obtained by means of the local scholars were priceless sources, this exchange of knowledge had to be discussed according to the aim and period of the visit.

Actually, the term 'the Ottoman women' refers to a mixed group of women coming from different origins, regions, social status, wealth and religion. While studying the narratives I hoped to gain a closer understanding of the lives of women without making a distinction. Given the nature of dominant discourse,

the gender segregation, the findings did not provide answers to some of the general questions. Women of all classes participated in urban life to a certain degree. The notes of the traveller mainly depict the everyday life of ordinary women while the ambassador records dealt with the lives of the urban elite, and aimed to illuminate the influence of the harem ladies on the throne and wrote about the rumours".[321] In all the records a critical weight is given to the privacy of women and the explanation of outer female clothing. We come to a conclusion that clothing regulations are strictly obeyed and they were state controlled practices, which determined legal status, religious beliefs and wealth. Although the regulations were determinative, the journals of the travellers support the assumption that religious based restrictions in clothing was not rigidly or consistently enforced.

The ideas, images and clichés produced by travellers about 'the Ottomans,' their religion, culture, society and empire, illustrate the inseparability of diplomatic interests from cultural change. Fear of military might, admiration for high standards of civic life and court culture, and even delight in foreign magnificence rarely assumed the kind of secular Eurocentric superiority that would in time characterize Orientalism. Edward Said says that "Orientalism is primarily a term used for the imitation or depiction of aspects of Eastern cultures in the West by writers, designers and artists." This generic term to describe the Western approach to the Orient that approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery and practice. But in addition Said used the term "to designate that collection of dreams, images, and vocabularies available to anyone who has tried to talk about what lies east of the dividing line."[322]

In dealing with travel narratives as primary sources particular attention should be paid to the period they were produced. In addition, a detailed and stimulating portrait of the heterogeneity of Western travellers' responses to what they were looking for. On occasion, authors of 16th-century travel accounts reported positive aspects of the state and society of the Ottoman Empire that they had observed. Though the analysis of the journals it is obviously seen that 16th century visitors have little prejudices, curiosity is the dominant factor. Seventeenth century onwards the focus of the narratives is slipping to diplomacy, politics and trade, biases are dominant and they are affected

[321] Pierce, *Imperial Harem,* 60.
[322] Said, *Orientalism,* 73.

from orientalist ideas. The manuscripts written in this centuries act like the supplement elements of the previous century journals.

With very little understanding of neither Islam nor local customs, travellers tried to describe different cultures they encounter in the East, depending on the consequences of their inferences based on the idea that Muslims were inferior than Christians. Therefore for this study it was appropriate to analyse the cultures through the filter of their strongly held religious beliefs. It was Islam which imposed a division of space according to gender, eliminated women from male space in which ways Christianity did not, and in process, and created a site of crucial importance for westernising imaginations.[323]

European travellers in the early-modern period strongly claimed that the domestic space within the household was the most familiar place for Ottoman women. Strikingly, the orientating gaze of traveller accounts was often supported by imperial decrees dealing with the appearance of women in public.[324] Although the domestic space was accepted as a woman's domain, their actions were not limited to household activities. Going to the hammam, visiting cemeteries, attending the court, going to festivities and *mesire* places show that women were not strictly confined to the home but to a degree they were sharing urban life with men.

The major theme of many travel books was the concept of the 'other'. In this study I tried to highlight the Ottoman women's image through the Europeans' eyes, as reflected through the events recited by travellers. While doing this I consulted the travel books with an awareness of possible prejudice or orientalist viewpoints. Despite the similarities in the secondary positions of women in the East and the Europe, the veiled woman, as portrayed in these narratives, became one of the most powerful symbols of the "irrationality" and "backwardness" of the Orient. Ottoman women, leaving their domestic zone and entering the public sphere helped Westerner visitors to emphasize the orientalist discourse through their reports.

The perception of foreign cultures was shaped through guess work and prejudices. The events recited by the travellers served to highlight the differences in well accepted

[323] Marcus, *A World of Difference,* 92.
[324] F. Yaşar, The Use of Space, 126.

knowledge and perceptions in cities and sometimes become the subject of the traveller's imagination.

In order to extract fictitious and falsified information several scientific methods were used, first the travelogues of local travellers and miniatures were compared with the European journals and second the contemporary travel manuscripts matched to each other. In the narratives, the travellers' depicted women in sacred areas and according to this point of view, women were depicted helpless and invisible members of society. This was a quite popular consensus amongst the travel accounts. As a result, all were imaginational discourses. Court registers show that women were free agents of society and they physically used courts in order to defend themselves. I may suggest that the European travel narratives of early modern era regarding the everyday lives of Ottoman women strongly necessities an additional inquiry of Ottoman archival documents.

When analysing Ottoman women and family life through Turkish sources we could not delve too far due to the assimilation of female gender in Islamic customs. The Ottoman travel accounts were either like an autobiography or a memorandum; they were frequently composed by officials as like *sefaretname* or semi-official travelogues like an earlier period example Evliya Çelebi. These sources of local authors were written traditionally and contain nothing much about the social life of women. In order to generate a visibility of Ottoman women the more idea approach was to examine miniature paintings as a source.

Miniatures portray the scenes with an aspect closest to reality. In early modern drawings of official events like funerals or festivities, we see women's presence in outer spaces. Therefore women as spectators participate to the state organized festivals and these visuals help us to come to a conclusion that women's public experiences are not only hammam visits and women's actions were not limited to household activities.

Travellers reflected their own cultural background while writing their memoires. The position of European women in the social arena is analysed in order to provide a broader perspective based on a comparative approach. The reports of the two important Ottoman Ambassadors, about the European states is analysed in terms of understanding the difference between the world views of the Ottoman's and of the European's. Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi and Ebubekir Ratıf Efendi were in Europe at

a critical period and their lengthy reports point out the men and women partook in entertainment together. Their views depicted the permissiveness of women within society. The social and cultural differences between the countries underlined the perspective of European travellers in the eighteenth century. However neither of the envoys mentioned anything regarding women's freedom in Europe, all the stories are about the visibility of women in the same arena as men. Due to the gender segregation in Ottoman Empire, travellers were inclined to see their countries as superior. The metaphors like veil and *yashmak* and the absence of women in the social spaces enhanced the orientalist discourses up to Lady Montagu's arrival.

In dealing with the topic of women, from the eighteenth century onwards there had been a great change in Westerner travel publications with the arrival of Lady Mary Montagu, an aristocrat of her time who had possibility to see women in their domestic spaces and wrote regarding their local habits. Lady Mary had tolerance in her discourses about Turkish customs and religion, in her letters she did not condemn the Turks but rather praised them. She emphasized the modesty and good breeding of the women she encountered in feminine spaces. Her main argument was that "Turkish society allowed women greater freedom than they enjoyed in the West," she wrote about the enduring symbols of the backwardness, including the metaphor of the veil. Lady Mary turned the oppressions on their head as her letters were the very first example of a secular work by a woman. Montagu criticized travelers who gave inaccurate reports and she did not hesitate to recount what she saw. This was a brave attempt in order to break the obstacle standing of Europeans own religious and cultural bias.

Writers such as Lady Montagu, Julie Pardoe and Lucy Garnett who actually lived in the Ottoman lands for significant periods of time openly rejected the sharp orientalist female discourses.[325] In the century and a half between the publications of Montagu's Grace Ellison's, Zeyneb Hanım's, Melek Hanım's, Halide Edib and Demetra Vaka Brown's works, harem literature had become a large and popular area of women's literary activity. After Montagu's revision of the accounts of men the unreliability of anything but a female-authored source became widely accepted.[326]

[325] Aslı Sancar, *Ottoman Women Myth and Reality,* (İzmir: Çağlayan A.Ş., 2011), 13-15.
[326] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism,* 13

APPENDIX

1. List of Travellers

Traveller	First Arrival	Last Departure	Visit Number	Stayed in İstanbul	Nation	Status	Interest	First Edition	Original name / Translation name
Busbecq, Ogier,Ghislain	1553	1562	2	1,5 years	German	Delegation in the embassy	Botanic Expert	1595	The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghislein Busbecq Türk Mektupları, Trans by, Türkömer, Derin, Iş Bankası Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011
Hans Dernscwam	1553	1555	1	1,5 years	German	Delegation in the embassy	Traveller		Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch, einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-55) Istanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü Trans by. Yaşar, Önen, KTB Yayınları Ankara, 1992.
Fresne-Canaye	1573	1574	1	3 months	French	Traveller	Traveller	1897	Fresne Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573, Trans by. Tunçdoğan Teoman, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2009 Voyage Du Levant
Stephan Gerlach	1573	1578	1	5 years	German	Delegation in the embassy	Priest	1674	Türkiye Günlüğü I-II, Trans by. Noyan,Türkis, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2010. Tage-Buch Der Von Zween Glorwürdigsten Römischen Kaysern Maksimiliano Und Rudollpho..An die Ottomanische Porte Zu Konstantinopel Abgefertigten.. Gesandtschafft
Nicholas de Nicholay	1547	1551			French	Delegation in the embassy	Geographer	1568	Muhteşem Süleymanın İmparatorluğunda, Trans by. Tekeli, Şirin, Menekşe Toktay, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2014. Navigations et Pérégrinations et Voyages, Faicts en la Turkie (Türkiye'ye Yapılan Deniz Yolculukları ve Geziler)
Chesneau, Jean	1547	1553	1	2 Years??	French	Ambassador	Aristocrat	1566	D'aramon Seyahatnamesi, Trans by. Erverdi, Işıl, Dergah Yayınları, 2012, Istanbul. Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, Ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant
Salamon schweigger	1578	1581	1	3,5 years	German	Delegation in the Embassy	Priest	1608	Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk, Trans by, Noyan Turkis. Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2004. Ein newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jarusalem.. Mit hundert schönen newen Figuren in III unterschiedlichen Büchern. Auffs fleissigst eigner Person verzeichnet und abgerissen Durch Salamon Schweigger

Traveller	First Arrival	Last Departure	Visit Number	Stayed in İstanbul	Nation	Status	Interest	First Edition	Original name / Translation name
Lubenau, Reinhold	1587	1589	1		German	Delegation in the embassy	Chemist		Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi, Trans by, Noyan, Turkis, Kitapyayınevi, Istanbul, 2012. Beschreibung Der Reisen Des Reinhold Lubenau
Wratislaw, W, Baron	1591	1597	1		German	Delegation in the Embassy		1597	Anılar, Trans by: Dilmen, Süreyya, Karacan Yayınarı, İstanbul, 1981 Adventures Of Baron Wenceslaw Wratislaw
Michael Heberer	1585	1588	1	1,5 year	German	Slave	Clerk	1610	Osmanlıda Bir Köle, Trans by, Noyan, Turkis, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2010. Aehyptiaca Servitus
Thomas Dallam	1599	1600	1		British	Ironworker	ironworker	1848	1599-1600 The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam
John Sanderson	1584	1602	3		British	Merchant			Travels Of John Sanderson, in the Levant, Trans by, Forster, William.1967.
Hrand Der Andreasyan	1608	1619	2	1 year	Polish		Pilgrimage	1936	Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi, Everest Yayınları, Istanbul, 2013 Des Armeniers Simeon Aus Polen, Reisebeschreibung
George Sandys	1610	1611	1	4 months	British	Traveller	Traveller	1615	The Relation of a Journey begun an.Dom. 1610, in four Books
Adam Werner	1616	1618	1	2 years	German	Delegation in the Embassy		1622	Padişahın Huzurunda, Trans by. Noyan, Turkis, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2011. Tagebuch der Kaiserlichen Gesandschaft nach Konstantinopel
Thomas Roe	1621	1628			British	Ambassador			- The negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, .London, 1628.
Albertus Bobovius (Ali Ufki Bey)	1628	1647		19 years	Polish	Slave	Musician	1679	Topkapı Saryında Yaşam, Trans by, Berktay, Ali, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2002. Quanto di piu curioso e vago ha patuto raccore Cornelio Magni.. per la Turchia
Jean Baptiste Tavernier	1631	1668	6	11 months	French	Merchant	Merchant	1682	Tavernier Seyahatnamesi, Trans by, Tunçdoğan, Teoman, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2010. Les Six Voyages de Jean Babtiste Tavernier
Thevenot, Jean	1655	1659	2	9 months	French	Traveller	Botanic Expert	1665	Thevenot Seyahatnaesi, Trans by, Berktay, Ali, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2009 Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant

Traveller	First Arrival	Last Departure	Visit Number	Stayed in İstanbul	Nation	Status	Interest	First Edition	Original name / Translation name
Ralamb Claes	1657	1658	1	1 year	Swedish	Ambassador	Artist	1697	Istanbul'a Bir Yolculuk Trans by. Arel, Ayda, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2008. Kort beskriffning om thet som wid then Constantinoplitanske Resan Ar Föreluppit
Jean Chardin	1671	1673	2		French	Merchant		1711	Chardin Seyahatnamesi, Trans by, Meral, Ayşe, Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul, 2014. Voyages du chevalier Chardin
John Covel	1670	1677	1		British	Priest	Priest	1893	Bir Papazın Osmanlı Günlüğü, Dergah Yayınları, Istanbul, 2011 Extracts From The Diaries Of Dr. John Covel 1670-1679
Antoine Galland	1672	1673	3		French	Delegation in the Embassy			İstanbula Ait Günlük Hatıralar, Trans by Örik, Nahid Sırrı, TTK, Ankara, 1987. Bibliotheque orientale, ou dictionnaire universel contenant tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient
Paul Ricaut	1661	1670			British	Delegation in the Embassy		1667	Osmanlı Imparatorluğu Halihazırının Tarihi, Trans by, İnalcık, Halil, Özyıldırım, Nihan, TTK, Ankara, 2012. The Present State of the Ottoman Empire
John Finch	1674	1681	1	5 years	British	Ambassador	Doctor		Under the Turk in Constantinople A record of Sir John Finch's Embassy, London, 1920.
Josephus Grelot	1670??				French	Artist		1680	Istanbul Seyahatnamesi, Trans by, Selen Maide, Pera yayınları, Istanbul, 1988. Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage de Costantinople
Joseph de Tournefort	1699	1702	1	15 days	French	Traveller	Botanic Expert		Tournefort Seyahatnamesi, Trans by, Berktay, Ali, Tunçdoğan, Teoman, ;Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul 2008 Tournefort , Journal de botanique Du Levant
Lady Montagu	1717	1718		2 years	British	Ambassador's Wife	Aristocrat		Doğu Mektupları, Trans By, Eringöz, Murat, Aykaç, Özgü Yayınları, Istanbul, 2004. The Complete Letters Of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu
Mouradgea D'ohhson	1763	1799		30 years	Sweedish	Ambassador			XVIII. Yüzyıl Türkiyesinde Örf ve Adetler /Tercüman 1001 eser kısmi çeviri Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman

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